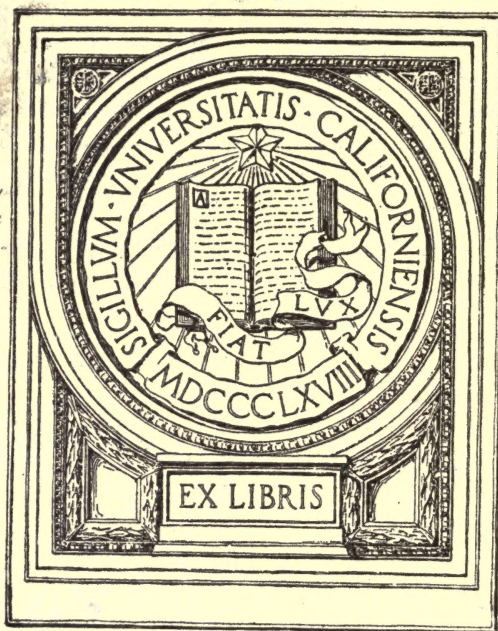




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OF THE

## WARS OF THE UNITED STATES,

FROM THE EARLIEST COLONIAL TIMES TO THE  
CLOSE OF THE MEXICAN WAR.

BY

JOHN LEWIS THOMSON.

*With Additions and Corrections.*

ILLUSTRATED WITH NUMEROUS ENGRAVINGS, FROM DESIGNS BY  
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Our country is still young; but her wars have been numerous, and, some of them, bloody. Our foes have been of various degrees in strength and skill, from the brave and cunning savage up to the disciplined soldier of Britain; and against all have we maintained ourselves with honour; nay, the end of every contest has been attended with a large increase of our dominion. The fiercest efforts of mighty powers have proved insufficient to check the progression of the republic. The cords upon the limbs of Samson were burst asunder as burnt flax.

Wars are popularly considered the most interesting portions of a nation's history. A peaceful advance in the arts and the gradual perfection of institutions are highly approved, of course; but the narrative of such progression can never possess the thrilling attractions pertaining to accounts of the "pomp and circumstance

of glorious war." The moralist and the philosopher may condemn the taste as vicious and perverted; but the majority still prefer the stirring blast of the bugle to the soothing sweetness of the flute. The grand national displays of patriotic pride; the achievements of courage, activity, and skill; the developement of the heroic part of human nature, all of which are characteristic of war, fairly glow upon the page of history, and can kindle the heart of the farmer at his fireside, when all other reading would fail to win his attention. Inquire, and he will acknowledge that war has a horrible display of some brutal passions and is attended and followed by an immense amount of misery, but he dares not deny the charms of its history.

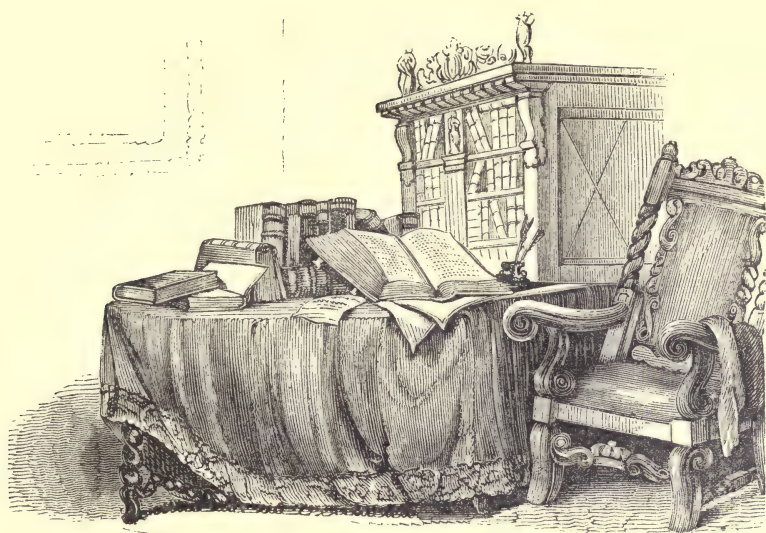
The soil of the republic is thickly dotted with battle-fields. The North has her Breed's Hill—her Bennington—her Saratoga, and her Trenton—the South has her Eutaw—her King's Mountain—her Cowpens, and her Yorktown—places fertilized by the blood of the revolutionary patriots—whither Americans may make pilgrimages to freshen their love of liberty. The records of those fields should not only be in the hands, but in the memory of the patriotic. The great West also has her battle-fields, where whites of iron nerve engaged in bloody strife with Indians, who claimed the soil as the land of their fathers, and where the dominion of the Anglo-Saxon was established. Later wars had greatly increased the number of the places peopled by the memories of glorious deeds. Our armies have left their indelible marks in Mexico, from Matamoras to Buena Vista, from Vera Cruz to the capital, and throughout New Mexico and California.

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The present work comprises very full accounts of all the wars in which our country has been engaged, from the earliest colonial times to the close of the contest with Mexico. The most authentic sources of information have been consulted, compared, and investigated, so as to attain the reliable facts. The illustrations are numerous, and will impress scenes and incidents upon the memory







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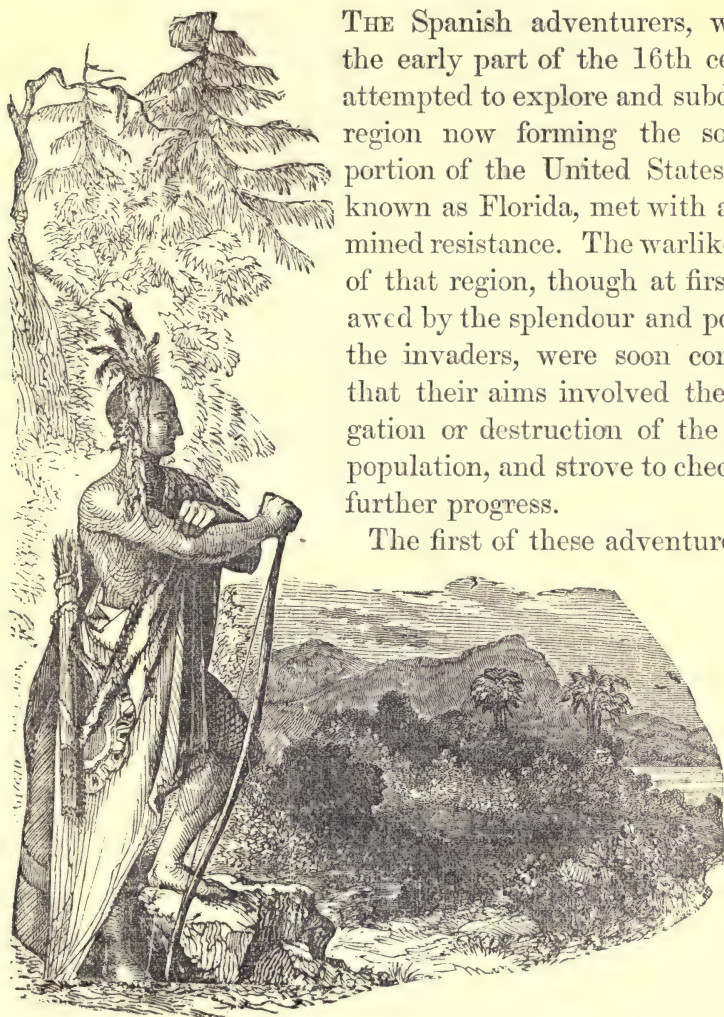
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# WARS OF THE UNITED STATES.

## CHAPTER I.

WARS BETWEEN THE EARLY SPANISH ADVENTURERS AND THE INDIANS.



THE Spanish adventurers, who, in the early part of the 16th century, attempted to explore and subdue the region now forming the southern portion of the United States—then known as Florida, met with a determined resistance. The warlike tribes of that region, though at first overawed by the splendour and power of the invaders, were soon convinced that their aims involved the subjugation or destruction of the native population, and strove to check their further progress.

The first of these adventurers was



PONCE DE LEON.

Juan Ponce de Leon, a famous warrior. This man had imbibed the belief that there existed, upon an island somewhere to the northward, a fountain, endowed with such miraculous virtue, that any person, however worn with age, who should have ever dipped himself in its waters, would rise restored to the full bloom and vigour of youth. While sailing about in the vain search for this wonderful fountain, he came unexpectedly, on the 27th of March, 1512, in sight of an extensive and beautiful country.

Magnificent forests, intermingled with flowering shrubs, exhibited so gay an aspect, that he named it Florida. He landed on the 8th of April, near the present site of St. Augustine; and, notwithstanding the dangers of navigation amid the violent currents produced by the gulf-stream running among the islands, he spent a considerable time in tracing its outline, and finally rounded the southern point. Thus, though still supposing it to be an island, he ascertained that it must be both large and important. This great discovery seems to have weaned the mind of the Spanish chief from his engrossing chimera. He repaired to Porto Rico, and thence to Spain, laid before the king the particulars of the new country, and obtained permission to conquer



and rule it under the pompous title of adelantado. A considerable time, however, was consumed in preparations; and while thus busied, he was obliged to engage in suppressing an insurrection among the Caribs. This contest was attended with reverses, by which he lost much of his reputation; and nine years elapsed before he could conduct two ships to his promised dominion. While planning a site for a colony, he was surprised by a large



PONCE DE LEON MORTALLY WOUNDED IN FLORIDA.

body of Indians; his men were completely routed and himself severely wounded by an arrow. As these people were never able afterwards to cope in the field with Spanish troops, this disaster may lead us to suspect that he really had lost his former military talent. Having regained the ship, he sailed to Cuba, where he soon after died of his wound.

The fate of Ponce de Leon discouraged all such adventurers for a considerable time. The next expedition of importance was undertaken for the cruel purpose of enslaving the Indians and taking them to the West India islands. It was commanded by Lucas and Vaquez de Ayllon. By treachery, a large number of Indians were secured and carried away. To such infa-



NARVAEZ' MARCH FROM APPALACHEE.

mous acts as this we may trace the determined hostility of some of the Florida tribes. Pamphilo de Narvaez, the unfortunate rival of Cortes, was the next adventurer. He met with a series of disasters in his march from Appalachee, and finally perished in a storm, with all but four of his men.

The next expedition was the most memorable of all. Fernando de Soto, who had acquired fame and fortune by participation in the conquest of Peru, now sought to win much greater glory by subduing Florida, for which he received full authority from Charles V., of Spain.

On the 6th of April, 1538, Soto embarked his troops in ten vessels, and sailed for Cuba, which was even placed under his command, that he might draw from it every needful resource. There he spent a year in preparation, and Vasco Porcalho, a veteran, who, like himself, had gained by the sword an immense fortune, and was living in splendid retirement, was so delighted with the noble appointment and bold spirit of the expedition, that he joined it with a train of followers and large supplies. He was created lieutenant-general.

On the 18th of May, 1539, the adelantado sailed with nine vessels from the Havana; on the 25th, he saw the coast of Florida; and, on the 30th, landed in the bay of Spiritu Santo, which appears to be not very far from the point chosen by Narvaez.





CHARLES V.

Had Florida, like Mexico, been under one great government, Soto, with his brave band, would have beaten the army, entered the capital, and been master of the country. But he struggled helplessly against a multitude of fierce petty tribes. They offered no point at which a blow could be struck, and never left him master of more than the spot on which his army stood.

He continued, however, to advance, and after many battles with the natives, and a tedious march through what are now the states of Alabama and Mississippi, he discovered the Mississippi river, and having constructed barges, crossed it, and marched with his army to the north-west till he entered Missouri, always hoping to find gold.

Learning that there lay a mountainous region to the north-west, which seems to be that at the head of the White River, he proceeded thither, in the vain hope that the rocks might contain gold. Disappointed once more, he bent his course southwards in search of a productive soil, which he found at Cayas, amid the hot and saline springs on the Upper Washita. Descending that river, he arrived at Autiamque (Utianangué), where he resolved to pass his fourth dreary winter. After this long and unfortunate march, and with his troops so miserably reduced, he determined at last upon the measure, from which his mind had so strongly revolted, of returning to the coast,



SOTO DISCOVERING THE MISSISSIPPI.

and seeking reinforcements from Cuba or Mexico. He therefore hastily descended the Washita to its junction with the Red River, and the latter stream to its confluence with the Mississippi, where he found himself in the territory of Guachoya, filled with a brave and numerous population. His men being now reduced to fewer than five hundred, and his horses, which had formed his chief strength, to forty, he could no longer hope to vanquish in the field, a brave though barbarous foe. He was obliged to employ art, and act on their superstitious impressions by stating that he was the child of the sun; and availing himself of their astonishment at seeing themselves in a mirror, pretended that in that glass he could see whatever they did at any distance, and thus detect any plot which might be formed against him. He was much concerned to learn that the sea



was yet far off, and the road thither greatly obstructed by streams and entangled woods. Amid these anxieties and distresses, he was seized with fever, which, not being treated with due attention, closed in a few days his earthly career.

Soto did not merit quite so hard a destiny, though he was one of that bold bad race who, inflamed by the lust of gold, trampled on prostrate America. The unjust and tyrannical principles sanctioned by false views of loyalty and religion, which impelled to these enormities, were in him tempered at once by much prudence and discretion, and also by more than the usual degree of humanity. Had not his aims been frustrated by the nature of the country and the fierce valour of the people, he might have founded a dominion on a better basis than any of the other Spanish conquerors.

The troops, on the death of their commander, were struck with deep alarm. Moscoso, his successor, endeavoured to conceal the event from the Indians, pretending that the general had merely gone up on a visit to heaven, whence he would quickly return. Lest his grave should lead to other conclusions, the body was carried out at midnight into the centre of the great river, and, with a weight attached, sunk to the bottom.



The cacique, however, politely intimated his consciousness of the true state of the case by presenting two handsome youths, in order that, their heads being cut off, they might serve the chief in the land of souls. Moscoso, declining this gift, endeavoured still to gain belief for his first statement, though probably with little success. The party, meanwhile, felt themselves seriously called upon to consider their future plans. To reach a Spanish settlement by water, without vessels, pilots, or charts, appearing quite desperate, they determined rather to attempt a march to Mexico, not without a faint hope of discovering some golden region which might compensate all their toils. They pushed, accordingly, about three hundred miles westward, when, after passing a great river, the Colorado de Texas, or the Rio del Norte, the country became almost a desert, and they could not make themselves understood by the inhabitants. They gave up all hope, and determined, at whatever cost, to return and descend the Mississippi. On regaining its banks, they had, like Narvaez's party, to perform the tedious task of constructing seven brigantines. But they fortunately had among their number a sawyer, four or five carpenters, a caulker, and a cooper, and these instructed the rest. The jealousy of the Indians, however, led to a confederacy which might have been fatal, had it not been disclosed by the female captives. The rising of the river enabled them to avoid the danger by immediately setting sail; though a numerous fleet of canoes pursued, cut off a detachment, and harassed them during a great part of the voyage. In fifty-two days they arrived, reduced to the number of three hundred and eleven, at the port of Panuco in Mexico, where they were kindly received both by the governor and people. They had marched in four years upwards of five thousand miles, through a savage and hostile region. They had achieved nothing; not having left even a vestige of their route, except the track of blood by which it had been too often stained.

These dreadful reverses damped the zeal of Spain to conquer or colonize Florida; but Canello, a Dominican missionary, who undertook to visit the country with a view to conversion, received ample encouragement from the government. The sinister impression, however, attached to his nation, being ex



terded to every individual of it, he and his companions were put to death. The Spaniards, notwithstanding, continued to claim Florida, and even the whole extent of North America; yet there was not a spot in that vast territory on which one of them dared to set his foot.

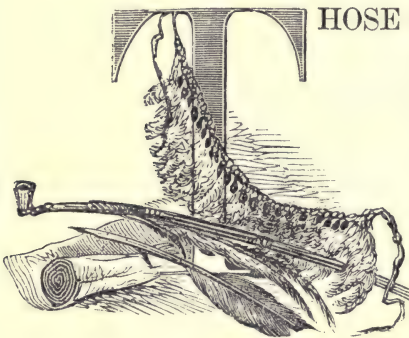




CAPT. JOHN SMITH.

## CHAPTER II.

WARS BETWEEN THE EARLY SETTLERS OF VIRGINIA AND THE INDIANS.



THOSE who attempted to colonize Virginia, under the auspices of Sir Walter Raleigh, were baffled by the weakness and inefficiency of their leaders, and the hostility of the Indians. In spite of several treaties, the red men displayed a determination to prevent the whites from settling in the country.

The efforts of the London Company were more successful. On the 29th of April, 1607, a hundred and ten emigrants arrived on the coast of Virginia, at a point, which, in honour of the Prince of Wales, they named Cape Henry. They afterwards formed a settlement on James river, called Jamestown.

But however well chosen the situation might be, the members of the colony were far from availing themselves of its advantages. Violent animosities had broken out among some of their leaders, during their voyage to Virginia. These did not subside on their arrival there. The first deed of the council, which assumed the government in virtue of a commission brought from England under the seal of the company, and opened on the day after they landed, was an act of injustice. Capt. Smith, who had been appointed a member of the council, was excluded from his seat at the board by the mean jealousy of his colleagues, and not only reduced to the condition of a private man, but of one suspected and watched by his superiors. This diminution of his influence, and restraint on his activity, was an essential injury to the colony, which at that juncture stood in need of the aid of both. For soon after they began to settle, the English were involved in a war with the natives, partly by their own indiscretion, and partly by the suspicion and ferocity of those barbarians. And although the Indians, scattered over the countries adjacent to James river, were divided into independent tribes, so extremely feeble that hardly one of them could muster above two hundred warriors, they teased and annoyed an infant colony by their incessant hostilities. To this was added a calamity still more dreadful; the stock of provisions left for their subsistence, on the departure of their ships for England, was so scanty and of such bad quality, that a scarcity, approaching almost to absolute famine, soon followed. Such poor unwholesome fare soon brought on diseases, the violence of which was so much increased by the sultry heat of the climate, and the moisture of a country covered with wood, that before the beginning of September one-half of their number died, and most of the survivors were sickly and dejected. In such trying extremities the comparative powers of every individual are discovered and called forth, and each naturally takes that station and assumes that ascendant, to which he is entitled by his talents and force of mind. Every eye was now turned towards Smith, and all willingly devolved on him that authority of which they had formerly deprived him. His undaunted temper, deeply tinctured with the wild romantic spirit characteristic of military adventurers in that age, was peculiarly



suited to such a situation. The vigour of his constitution continued fortunately still unimpaired by disease, and his mind was never appalled by danger. He instantly adopted the only plan that could save them from destruction. He began by surrounding Jamestown with such rude fortifications as were a sufficient defence against the assaults of savages. He then marched at the head of a small detachment in quest of their enemies. Some tribes he gained by caresses and presents, and procured from them a supply of provisions. Others he attacked with open force; and defeating them on every occasion, whatever their superiority in numbers might be, compelled them to impart to him some portion of their winter stores. As the recompense of all his toils and dangers, he saw abundance and contentment re-established in the colony, and hoped that he should be able to maintain them in that happy state, until the arrival of ships from England in the spring: but in one of his excursions he was surprised by a numerous body of Indians, and in making his escape from them, after a gallant defence, he sunk to the neck in a swamp, and was obliged to surrender. Though he knew well what a dreadful fate awaits the prisoners of savages, his presence of mind did not forsake him. He showed those who had taken him captive a mariner's compass, and amused them with so many wonderful accounts of its virtues, as filled them with astonishment and veneration, which began to operate very powerfully in his favour. They led him, however, in triumph through various parts of the country, and conducted him at last to Powhatan, the most considerable sachem in that part of Virginia. There the doom of death being pronounced, he was led to the place of execution, and his head already bowed down to receive the fatal blow, when that fond attachment of the American women to their European invaders, the beneficial effects of which the Spaniards often experienced, interposed in his behalf. The favourite daughter of Powhatan rushed in between him and the executioner, and by her entreaties and tears prevailed on her father to spare his life. The beneficence of his deliverer, whom the early English writers dignify with the title of the princess Pocahontas, did not terminate here; she soon after procured his liberty, and sent him from time to time seasonable presents of provisions. Smith,





POCAHONTAS SAVING THE LIFE OF CAPTAIN SMITH.



on his return to Jamestown, found the colony reduced to thirty-eight persons, who in despair were preparing to abandon a country which did not seem destined to be the habitation of Englishmen. He employed caresses, threats, and even violence, in order to prevent them from executing this fatal resolution. With difficulty he prevailed on them to defer it so long, that the succour anxiously expected from England arrived. Plenty was instantly restored; a hundred new planters were added to their number; and an ample stock of whatever was requisite for clearing and sowing the ground was delivered to them.

As long as the bold and prudent Smith remained in the colony, it was prosperous. But when an accident compelled him to return to England, everything tended towards anarchy and ruin. The Indians not only withheld supplies, but renewed hostilities and harassed the colonists continually. At length, when the number of settlers was reduced from 500 to 60, Gates and Summers arrived, with a reinforcement and supplies. Still the English were about to return to their native land, when they were met by Lord Delaware with three ships, a large quantity of provisions, the means of defence and cultivation, and a number of new colonists. Under Lord Delaware's orders the settlement was founded on a stronger basis, and it flourished. Mr. Percy and Sir Thomas Dale, who succeeded him in office, were successful in maintaining order. The marriage of the famous Pocahontas with Mr. Rolfe, secured the friendship of Powhatan, and during the life of that powerful prince, the Indians remained on peaceful terms with the whites. The colony increased in numbers and wealth under the influence of industry and a free government.

But while the colony continued to increase so fast, that settlements were scattered not only along the banks of James and York rivers, but began to extend to the Rappahannock, and even to the Potomac, the English, relying on their own numbers, and deceived by this appearance of prosperity, lived in full security. They neither attended to the movements of the Indians, nor suspected their machinations; and though surrounded by a people whom they might have known from experience to be both artful and vindictive, they neglected every precaution for their own safety that was requisite in such a

situation. Like the peaceful inhabitants of a society completely established, they were no longer soldiers but citizens, and were so intent on what was subservient to the comfort or embellishment of civil life, that every martial exercise began to be laid aside as unnecessary. The Indians, whom they commonly employed as hunters, were furnished with fire-arms, and taught to use them with dexterity. They were permitted to frequent the habitations of the English at all hours, and received as innocent visitants whom there was no reason to dread. This inconsiderate security enabled the Indians to prepare for the execution of that plan of vengeance, which they meditated with all the deliberate forethought which is agreeable to their temper. Nor did they want a leader capable of conducting their schemes with address. On the death of Powhatan, in the year 1618, Opechancanough succeeded him, not only as wirowance, or chief of his own tribe, but in that extensive influence over all the Indian nations of Virginia, which induced the English writers to distinguish him by the name of Emperor. According to the Indian tradition he was not a native of Virginia, but came from a distant country to the southwest, possibly from some province of the Mexican empire. But as he was conspicuous for all the qualities of highest estimation among savages, a fearless courage, great strength and agility of body, and crafty policy, he quickly rose to eminence and power. Soon after his elevation to the supreme command, a general massacre of the English seems to have been resolved upon; and during four years the means of perpetrating it with the greatest facility and success were concerted with amazing secrecy. All the tribes contiguous to the English settlements were successively gained, except those on the eastern shore, from whom, on account of their peculiar attachment to their new neighbours, every circumstance that might discover what they intended was carefully concealed. To each tribe its station was allotted, and the part it was to act prescribed. On the morning of the day consecrated to vengeance, each was at the place of rendezvous appointed, while the English were so little aware of the impending destruction, that they received with unsuspecting hospitality several persons sent by Opechancanough, under pretext of delivering presents of venison and fruits, but in reality to observe



their motions. Finding them perfectly secure, at mid-day, the moment that was previously fixed for this deed of horror, the Indians rushed at once upon them in all their different settlements, and murdered men, women, and children, with undistinguishing rage, and that rancorous cruelty with which savages treat their enemies. In one hour nearly a fourth part of the whole colony was cut off, almost without knowing by whose hands they fell. The slaughter would have been universal, if compassion or a sense of duty had not moved a converted Indian,



THE CHRISTIAN INDIAN DISCLOSING THE INTENDED MASSACRE.

to whom the secret was communicated the night before the massacre, to reveal it to his master in such time as to save Jamestown and some adjacent settlements; and if the English in other districts had not run to their arms with resolution prompted by despair, and defended themselves so bravely as to repulse their assailants, who, in the execution of their plan, did not discover courage equal to the sagacity and art with which they had concerted it.

But though the blow was thus prevented from descending with its full effect, it proved very grievous to an infant colony. In some settlements not a single Englishman escaped. Many persons of prime note in the colony, and, among these, several



THE GREAT MASSACRE.

members of the council, were slain. The survivors, overwhelmed with grief, astonishment, and terror, abandoned all their remote settlements, and crowding together for safety to Jamestown, did not occupy a territory of greater extent than had been planted soon after the arrival of their countrymen in Virginia. Confined within those narrow boundaries, they were less intent on schemes of industry than on thoughts of revenge. Every man took arms. A bloody war against the Indians commenced; and, bent on exterminating the whole race, neither old nor young were spared. The conduct of the Spaniards in the southern regions of America was openly proposed as the most proper model to imitate; and regardless, like them, of those principles of faith, honour, and humanity, which regulate hostility among civilized nations and set bounds to its rage, the English deemed everything allowable that tended to accomplish their design. They hunted the Indians like wild beasts rather than enemies; and as the pursuit of them to their places of retreat in the woods, which covered the country, was both difficult and dangerous, they endeavoured to allure them from their inaccessible fastnesses by offers of peace and promises of oblivion, made with such an artful appearance of sincerity as deceived



their crafty leader, and induced them to return to their former settlements, and resume their usual peaceful occupations. The behaviour of the two people seemed now to be perfectly reversed. The Indians, like men acquainted with the principles of integrity and good faith, on which the intercourse between nations is founded, confided in the reconciliation, and lived in absolute security without suspicion of danger; while the English, with perfidious craft, were preparing to imitate savages in their revenge and cruelty. On the approach of harvest, when they knew a hostile attack would be most formidable and fatal, they fell suddenly upon all the Indian plantations, murdered every person on whom they could lay hold, and drove the rest to the woods, where so many perished with hunger, that some of the tribes nearest to the English were totally extirpated. This atrocious deed, which the perpetrators laboured to represent as a necessary act of retaliation, was followed by some happy effects. It delivered the colony so entirely from any dread of the Indians, that its settlements began again to extend, and its industry to revive.

The colony continued to enjoy the blessings of peace until after the restoration, when Sir William Berkeley was governor. The aged Opechancanough then planned another massacre, which was carried into effect on the 18th of April, 1644, when, as by a stroke of lightning, five hundred whites were slain. The English immediately took up arms, and after a short conflict, almost annihilated the power of the Indians. Opechancanough was made prisoner, and after being treated with great indignity, was killed by a soldier. The colony enjoyed peace until "Bacon's rebellion," when the Indians becoming again hostile, they were completely crushed.





## CHAPTER III.

### THE PEQUOD WAR.



THE contest between the English and the Pequod Indians was the first in which the whites and the red men were brought in collision in New England. The tribes of Indians around Massachusetts bay were feeble and unwarlike; yet from regard to justice, as well as motives of prudence, the first colonists were studious to obtain the consent of the natives before they ventured to occupy any of their lands; and though in such transactions the consideration given was often very inadequate to the value of the territory acquired, it was sufficient to satisfy the demands of the proprietors. The English took quiet possession of the lands thus conveyed to them, and no open hostility broke out between them and the ancient possessors. But the colonies of Providence and Connecticut soon found that they were surrounded by more powerful and martial nations.



Among these the most considerable were the Narragansets and Pequods; the former seated on the bay which bears their name, and the latter occupying the territory which stretches from the river Pequod along the banks of the Connecticut. The Pequods were a formidable people, who could bring into the field a thousand warriors not inferior in courage to any in the New World. They foresaw, not only that the extermination of the Indian race must be the consequence of permitting the English to spread over the continent of America, but that, if measures were not speedily concerted to prevent it, the calamity would be unavoidable. With this view they applied to the Narragansets, requesting them to forget ancient animosities for a moment, and to co-operate with them in expelling a common enemy who threatened both with destruction. They represented that, when those strangers first landed, the object of their visit was not suspected, and no proper precautions were taken to check their progress; that now, by sending out colonies in one year towards three different quarters, their intentions were manifest, and the people of America must abandon their native seats to make way for unjust intruders.

But the Narragansets and Pequods, like most of the contiguous tribes in America, were rivals, and there subsisted between them an hereditary and implacable enmity. Revenge is the darling passion of savages; in order to secure the indulgence of which there is no present advantage that they will not sacrifice, and no future consequence which they do not totally disregard. The Narragansets, instead of closing with the prudent proposal of their neighbours, discovered their hostile intentions to the governor of Massachusetts Bay; and, eager to lay hold on such a favourable opportunity of wreaking their vengeance on their ancient foes, entered into an alliance with the English against them. The Pequods, more exasperated than discouraged by the imprudence and treachery of their countrymen, took the field, and carried on the war in the usual mode of Indians. They surprised stragglers, and scalped them: they plundered and burnt remote settlements; they attacked Fort Say Brook without success, though garrisoned only by twenty men; and when the English began to act offensively, they retired to fastnesses which they deemed inaccessible. The different colonies

had agreed to unite against the common enemy, each furnishing a quota of men in proportion to its numbers. The troops of Connecticut, which lay most exposed to danger, were soon assembled. The march of those from Massachusetts, which formed the most considerable body, was retarded by the most singular cause that ever influenced the operations of a military force. When they were mustered previous to their departure, it was found that some of the officers, as well as of the private soldiers, were still under a covenant of works; and that the blessing of God could not be implored or expected to crown the arms of such unhallowed men with success. The alarm was general, and many arrangements necessary in order to cast out the unclean, and to render this little band sufficiently pure to fight the battles of a people who entertained high ideas of their own sanctity.

Meanwhile the Connecticut troops, reinforced by a small detachment from Say Brook, found it necessary to advance towards the enemy. The latter were posted on a rising ground, in the middle of a swamp towards the head of the river Mistick, which they had surrounded with palisadoes, the best defence that their slender skill in the art of fortification had discovered. Though they knew that the English were in motion, yet, with the usual improvidence and security of savages, they took no measures either to observe their progress, or to guard against being surprised themselves. The enemy, unperceived, reached the palisadoes; and if a dog had not given the alarm by barking, the Indians must have been massacred without resistance. In a moment, however, they started to arms, and, raising the war-cry, prepared to repel the assailants. But at that early period of their intercourse with the Europeans, the Indians were little acquainted with the use of gunpowder, and dreaded its effects extremely. While some of the English galled them with an incessant fire through the intervals between the palisadoes, others forced their way by the entries into the fort, filled only with branches of trees; and setting fire to the huts, which were covered with reeds, the confusion and terror quickly became general. Many of the women and children perished in the flames; and the warriors, in endeavouring to escape, were either slain by the English, or, falling into the hands of their Indian





DESTRUCTION OF THE PEQUODS.

allies, who surrounded the fort at a distance, were reserved for a more cruel fate. After the junction of the troops from Massachusetts, the English resolved to pursue their victory; and hunting the Indians from one place of retreat to another, some subsequent encounters were hardly less fatal to them than the action on the Mistick. In less than three months the tribe of Pequods was extirpated; a few miserable fugitives, who took refuge among the neighbouring Indians, being incorporated by them, lost their name as a distinct people. In this first essay of their arms the colonists of New England seem to have been conducted by skilful and enterprising officers, and displayed both courage and perseverance as soldiers. But they stained their laurels by the use which they made of victory. Instead of treating the Pequods as an independent people, who made a gallant effort to defend the property, the rights, and the freedom of their nation, they retaliated upon them all the barbarities of Indian war. Some they massacred in cold blood, others they gave up to be tortured by their Indian allies, a considerable number they sold as slaves in Bermudas, the

rest were reduced to servitude among themselves. But reprehensible as this conduct of the English must be deemed, their vigorous efforts in this decisive campaign filled all the surrounding tribes of Indians with such a high opinion of their valour, as secured a long tranquillity to all their settlements.







TREATY WITH MASSASOIT.

## CHAPTER IV.

### KING PHILIP'S WAR.



AFTER the Pequod War, the colonists of New England and the Indians in their vicinity, maintained peaceful relations—though there was an occasional exhibition of jealousy—for many years. The tribes nearest to the Plymouth settlers were the Wampanoags or Pokanokets, the Narragansets, and the Mohegans. Between the Mohegans and the Narragansets a constant feud existed, which the English had much trouble to keep from breaking out in open war. Massasoit, the chief of the Wampanoags, remained the friend of the English until his

death. He left two sons, who were called Alexander and Philip. These renewed the treaty with the English. Alexander, being the elder, assumed power on the death of his father. The English, suspecting him of plotting with the Narragansets for the extermination of the colonists, sent for him to answer the charges of the court at Plymouth. It is said that he was there rather roughly treated, and being of a proud spirit, he became so exasperated that he fell into a fever, and died before he could reach home. This was about 1657.

The daring, yet wily Philip, succeeded to his brother's authority. He treated with the colonists, and professed friendship, to lull them into a feeling of security while he matured a grand scheme for their extermination. He desired to form a union of all the New England tribes, and for this great purpose he used all the arts of an able politician. Determination, eloquence, and deep knowledge of human nature, were conspicuous features of his character. The English were watchful, and prevented the great chief from proceeding very rapidly towards the consummation of his scheme.

In 1671, he made a loud complaint that some of the English injured his land, which, in the end, proved to be false. A meeting was held at Taunton not long after, in consequence of the hostile appearance of Philip's men, by Gov. Prince, of Plymouth, and deputies from Massachusetts. Philip was sent for to give reasons for such warlike appearances. He discovered extreme shyness, and, for some time, would not come to the town; and when he did it was with a large band of warriors. He would not consent to go into the meeting-house, where the delegates were, until it was agreed that his men should be on one side of the house, and the English on the other. On being questioned, he denied having any ill designs upon the English, and said that he came with his men armed to prevent any attacks from the Narragansets; but this falsehood was at once detected, and it was evident that they were united in their operations. It was also proved before him, that he had meditated an attack on Taunton, which he confessed. These steps so confounded him that he consented to deliver all his arms into the hands of the English as an indemnity for past damages. All of the guns which he brought with him, about 70, were delivered, and the



rest were to be sent in, but were not. This prevented immediate war, and it required several years to repair their loss. Philip was industrious to do this, and, at the same time, used his endeavours to cause other tribes to engage in his cause. He was not ready when the war did begin, to which, in some measure, we may attribute his failure.

In March, 1675, John Sassamon, an Indian, who had been Philip's chief counsellor, and who had kept the English informed of the plans of the Wampanoag chief, was found murdered, and Philip was charged with having instigated the deed. Three of his men were tried for the commission of the crime, and convicted. Two of them persisted in declaring their innocence to the end, and the third denied that he had any hand in the murder, but said, that he saw others commit it. The three Indians were executed. Philip had now no resource but open war. He was determined never to fall alive into the hands of the English, for whom his hate was inextinguishable. He could bring between three and four thousand warriors into the field, but they were not supplied with fire-arms, and were therefore unfit to contend with the English. The colonists of New England at this period numbered 120,000, and their number of fighting men was about 16,000.

Philip began the war by killing the cattle and rifling the houses of the English settlers. One of these sufferers shot an Indian. The Indians retaliated, by killing all the English that were in their power. Eight or nine were slain in one day, at Swanze, and its vicinity. Skirmishes followed, with various success. The Indians retreated into a swamp, from which they fired, and killed several of the English. The former retired deeper into the swamp. The latter, finding that they attacked the Indians in the swamps under great disadvantages, resolved to starve them; but the Indians found means to escape.

Captain Hutchinson, with twenty horsemen, while pursuing the Indians fell into an ambuscade, and lost almost all his men. A few escaped; but were closely pursued by the Indians, who assaulted the town, to which the vanquished had fled. The pursuing savages set fire to every house, excepting one, to which all the inhabitants had gathered, for security. When they had nearly succeeded in firing that also, Major Willard arrived, with





ATTACK ON DEERFIELD.

forty-eight dragoons, and dispersed them. The Hadley Indians were attacked, at a place called Sugarloaf Hill; and about twenty-six of them were slain, as were also about half of the assailants. These Indians rallied, and, obtaining new associates, fell upon Deerfield, killed one man, and laid most of the town in ashes. On the same day, Hadley was alarmed by the Indians, in the time of public worship, and the people thrown into the utmost confusion; but the enemy were repulsed, by the valour and good conduct of an aged, venerable man, who, suddenly appearing in the midst of the affrighted inhabitants, put himself at their head, led them to the onset, and instantly dispersed the enemy. This deliverer of Hadley, supposed by some to be an angel, was General Goffe, one of the Judges of Charles the first, who was at that time concealed in the town.

The Springfield Indians, though previously friendly to the English, perfidiously concurred with Philip's Indians, to burn the town of Springfield, and actually succeeded so far, as to burn thirty-two houses; but the remainder of the town was saved. The confederation of the New England colonies was now

found of great service. The war on the part of the Indians was conducted with so much ability, vigour, and perseverance, as to require the united effort of the confederated colonies. They severally furnished their quotas, and proceeded, with combined forces and counsels, to attack their common foe. The Indians, apprised of an armament intended against them, had fortified themselves very strongly, within the swamp. The English, without waiting to draw up in order of battle, marched forward, in quest of the enemy's camp. Some Indians, appearing at the edge of the swamp, were no sooner fired upon by the English, than they returned the fire, and fled. The whole army now entered the swamp, and followed the Indians to their fortress. It stood on a rising ground, in the midst of the swamp, and was composed of palisades, which were encompassed by a thick hedge. It had but one practicable entrance, which was over a log, four or five feet from the ground; and that aperture was guarded by a block-house. The English captains entered it, at the head of their companies. The two first, Johnson and Davenport, with many of their men, were shot dead at the entrance. Four other captains, Gardner, Gallop, Siely, and Marshal, were also killed. When the troops had effected an entrance, they attacked the Indians, who fought desperately, and beat the English out of the fort. After a hard-fought battle, of three hours, the English became masters of the place, and set fire to the wigwams. In the conflagration, many Indian women and children perished. The surviving Indian men fled into a cedar swamp, at a small distance; and the English retired to their quarters. Of the English, there were killed and wounded about two hundred and thirty. Of the Indians, one thousand were supposed to have perished.

On the 10th of February, 1676, several hundreds of the Indians fell upon Lancaster; plundered and burned the greatest part of the town; and killed or captured forty persons. Two or three hundred of the Narraganset, and other Indians, not long afterwards, surprised Medfield, and burned nearly one half of the town. On the 25th of February, the Indians assaulted Weymouth, and burned seven or eight houses and barns. On the 13th of March, they burned the whole town of Groton, excepting four garrisoned houses; and on the 17th, they entirely



burned Warwick, with the exception of one house. On the 26th of March, they laid most of the town of Marlborough in ashes. On the same day, Captain Pierce, of Scituate, who had been sent out by the governor and council of Plymouth colony, with about fifty white men, and twenty friendly Indians, of Cape Cod, was cut off by the enemy, with most of his party. Two days afterwards, the Indians fell upon Rehoboth, and burned forty dwelling-houses, and about thirty barns; and the day after, about thirty houses in Providence.

Early in April, they did much mischief at Chelmsford, Andover, and in the vicinity of those places. Having, on the 17th of the same month, burned the few deserted houses, at Marlborough, they, immediately afterwards, violently attacked Sudbury, burned several houses and barns, and killed ten or twelve of the English, who had come from Concord, to the assistance of their neighbours. Captain Wadsworth, who had been sent at this juncture from Boston, with about fifty men, to relieve Marlborough, learning that the enemy had gone through the woods, towards Sudbury, turned immediately back, in pursuit of them. When the troops were within a mile of the town, they spied, at no great distance, a party of Indians, apparently about one hundred, who, by retreating, as if through fear, drew the English above a mile into the woods; when a large body of the enemy, supposed to be about five hundred, suddenly surrounded them, and precluded the possibility of their escape. The gallant leader and his brave soldiers fought with desperate valour; but were completely defeated. The few, who were taken alive, were destined to tortures unknown to their companions, who had the happier lot to die in the field of battle.

About the same time, the Indians burned nineteen houses and barns, at Scituate; but they were bravely encountered, and repulsed by the inhabitants. On the 8th of May, they burned and destroyed seventeen houses and five barns; and, two days afterwards, they burned seven houses and two barns, in that town, and the remaining houses in Namasket.

Several large bodies of Indians having assembled on Connecticut river, in the vicinity of Deerfield, the inhabitants of Hadley, Hatfield, and Northampton, combined to attack them. One hundred and sixty men marched silently twenty miles, in the



dead of night, and, a little before the break of day, surprised the Indians, whom they found asleep, and without guards. The first notice that they gave of their approach was, by a discharge of their guns into the wigwams. Some of the Indians, in their consternation, ran directly into the river and were drowned. Others betook themselves to their bark canoes, and, having in their hurry forgotten their paddles, were hurried down the falls, and dashed against the rocks. Many of them, endeavouring to secrete themselves under the banks of the river, were discovered and slain. In this action, distinguished by the name of the Fall Fight, the Indians lost three hundred men, women, and children; but recovering from their surprise, and attacking the rear of the English on their return, they killed Captain Turner, commander of the expedition, and thirty-eight of his men.

On the 30th of May, a great body of Indians, supposed to be six or seven hundred, appeared before Hatfield. Having burned twelve houses and barns without the fortification, they attacked the houses in the centre of the town, that were surrounded with palisadoes; but twenty-five resolute young men of Hadley adventuring over the river, and boldly charging the Indians, they instantly fled from the town, with the loss of twenty-five of their men.

Though Massachusetts was the chief theatre of the war, Connecticut, her sister colony, was active in the suppression of the common enemy. Volunteer companies had been formed, early in the year, principally from New London, Norwich, and Stonington, which associated with them a number of the Mohegan, Pequod, and Narraganset tribes. These companies ranged the Narraganset country, and harassed the hostile Indians. Between the spring and the succeeding autumn, the volunteer captains, with their flying parties, made ten or twelve expeditions, in which they killed and captured two hundred and thirty of the enemy, took fifty muskets, and brought in one hundred and sixty bushels of their corn. They drove all the Narraganset Indians, excepting those of Ninnigret, out of their country.

The Assembly of Connecticut raised three hundred and fifty men, who were to be a standing army, to defend the country,

and harass the enemy. Major John Talcot was appointed to the chief command. Early in June, he marched from Norwich, with two hundred and fifty soldiers, and two hundred Mohegan and Pequod Indians, into the Wabaquasset country ; but found it entirely deserted. On the 5th of June, the army under his command marched to Chanagongum, in the Nipmuck country, where they killed nineteen Indians, and took thirty-three prisoners ; and thence marched by Quabaog to Northampton. On the 12th of June, four days after their arrival at Northampton, about seven hundred Indians made a furious attack upon Hadley ; but Major Talcot, with his gallant soldiers, soon appeared for the relief of the garrison, and drove off the enemy.

On the 3d of July, the same troops, on their march towards Narraganset, surprised the main body of the enemy, by the side of a large cedar swamp, and attacked them so suddenly, that a considerable number of them were killed and taken on the spot. Others escaped to the swamp, and were immediately surrounded by the English, who, after an action of two or three hours, killed and took one hundred and seventy of the enemy. Shortly afterwards, they killed and captured sixty-seven, near Providence and Warwick. About the 5th of July, they returned to Connecticut, and, on their way, took sixty prisoners.

The enemy, thus pursued, and hunted from one lurking place to another, straitened for provisions, and debilitated by hunger and disease, became divided, scattered, and disheartened. In July and August, they began to come in, and to surrender themselves to the mercy of their conquerors. Philip, who had fled to the Mohawks, having provoked that warlike nation, had been obliged to abandon their country, and was now, with a large body of Indians, lurking about Mount Hope. The Massachusetts and Plymouth soldiers were vigilant and intrepid, in pursuit of him ; and, on the 2d of August, Captain Church, with about thirty English soldiers, and twenty friendly Indians, surprised him in his quarters ; killed about one hundred and thirty of his men ; and took his wife and son prisoners : but Philip escaped.

About ten days after this surprise, an Indian deserter brought information to Captain Church, that Philip was at Mount Hope Neck, and offered to guide him to the place, and help to kill







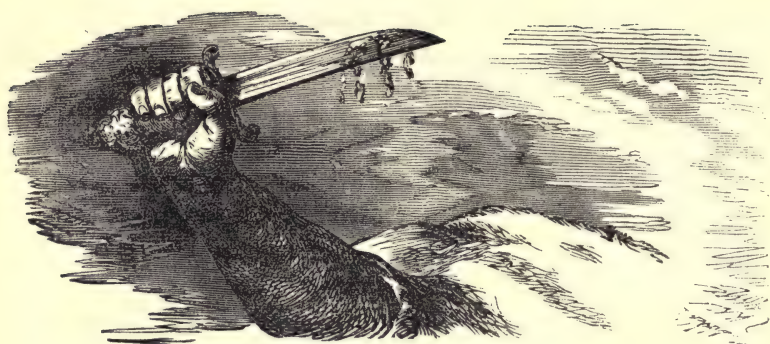
DEATH OF KING PHILIP.

him. Church instantly set out, in pursuit of him, with a small company of English and Indians. On his arrival at the swamp, he made a disposition of his men, at proper stations, so as to form an ambuscade, putting an Englishman and an Indian together, behind coverts. These commenced a fire on the enemy's shelter, which was on the margin of the swamp. It was open, in the Indian manner, on the side next to the swamp, to favour a sudden flight. Philip, at the instant of the fire from the English, seizing his gun, fled towards the thickets; but ran in a direction towards an English soldier and an Indian, who were at the station assigned them by Captain Church. The Englishman snapped his gun; but it missed fire. He then bade the Indian fire; and he instantly shot him dead.

The death of Philip was the signal of complete victory. The Indians, in all the neighbouring country, now generally submitted to the English, or fled, and incorporated themselves with distant and strange nations. In this short but tremendous war, about six hundred of the inhabitants of New England were either killed in battle, or murdered by the Indians. Twelve or thirteen towns were entirely destroyed, and about six hundred buildings, chiefly dwelling-houses, were burnt. In addition to these calamities, the colonies contracted an enormous debt, while, by the loss of their substance, from the ravages of the enemy, their resources were essentially diminished.

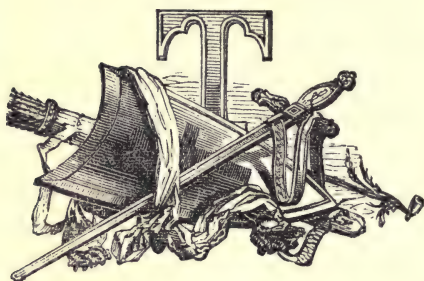
The fall of Philip was then considered as the extinction of a virulent and implacable enemy. It is now viewed as the fall of a great warrior and a penetrating statesman. It then excited universal joy and congratulation, as a prelude to the close of a merciless war. It now awakens sober reflections, on the instability of empire, the peculiar destiny of the aboriginal race, and the inscrutable decrees of Heaven. The patriotism of the man was then overlooked, in the cruelty of the savage; and little allowance was made for the natural jealousy of the sovereign, on account of the barbarities of the warrior. Philip, in the progress of the English settlements, foresaw the loss of his territory, and the extinction of his tribe; and made one mighty effort to prevent these calamities. He fell; and his fall contributed to the rise of the United States. Joy for this event should be blended with regret for his misfortunes, and respect for his patriotism and talents.





## CHAPTER V.

### THE TUSCARORA AND YEMASSEE WARS.



THE settlers of the Carolinas and Georgia were exposed to the hostility of powerful tribes of Indians, who were not quieted without much difficulty and great loss of life. In the year 1712, after Governor Craven had assumed the management of the colony of the Carolinas, a dangerous conspiracy was formed by the Indians of North Carolina against the poor settlers in that quarter. The cause of the quarrel we have not been able clearly to find out; probably they were offended at the encroachments made on their hunting lands. The powerful tribe of Indians called Tuscaroras, and several more, united, and determined to murder or expel the European invaders. As usual, they carried on their bloody design with amazing cunning and profound secrecy. Their chief town they had, in the first place, surrounded with a wooden breast-work, for the security of their own families. Here the different tribes met



together to the number of 1200 bowmen, and formed their horrid plot. From this place of rendezvous they sent out small parties, who entered the settlements, under the mask of friendship, by different roads. At the change of the full moon all of them had agreed to begin their murderous operations, on the same night. When that night came, they entered the planters' houses, demanded provisions, and murdered men, women, and children, without mercy or distinction. To prevent the alarm spreading through the settlement, they ran from house to house, sending slaughter among the scattered families wherever they went. None of the colonists, during the fatal night, knew what had befallen their neighbours, until the barbarians had reached their own doors. About Roanoke 137 settlers fell a sacrifice to their savage fury the first night; among whom were a Swiss baron, and almost all the poor Palatines who had lately come into the country. Some, however, who had hid themselves in the woods, having escaped, next morning gave the alarm to their neighbours, and prevented the total destruction of that colony. Every family had orders speedily to assemble at one place, and the militia, under arms, kept watch day and night around them, until the news of the sad disaster reached the province of South Carolina.

Happy was it for the distressed North Carolinians that Governor Craven lost no time in collecting and despatching a force to their assistance and relief. The Assembly voted 4000*l*. for the service of the war. A body of militia, consisting of 600 men, under the command of Colonel Barnwell, marched against the savages. Two hundred and eighteen Cherokees, under the command of Captains Harford and Turstons; 79 Creeks, under Captain Hastings; 41 Catabaws, under Captain Cantey; and 28 Yemassees, under Captain Pierce, being furnished with arms, joined the Carolinians in this expedition. The way was dreadful, at this time, in the wilderness through which Colonel Barnwell had to march. It was not possible for his men to carry a sufficient quantity of provisions, together with arms and ammunition, along with them, or to have these things provided at different stages by the way. There was no road through the woods upon which either horses or carriages could conveniently pass; and his little army had every kind of hardship

and danger to encounter. In spite of every difficulty, Barnwell, however, advanced against them, employing his Indian allies to hunt provisions for his men by the way. At length, having come up with the savages, he attacked them, and being much better supplied with arms and ammunition than his enemy, he did great execution among them. In the first battle he killed 300 Indians, and took about 100 prisoners. After which the Tuscaroras retreated to their town, within a wooden breast-work; there Barnwell surrounded them, and having killed a considerable number, forced the remainder to sue for peace: some of his men being wounded, and others having suffered much by constant watching, and much hunger and fatigue, the savages the more easily obtained their request. In this expedition it was computed that Barnwell killed, wounded, and captured near 1000 Tuscaroras. The remainder, who escaped, soon after this heavy chastisement, abandoned their country, and joined a northern tribe of Indians on the Ohio river. Of Barnwell's party five Carolinians were killed, and several wounded: of his Indians, 36 were killed, and between 60 and 70 wounded. In justice to this officer it must be owned, never had any expedition against the savages in Carolina been attended with such hazards and difficulties, nor had the conquest of any tribe of them ever been more general and complete.

In the year 1715, another Indian confederacy threatened to exterminate the colonists of Carolina. The numerous and powerful tribe of Indians called Yemassees, probably at the instigation of the Spaniards at Augustine, were the most active in promoting this conspiracy against the settlement, though every tribe around was more or less concerned in it. The Yemassees possessed a large territory lying backward from Port-royal island, on the north-east side of Savannah river, which is called Indian Land. By the Carolinians this tribe had long been esteemed as friends and allies, who had admitted a number of traders into their towns, and several times assisted the settlers in their warlike enterprises. Of all other Indians they were believed to harbour in their minds the most irreconcilable enmity to Spaniards. For many years they had been accustomed to make incursions into the Spanish territories, and to wage war with the Indians within their bounds. In their return



from these southern expeditions, it had been a common practice with them to lurk in the woods round Augustine, until they surprised some Spanish prisoners, on whom they exercised the most wanton barbarities; sometimes cutting them to pieces slowly, joint by joint, with knives and tomahawks; at other times burying them up to the neck under ground, then standing at a distance, and marking at their heads with their pointed arrows; and, at other times, binding them to a tree, and piercing the tenderest parts of their bodies with sharp-pointed sticks of burning wood, which last, because the most painful and excruciating method of torture, was the most common among them.

To prevent such barbarities, the legislature of Carolina passed a law, offering a reward of 5*l*. for every Spanish prisoner these Indians should bring alive to Charleston; which law, though it evidently proceeded from motives of humanity, yet, in the event, it proved very inconsistent with good policy: for, in consequence of this act, the Yemassees brought several Spaniards, at different times, to Charleston, where they claimed the reward for their prisoners, and delivered them up to the governor. Charles Craven, who was no less distinguished for humanity than valour, used to send back such prisoners to Augustine, charging the Spanish government with the expenses of their passage, and the reward to the Yemassees.

For twelve months before the war broke out, the traders among the Yemassees observed that their chief warriors went frequently to Augustine, and returned loaded with presents; but were not apprehensive of any ill consequence from such generosity. John Fraser, an honest Scotch Highlander, who lived among the Yemassees and traded with them, had often heard these warriors tell with what kindness they had been treated at Augustine. One had received a hat, another a jacket, and a third a coat, all trimmed with silver lace. Some got hatchets, others great knives, and almost all of them guns and ammunition, to prepare them for striking some great and important blow. These warriors told Fraser, that they had dined with the governor at Augustine, and washed his face (a ceremony used by Indians as a token of friendship), and that now the Spanish governor was their king, and not the governor of



Carolina. Still, however, the Carolinians remained secure, and, having such confidence in the Indians, dreaded no ill consequences from this new intercourse. They knew the antipathy of the Yemassee to the Spaniards, and their fondness for presents, but suspected no plot against the settlement by their allies.

While the time drew nigh in which this plot was to be put in execution, Captain Nairn, agent for Indians affairs, and many traders, resided at Pocotaligo, the largest town belonging to the Yemassee. Fraser, probably either discrediting what he had heard, or from the hurry and confusion which the alarm occasioned, unfortunately had not taken time to communicate the intelligence he had received to his friends, who remained in a state of false security in the midst of their enemies. The case of the scattered settlers on the frontiers was equally lamentable, who were living under no suspicions of danger. However, on the day before the Yemassee began their bloody operations, Captain Nairn and some of the traders observing an unusual gloom on their savage countenances, and apparently great agitations of spirit, which to them prognosticated approaching mischief, went to their chief men, begging to know the cause of their uneasiness, and promising, if any injury had been done them, to give them satisfaction. The chiefs replied, they had no complaints to make against any one, but intended to go hunting, early the next morning. Captain Nairn accordingly went to sleep, and the traders retired to their huts, and passed the night in seeming friendship and tranquillity. But next morning, about the break of day, being the 15th day of April, 1715, all were alarmed with the cries of war. The leaders were all out under arms, calling upon their followers, and proclaiming aloud designs of vengeance. The young men flew to their arms, and, in a few hours, massacred above 90 persons in Pocotaligo town and the neighbouring plantations; and many more must have fallen a sacrifice on Port-royal Island, had they not been warned of their danger. Mr. Burrows, a captain of the militia, after receiving two wounds, by swimming one mile and running ten, escaped to Port-royal and alarmed the town. A vessel happening fortunately to be in the harbour, the inhabitants in great hurry repaired on board, and sailed for Charleston; only a few families

of planters on that island, not having timely notice, fell into their hands, some of whom they murdered, and others they made prisoners of war.

While the Yemassee, with whom the Creeks and Apalachians had joined, were advancing against the southern frontiers, and spreading desolation and slaughter through the province; the Indians on the northern borders also came down among the settlements in formidable parties. The Carolinians had foolishly entertained hopes of the friendship of the Congarees, the Catawbas, and Cherokees; but they soon found that they had also joined in the conspiracy, and declared for war. It was computed that the southern division of the enemy consisted of above 6000 bowmen, and the northern of between 600 and 1000. Indeed every Indian tribe, from Florida to Cape Fear river, had joined in this confederacy for the destruction of the settlement. The planters scattered here and there had no time to gather together in a body, sufficiently strong to withstand such numbers; but each consulting his safety, in great hurry and consternation fled to the capital. Every one who came in brought the governor different accounts of the number and strength of the savages, insomuch that even the inhabitants of Charleston were doubtful of their safety, and entertained the most discouraging apprehensions of their inability to repel a force so great and formidable. In the muster-roll there were no more than 1200 men fit to bear arms, but as the town had several forts into which the inhabitants might retreat, the governor, with this small force, resolved to march into the woods against the enemy. He proclaimed martial law, and laid an embargo on all ships, to prevent either men or provisions from leaving the country. He obtained an act of Assembly, empowering him to impress men, and seize arms, ammunition, and stores, wherever they were to be found, to arm such trusty negroes as might be serviceable at a juncture so critical, and to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour. Agents were sent to Virginia and England to solicit assistance; bills were stamped for the payment of the army, and other necessary expenses; Robert Daniel was appointed deputy-governor in town, and Charles Craven, at the head of the militia, marched to the country against the largest body of savages.



In the mean time, the Indians on the northern quarter had made an inroad as far as a plantation belonging to John Hearne, about 50 miles from town, and entered his house in a seemingly peaceable and friendly manner; but afterwards pretending to be displeased with the provisions given them, murdered him and every person in it. Thomas Barker, a captain of militia, having intelligence of the approach of these Indians, collected a party, consisting of 90 horsemen, and advanced against them; but by the treachery of an Indian, whom he unluckily trusted, he was led into a dangerous ambuscade in a thicket, where a large party of Indians lay concealed on the ground. Barker having advanced into the middle of them before he was aware of his danger, the Indians sprung from their concealments, and fired upon his men on every side. The captain and several more fell at the first onset, and the remainder in confusion were obliged to retreat. After this advantage, a party of 400 Indians came down as far as Goose Creek. Every family there had fled to town, except in one place, where 70 white men and 40 negroes had surrounded themselves with a breast-work, and resolved to remain and defend themselves in the best manner they could. When the Indians attacked them they were discouraged, and rashly agreed to terms of peace; and, having admitted the enemy within their works, this poor garrison were barbarously butchered: after which the Indians advanced still nigher to town; but at length meeting with Captain Chicken and the whole Goose Creek militia, they were repulsed, and obliged to retreat into the wilderness.

By this time the Yemassees, with their confederates, had spread destruction through the parish of St. Bartholomew, and advancing downwards as far as Stono, they burned the church at that place, together with every house on the plantations by the way. John Cochran, his wife, and four children; Mr. Bray, his wife, and two children; and six more men and women, having found some friends among them, were spared for some days; but, while attempting to make their escape from them, they were retaken and put to death. Such as had no friends among them were tortured in the most shocking manner, the Indians seeming to neglect their progress towards conquest on purpose to assist in tormenting their enemies. We forbear to



mention the various tortures inflicted on such as fell into their merciless fangs: none can be pleased with the relation of such horrid cruelties, but the man who, with a smile of satisfaction, can be the spectator of a Spanish *auto de fe*, or such savage hearts as are steeled against every emotion of humanity and compassion.

By this time Governor Craven, being no stranger to the ferocious temper of his enemies, and their horrid cruelty to prisoners, was advancing against them by slow and cautious steps, always keeping the strictest guard round his army. He knew well under what advantages they fought among their native thickets, and the various wiles and stratagems they made use of in conducting their wars; and therefore was watchful above all things against sudden surprises, which might throw his followers into disorder, and defeat the end of his enterprise. The fate of the whole province depended on the success of his arms, and his men had no other alternative left but to conquer or die a painful death. As he advanced the straggling parties fled before him, until he reached Saltcatchers, where they had pitched their great camp. Here a sharp and bloody battle ensued from behind trees and bushes, the Indians hooping, hallooing, and giving way one while, and then again and again returning with double fury to the charge. But the governor, notwithstanding their superior number, drove them before him like a flock of wolves. He expelled them from their settlement at Indian-land, pursued them over Savannah river, and rid the province entirely of this formidable tribe of savages. What number of his army he lost, or of the enemy he killed, we have not been able particularly to learn; but in this Indian war near 400 innocent inhabitants of Carolina were murdered by these wild barbarians.



KING WILLIAM III.



## CHAPTER VI.

### KING WILLIAM'S WAR.

THE contest usually called King William's War was the result of various causes, but sprung chiefly from the base treatment of the Baron de St. Castine by Sir Edmund Andross. The lands from Penobscot to Nova Scotia had been ceded to the French, by the treaty of Breda, in exchange for the island of St. Christopher. On these lands the Baron de St. Castine had for many years resided, and carried on a large trade with the Indians, with whom he was intimately connected; having several of their women, beside a daughter of the sachem Mado-kawando, for his wives. The lands which had been granted by the crown of England to the Duke of York (at that time King James the Second) interfered with Castine's plantation, as the

duke claimed to the river St. Croix. A fort had been built by his order at Pemaquid, and a garrison stationed there to prevent any intrusion on his property. In 1686, a ship, belonging to Pascataqua landed some wines at Penobscot, supposing it to be within the French territory. Palmer and West, the duke's agents at Pemaquid, went and seized the wines; but by the influence of the French ambassador in England, an order was obtained for the restoration of them. Hereupon a new line was run, which took Castine's plantation into the duke's territory. In the spring of 1688, Andross went in the *Rose* frigate, and plundered Castine's house and fort, leaving only the ornaments of his chapel to console him for the loss of his arms and goods. This base action provoked Castine to excite the Indians to a new war, pretences for which were not wanting on their part. They complained that the tribute of corn which had been promised by the treaty of 1678 had been withheld; that the fishery of the river Saco had been obstructed by seines; that their standing corn had been devoured by cattle belonging to the English; that their lands at Pemaquid had been patented without their consent; and that they had been fraudulently dealt with in trade. Some of these complaints were doubtless well grounded; but none of them were ever inquired into or redressed.

They began to make reprisals at North Yarmouth by killing cattle. Justice Blackman ordered sixteen of them to be seized and kept under guard at Falmouth; but others continued to rob and capture the inhabitants. Andross, who pretended to treat the Indians with mildness, commanded those whom Blackman had seized to be set at liberty. But this mildness had not the desired effect; the Indians kept their prisoners, and murdered some of them in their barbarous sports. Andross then changed his measures, and thought to frighten them with an army of 700 men, which he led into their country in the month of November. The rigour of the season proved fatal to some of his men; but he never saw an Indian in his whole march. The enemy were quiet during the winter.

After the revolution in England, the gentlemen who assumed the government strove to prevent the renewal of hostilities. They sent messengers and presents to several



tribes of Indians, who answered them with fair promises; but their prejudice against the English was too inveterate to be allayed by such means as these. (1689.)

Thirteen years had almost elapsed since the seizure of the 400 Indians, at Cochecho, by Major Waldron; during all which time an inextinguishable thirst of revenge had been cherished among them, which never till now found opportunity for gratification. Wonolanset, one of the sachems of Penacook, who was dismissed with his people at the time of the seizure, always observed his father's dying charge, not to quarrel with the English; but Hagkins, another sachem, who had been treated with neglect by Cranfield, was more ready to listen to the seducing invitations of Castine's emissaries. Some of those Indians, who were then seized and sold into slavery abroad, had found their way home, and could not rest till they had their revenge. Accordingly a confederacy being formed between the tribes of Penacook and Pigwacket, and the strange Indians (as they were called) who were incorporated with them, it was determined to surprise the major and his neighbours, among whom they had all this time been peaceably conversant.

In that part of the town of Dover which lies about the first falls in the river Cochecho, were five garrisoned houses; three on the north side, called respectively, Waldron, Otis, and Heard; and two on the south side, Peter Coffin's and his son's. These houses were surrounded with timber walls, the gates of which, as well as the house doors, were secured with bolts and bars. The neighbouring families retired to these houses by night; but by an unaccountable negligence, no watch was kept. The Indians, who were daily passing through the town, visiting and trading with the inhabitants, as usual in time of peace, viewed their situation with an attentive eye. Some hints of a mischievous design had been given out by their squaws; but in such dark and ambiguous terms, that no one could comprehend their meaning. Some of the people were uneasy; but Waldron, who, from a long course of experience, was intimately acquainted with the Indians, and on other occasions had been ready enough to suspect them, was now so thoroughly secure, that when some of the people hinted their fears to him, he merely bad them to go and plant their pumpkins, saying that he would tell them

when the Indians would break out. The very evening before the mischief was done, being told by a young man that the town was full of Indians, and the people were much concerned; he answered that he knew the Indians very well, and there was no danger.

The plan which the Indians had preconcerted was, that two squaws should go to each of the garrisoned houses in the evening, and ask leave to lodge by the fire; that in the night when the people were asleep they should open the doors and gates, and give the signal by a whistle, upon which the strange Indians, who were to be within hearing, should rush in, and take their long-meditated revenge. This plan being ripe for execution, on the evening of Thursday the 27th of June, two squaws applied to each of the garrisons for lodging, as they frequently did in time of peace. They were admitted into all but the younger Coffin's, and the people, at their request, showed them how to open the doors, in case they should have occasion to go out in the night. Mesandowit, one of their chiefs, went to Waldron's garrison, and was kindly entertained, as he had often been before. The squaws told the major, that a number of Indians were coming to trade with him the next day, and Mesandowit, while at supper, with his usual familiarity, said, "Brother Waldron, what would you do if the strange Indians should come?" The major carelessly answered, that he could assemble 100 men, by lifting up his finger. In this unsuspected confidence the family retired to rest.

When all was quiet, the gates were opened and the signal given. The Indians entered, set a guard at the door, and rushed into the major's apartment, which was an inner room. Awakened by the noise, he jumped out of bed, and though now advanced in life to the age of eighty years, he retained so much vigour as to drive them with his sword through two or three doors, but as he was returning for his other arms, they came behind him, stunned him with a hatchet, and drew him into his hall, where they mutilated and killed him. They also killed his son-in-law, Abraham Lee; but took his daughter, Lee, with several others, and having pillaged the house, left it on fire. Otis's garrison, which was next to the major's, met with the same fate; he was killed, with several others, and his wife and



child were captured. Heard's was saved by the barking of a dog just as the Indians were entering: Elder Wentworth, who was awakened by the noise, pushed them out, and falling on his back, set his feet against the gate and held it till he had alarmed the people; two balls were fired through it, but both missed him. Coffin's house was surprised, but as the Indians had no particular enmity to him, they spared his life, and the lives of his family, and contented themselves with pillaging the house. Finding a bag of money, they made him throw it by handfuls on the floor, while they amused themselves in scrambling for it. They then went to the house of his son, who would not admit the squaws in the evening, and summoned him to surrender, promising him quarter: he declined their offer, and determined to defend his house, till they brought out his father and threatened to kill him before his eyes; filial affection then overcame his resolution, and he surrendered. They put both families together into a deserted house, intending to reserve them for prisoners; but while the Indians were busy in plundering, they all escaped. Twenty-three people were killed in this surprisal, and twenty-nine were captured; five or six houses with the mills were burned; and so expeditious were the Indians in the execution of their plot, that before the people could be collected from the other parts of the town to oppose them, they fled with their prisoners and booty. As they passed by Heard's garrison in their retreat, they fired upon it, but the people being prepared and resolved to defend it, and the enemy being in haste, it was preserved.

The same day, after the mischief was done, a letter from Secretary Addington, written by order of the government, directed to Major Waldron, giving him notice of the intention of the Indians to surprise him under pretence of trade, fell into the hands of his son. This design was communicated to Governor Bradstreet by Major Henchman, of Chelmsford, who had learned it of the Indians. The letter was despatched from Boston, the day before, by Mr. Weare; but some delay which he met with at Newbury ferry, prevented its arrival in season. The prisoners taken at this time were mostly carried to Canada, and sold to the French; and these, so far as can be learned, were the first that ever were carried thither.



The necessity of vigorous measures was now so pressing, that parties were immediately despatched, one under Captain Noyes, to Penacook, where they destroyed the corn, but the Indians escaped; another from Pascataqua, under Captain Wincal, to Winnipiseogee, whither the Indians had retired, as John Church, who had been taken at Cochecho, and escaped from them, reported: one or two Indians were killed there, and their corn cut down. But these excursions proved of small service, as the Indians had little to lose, and could find a home wherever they could find game and fish.

In the month of August, Major Swaine, with seven or eight companies raised by the Massachusetts government, marched to the eastward; and Major Church, with another party, consisting of English and Indians, from the Colony of Plymouth, soon followed them. While these forces were on their march, the Indians, who lay in the woods about Oyster river, observed how many men belonged to Hucking's garrison; and seeing them all go out one morning to work, nimbly ran between them and the house, and killed them all, being in number eighteen, except one who had passed the brook. They then attacked the house, in which were only two boys, one of whom was lame, with some women and children. The boys kept them off for some time, and wounded several of them. At length the Indians set the house on fire, and even then the boys would not surrender till they had promised them to spare their lives. They perfidiously murdered three or four of the children; one of them was set on a sharp stake, in the view of its distressed mother, who, with the other women and the boys, were carried captive. One of the boys escaped the next day. Captain Garner, with his company, pursued the enemy, but did not come up with them.

The Massachusetts and Plymouth companies proceeded to the eastward, settled garrisons in convenient places, and had some skirmishes with the enemy at Casco and Blue Point. On their return, Major Swaine sent a party of the Indian auxiliaries under Lieutenant Flagg toward Winnipiseogee to make discoveries. These Indians held a consultation in their own language; and having persuaded their lieutenant, with two men, to return, nineteen of them tarried out eleven days longer;

in which time they found the enemy, stayed with them two nights, and informed them of everything which they desired to know; upon which the enemy retired to their inaccessible deserts, and the forces returned without finding them, and in November were disbanded.

Nothing was more welcome to the distressed inhabitants of the frontiers than the approach of winter, as they then expected a respite from their sufferings. The deep snows and cold weather were commonly a good security against an attack from the Indians; but when resolutely set on mischief, and instigated by popish enthusiasm, no obstacles could prevent the execution of their purposes.

(1690.) The Count of Frontenac, now governor of Canada, was fond of distinguishing himself by enterprises against the American subjects of King William, with whom his master was at war in Europe. For this purpose he detached three parties of French and Indians from Canada in the winter, who were to take three different routes into the English territories. One of these parties marched from Montreal, and destroyed Schenectada, a Dutch village, on the Mohawk river, in the province of New York. This action, which happened at an unusual time of the year, in the month of February, alarmed the whole country. On the 18th day of March, another party, which came from Trois Rivières, under the command of the Sieur Hertel, an officer of great repute in Canada, found their way to Salmon Falls, a settlement on the river which divides New Hampshire from the province of Maine. This party consisted of fifty-two men, of whom twenty-five were Indians under Hoophood, a noted warrior. They began the attack at day-break, in three different places. The people were surprised; but flew to arms, and defended themselves in the garrisoned houses, with a bravery which the enemy themselves applauded. But as, in all such onsets, the assailants have the greatest advantage, so they here proved too strong for the defendants; about thirty of the bravest were killed, and the rest surrendered at discretion, to the number of fifty-four, of whom the greater part were women and children. After plundering, the enemy burned the houses, mills, and barns, with the cattle, which were within doors, and then retreated into the woods,

whither they were pursued by about one hundred and forty men, suddenly collected from the neighbouring towns, who came up with them in the afternoon, at a narrow bridge on Wooster's river. Hertel, expecting a pursuit, had posted his men advantageously on the opposite bank. The pursuers advanced with great intrepidity, and a warm engagement ensued, which lasted till night, when they retired with the loss of four or five killed; the enemy, by their own account, lost two, one of whom was Hertel's nephew; his son was wounded in the knee; another Frenchman was taken prisoner, who was so tenderly treated that he embraced the protestant faith and remained in the country. Hertel, on his way homeward, met with a third party who had marched from Quebec, and joining his company to them, attacked and destroyed the fort and settlement at Casco, the next May. Thus the three expeditions planned by Count Frontenac proved successful; but the glory of them was much tarnished by acts of cruelty, which Christians should be ashamed to countenance, though perpetrated by savages.

After the destruction of Casco the eastern settlements were all deserted, and the people retired to the fort of Wells. The Indians then came up westward, and a party of them under Hoophood some time in May made an assault on Fox Point, in Newington, where they burned several houses, killed about fourteen people, and carried away six. They were pursued by the Captains Floyd and Greenleaf, who came up with them and recovered some of the captives and spoil, after a skirmish in which Hoophood was wounded and lost his gun. This fellow was soon after killed by a party of Canada Indians, who mistook him for one of the Iroquois, with whom they were at war. On the 4th day of July, eight persons were killed as they were mowing in a field near Lamprey river, and a lad was captured. The next day they attacked Captain Hilton's garrison at Exeter, which was relieved by Lieutenant Bancroft with the loss of a few of his men; one of them, Simon Stone, received nine wounds with shot, and two strokes of a hatchet; when his friends came to bury him, they perceived life in him, and by the application of cordials he revived, to the amazement of all.



Two companies under the Captains Floyd and Wiswal were now scouting, and on the 6th day of July discovered an Indian track, which they pursued till they came up with the enemy at Wheelwright's Pond (in Lee), where a bloody engagement ensued for some hours, in which Wiswal, his lieutenant, Flagg, and Sergeant Walker, with twelve more, were killed, and several wounded. It was not known how many of the enemy fell, as they always carried off their dead. Floyd maintained the fight after Wiswal's death, till his men, fatigued and wounded, drew off, which obliged him to follow. The enemy retreated at the same time; for when Captain Convers went to look after the wounded, he found seven alive, whom he brought in by sunrise the next morning, and then returned to bury the dead. The enemy then went westward, and in the course of one week killed, between Lamprey river and Almsbury, not less than forty people.

The cruelties exercised upon the captives in this war exceeded, both in number and degree, any in former times. The most healthy and vigorous of them were sold in Canada, the weaker were sacrificed and scalped; and for every scalp they had a premium. Two instances only are remembered of their releasing any without a ransom: one was a woman taken from Fox Point, who obtained her liberty by procuring them some of the necessaries of life; the other was at York, where, after they had taken many of the people, they restored two aged women and five children, in return for a generous action of Major Church, who had spared the lives of as many women and children when they fell into his hands at Amariscoggin.

The people of New England now looked on Canada as the source of their troubles, and formed a design to reduce it to subjection to the crown of England. The enterprise was bold and hazardous; but had their ability been equal to the ardour of their patriotism, it might probably have been accomplished. Straining every nerve, they equipped an armament in some degree equal to the service. What was wanting in military and naval discipline, was made up in resolution; and the command was given to Sir William Phipps, an honest man, and a friend to his country, but by no means qualified for such an enterprise. Unavoidable accidents retarded the expedition, so

THE CAPTIVE WOMAN.







that the fleet did not arrive before Quebec till October, when it was more than time to return. It being impossible to continue there to any purpose, and the troops growing sickly and discouraged, after some ineffectual parade, they abandoned the enterprise.

This disappointment was severely felt. The equipment of the fleet and army required a supply of money which could not readily be collected, and occasioned a paper currency, which has often been drawn into precedent on like occasions, and has proved a fatal source of the most complicated and extensive mischief. The people were almost dispirited with the prospect of poverty and ruin. In this melancholy state of the country, it was a happy circumstance that the Indians voluntarily came in with a flag of truce, and desired a cessation of hostilities. (1691.) A conference being held at Sagadahock, they brought in ten captives, and settled a truce till the 1st day of May, which they observed till the 9th of June, when they attacked Storer's garrison, at Wells, but were bravely repulsed. About the same time they killed two men at Exeter, and on the 29th of September, a party of them came from the eastward in canoes to Sandy Beach, Rye, where they killed and captured twenty-one persons. Captain Sherburne, of Portsmouth, a worthy officer, was this year killed at Macquoit.

The next winter, 1692, the country being alarmed with the destruction of York, some new regulations were made for the general defence. Major Elisha Hutchinson was appointed commander in chief of the militia, by whose prudent conduct the frontiers were well guarded, and so constant a communication was kept up, by ranging parties, from one post to another, that it became impossible for the enemy to attack in their usual way by surprise. The good effect of this regulation was presently seen. A young man being in the woods near Cochecho, was fired at by some Indians. Lieutenant Wilson immediately went out with eighteen men; and finding the Indians, killed or wounded the whole party excepting one. This struck them with terror, and kept them quiet the remainder of the winter and spring. But on the 10th day of June, an army of French and Indians made a furious attack on Storer's garrison at Wells, where Captain Convers commanded; who after a brave and

resolute defence, was so happy as to drive them off with great loss.

Sir William Phipps, being now governor of Massachusetts, continued the same method of defence, keeping out continual scouts under brave and experienced officers. This kept the Indians so quiet, that except one poor family which they took at Oyster river, and some small mischief at Quaboag, there is no mention of any destruction made by them during the year 1693. Their animosity against New England was not quelled; but they needed time to recruit; some of their principal men were in captivity, and they could not hope to redeem them without a peace. To obtain it, they came into the Fort at Pemaquid; and there entered into a solemn covenant, wherein they acknowledged subjection to the crown of England; engaged to abandon the French interest; promised perpetual peace; to forbear private revenge; to restore all captives, and even went so far as to deliver hostages for the due performance of their engagements. This peace, or rather truce, gave both sides a respite, which both earnestly desired.

The people of New Hampshire were much reduced, their lumber trade and husbandry being greatly impeded by the war. Frequent complaints were made of the burden of the war, the scarcity of provisions, and the dispiritedness of the people. Once, it is said, in the council minutes, that they were even ready to quit the province. The governor was obliged to impress men to guard the outposts: they were sometimes dismissed for want of provisions, and then the garrison officers called to account and severely punished: yet all this time the public debt did not exceed 400*l*. In this situation they were obliged to apply to their neighbours for assistance; but this was granted with a sparing hand. The people of Massachusetts were much divided and at variance among themselves, both on account of the new charter which they had received from King William, and the pretended witchcrafts which have made so loud a noise in the world.

(1694.) The engagements made by the Indians in the treaty of Pemaquid, might have been performed if they had been left to their own choice. But the French missionaries had been for some years very assiduous in propagating their tenets among

them, one of which was, "that to break faith with heretics was no sin." The *Sieur de Villieu*, who had distinguished himself in the defence of Quebec when Phipps was before it, and had contracted a strong antipathy to the New Englanders, being now in command of Penobscot, he, with M. Thury, the missionary, diverted Madokawando and the other sachems from complying with their engagements; so that pretences were found for detaining the English captives, who were more in number, and of more consequence, than the hostages whom the Indians had given. Influenced by the same pernicious councils, they kept a watchful eye on the frontier towns, to see what place was most secure and might be attacked to the greatest advantage. The settlement at Oyster river, within the town of Dover, was pitched upon as the most likely place; and it is said that the design of surprising it was publicly talked of at Quebec two months before it was put in execution. Rumours of Indians lurking in the woods thereabout, made some of the people apprehend danger; but no mischief being attempted, they imagined them to be hunting parties, and returned to their security. At length, the necessary preparations being made, Villieu, with a body of 250 Indians, collected from the tribes of St. John, Penobscot, and Norridgewog, attended by a French priest, marched for the devoted place.

Oyster river is a stream which runs into the western branch of Pascataqua; the settlements were on both sides of it, and the houses chiefly near the water. Here were twelve garrisoned houses, sufficient for the defence of the inhabitants; but apprehending no danger, some families remained at their own unfortified houses, and those who were in the garrisons were but indifferently provided for defence, some being even destitute of powder. The enemy approached the place undiscovered, and halted near the falls on Tuesday evening, the 17th of July. Here they formed into two divisions, one of which was to go on each side of the river and plant themselves in ambush, in small parties, near every house, so as to be ready for the attack at the rising of the sun, the first gun to be the signal. John Dean, whose house stood by the saw-mill at the falls, intending to go from home very early, arose before the dawn of day, and was shot as he came out of his door. This disconcerted their



plan: several parties who had some distance to go, had not then arrived at their stations: the people in general were immediately alarmed: some of them had time to make their escape, and others to prepare for their defence. The signal being given, the attack began in all parts where the enemy was ready.

Of the twelve garrisoned houses five were destroyed, viz. Adams's, Drew's, Edgerly's, Medar's, and Beard's. They entered Adams's without resistance, where they killed fourteen persons. The grave is still to be seen in which they were all buried. Drew surrendered his garrison on the promise of security, but was murdered when he fell into their hands; one of his children, a boy of nine years old, was made to run through a lane of Indians as a mark for them to throw their hatchet at, till they had despatched him. Edgerly's was evacuated; the people took to their boat, and one of them was mortally wounded before they got out of reach of the enemy's shot. Beard's and Medar's were also evacuated, and the people escaped. The defenceless houses were nearly all set on fire, the inhabitants being either killed or taken in them, or else in endeavouring to fly to the garrisons. Some escaped by hiding in the bushes and other secret places.

The other seven garrisons, viz. Burnham's, Bickford's, Smith's, Bunker's, Davids's, Jones's, and Woodman's, were resolutely and successfully defended. At Burnham's the gate was left open: the Indians, ten in number, who were appointed to surprise it, were asleep under the bank of the river, at the time that the alarm was given. A man within, who had been kept awake by the toothache, hearing the first gun, roused the people and secured the gate, just as the Indians who were awakened by the same noise were entering. Finding themselves disappointed, they ran to Pitman's defenceless house, and forced the door at the moment that he had burst a way through that end of the house which was next to the garrison, to which he and his family, taking advantage of the shade of some trees, it being moonlight, happily escaped. Still defeated, they attacked the house of John Davis, which after some resistance he surrendered on terms; but the terms were violated, and the whole family either killed or made captives. Thomas

Bickford preserved his house in a singular manner. It was situated near the river, and surrounded with a palisade. Being alarmed before the enemy had reached the house, he sent off his family in a boat, and then shutting his gate, betook himself alone to the defence of his fortress. Despising alike the promises and threats by which the Indians would have persuaded him to surrender, he kept up a constant fire at them, changing his dress as often as he could, showing himself with a different cap, hat, or coat, and sometimes without either, and giving directions aloud as if he had a number of men with him. Finding their attempt vain, the enemy withdrew, and left him sole master of the house which he had defended with such admirable address.

Those parties of the enemy who were on the south side of the river, having completed their destructive work, collected in a field adjoining Burnham's garrison, where they insultingly showed their prisoners, and derided the people, thinking themselves out of reach of their shot. A young man from the sentry-box fired at one who was making some indecent signs of defiance, and wounded him in the heel. Both divisions then met at the Falls, where they had parted the evening before, and proceeded together to Captain Woodman's garrison. The ground being uneven, they approached without danger, and from behind a hill kept up a long and severe fire at the hats and caps which the people within held up on sticks above the walls, without any other damage than galling the roof of the house. At length, apprehending that it was time for the people in the neighbouring settlements to be collected in pursuit of them, they finally withdrew; having killed and captured between ninety and a hundred persons, and burned about twenty houses, of which five were garrisons. The main body of them retreated over Winnipiseogee lake, where they divided their prisoners, separating those in particular who were most intimately connected, in which they often took a pleasure suited to their savage nature.

About forty of the enemy, under Toxus, a Norridgewog chief, resolving on farther mischief, went westward and did execution as far as Groton. A smaller party having crossed the river Pascataqua, came to a farm where Ursula Cutts, widow of the

deceased president, resided, who, imagining the enemy had done what mischief they intended for that time, could not be persuaded to remove into town till her haymaking should be finished. As she was in the field with her labourers, the enemy fired from an ambush and killed her, with three others. Colonel Richard Waldron and his wife with her infant son (afterward secretary), had almost shared the same fate; they were taking boat to go and dine with this lady, when they were stopped by the arrival of some friends at their house; while at dinner they were informed of her death. She lived about two miles above the town of Portsmouth, and had laid out her farm with much elegance. The scalps taken in this whole expedition were carried to Canada by Madokawando, and presented to Count Frontenac, from whom he received the reward of his treacherous adventure.

There is no mention of any more mischief by the Indians within this province till the next year, 1695, when, in the month of July, two men were killed at Exeter. The following year, 1696, on the 7th of May, John Church, who had been taken and escaped from them seven years before, was killed and scalped at Cochecho, near his own house. On the 26th of June, an attack was made at Portsmouth plains, about two miles from the town. The enemy came from York-nubble to Sandy-beach in canoes, which they hid there among the bushes near the shore. Some suspicion was formed the day before by reason of the cattle running out of the woods at Little-harbour; but false alarms were frequent, and this was not much regarded. Early in the morning the attack was made at five houses at once; fourteen persons were killed on the spot, one was scalped and left for dead, but recovered, and four were taken. The enemy having plundered the houses of what they could carry, set them on fire, and made a precipitate retreat through the great swamp. A company of militia under Captain Shackford and Lieutenant Libbey pursued, and discovered them cooking their breakfast, at a place ever since called Breakfast-hill. The Indians were on the farther side, having placed their captives between themselves and the top of the hill, that in case of an attack they might first receive the fire. The lieutenant urged to go round the hill, and come upon them below to cut off their



retreat; but the captain, fearing in that case, that they would, according to their custom, kill the prisoners, rushed upon them from the top of the hill, by which means they retook the captives and plunder, but the Indians rolling down the hill escaped into the swamp and got to their canoes. Another party, under another commander, was then sent out in shallops to intercept them as they should cross over to the eastward by night. The captain ranged his boats in a line, and ordered his men to reserve their fire till he gave the watchword. It being a calm night, the Indians were heard as they advanced; but the captain, unhappily giving the word before they had come within gun-shot, they tacked about to the southward, and going round the Isles of Shoals, by the favour of their light canoes escaped. The watchword was Crambo, which the captain ever after bore as an appendage to his title. On the 26th day of July, the people of Dover were waylaid as they were returning from public worship, when three were killed, three wounded, and three carried to Penobscot, from whence they soon found their way home.

The next year, 1697, on the 10th of June, the town of Exeter was remarkably preserved from destruction. A body of the enemy had placed themselves near the town, intending to make an assault in the morning of the next day. A number of women and children, contrary to the advice of their friends, went into the fields, without a guard, to gather strawberries. When they were gone, some persons, to frighten them, fired an alarm; which quickly spread through the town, and brought the people together in arms. The Indians, supposing that they were discovered, and quickened by fear, after killing one, wounding another, and taking a child, made a hasty retreat, and were seen no more there. But on the 4th day of July they waylaid and killed the worthy Major Frost at Kittery.

The same year an invasion of the country was projected by the French. A fleet was to sail from France to Newfoundland, and thence to Penobscot, where, being joined by an army from Canada, an attempt was to be made on Boston, and the sea coast ravaged from thence to Pascataqua. The plan was too extensive and complicated to be executed in one summer. The fleet came no further than Newfoundland; when the advanced sea-

son, and scantiness of provisions, obliged them to give over the design. The people of New England were apprised of the danger, and made the best preparations in their power. They strengthened their fortifications on the coast, and raised a body of men to defend the frontiers against the Indians, who were expected to co-operate with the French. Some mischief was done by lurking parties at the eastward; but New Hampshire was unmolested by them during the remainder of this and the whole of the following year.

After the peace of Ryswick, 1698, Count Frontenac informed the Indians that he could not any longer support them in a war with the English, with whom his nation was now at peace. He therefore advised them to bury the hatchet, and restore their captives. Having suffered much by famine, and being divided in their opinions about prosecuting the war, after a long time they were brought to a treaty, 1699, at Casco, where they ratified their former engagements; acknowledged subjection to the crown of England; lamented their former perfidy, and promised future peace and good behaviour in such terms as the commissioners dictated, and with as much sincerity as could be expected. At the same time they restored those captives who were able to travel from the places of their detention to Casco in that unfavourable season of the year; giving assurance for the return of the others in the spring; but many of the younger sort, both males and females, were detained; who, mingling with the Indians, contributed to a succession of enemies in future wars against their own country.





QUEEN ANNE.

## CHAPTER VII.

### QUEEN ANNE'S WAR.



THE peace which followed the treaty of Ryswick, was but of short duration, for the seeds of war were ready sown both in Europe and America. Louis had proclaimed the pretender king of England, and his governor, Villebon, had orders to extend his province of Acadia to the river Kennebeck, though the English court understood St. Croix to be the boundary between their territories and those of the French. The fishery was interrupted by French men of war, and by the orders of Villebon, who suffered no English vessels to fish on the banks of Nova Scotia. A French mission was established, and a chapel erected at Norridgewog, on the upper part of Kennebeck, which served to extend the influence of the French among the Indians. The governor of Canada, assuming the character of their father



and protector, instigated them to prevent the settlement of the English to the east of Kennebeck, and found some among them ready to listen to his advice. The people in those parts were apprehensive of danger and meditating a removal, and those who had entertained thoughts of settling there were restrained.

Things were in this posture when Dudley entered on his government. He had particular orders from England to rebuild the fort at Pemaquid; but could not prevail on the Massachusetts Assembly to bear the expense of it. However, he determined on a visit to the eastern country, and having notified his intention to the Indians, took with him a number of gentlemen of both provinces, 1703, and held a conference at Casco with delegates from the tribes of Norridgewog, Penobscot, Pigwacket, Penacook, and Amariscoggin, who assured him that "as high as the sun was above the earth, so far distant was their design of making the least breach of the peace." They presented him a belt of wampum in token of their sincerity, and both parties went to two heaps of stones, which had formerly been pitched, and called the "two brothers," where the friendship was further ratified by the addition of other stones. They also declared, that although the French emissaries among them had been endeavouring to break the union, yet it was "firm as a mountain, and should continue as long as the sun and moon." Notwithstanding these fair appearances, it was observed that when the Indians fired a salute, their guns were charged with shot; and it was suspected that they had then formed a design to seize the governor and his attendants, if a party which they expected from Canada, and which arrived two or three days after, had come in proper season to their assistance. However this might be, it is certain that in the space of six weeks, a body of French and Indians, 500 in number, having divided themselves into several parties, attacked all the settlements from Casco to Wells, and killed and took 130 people, burning and destroying all before them.

The next week, August 17th, a party of thirty Indians, under Captain Tom, killed five people at Hampton village; among whom was a widow Mussy, a noted speaker among the Friends, and much lamented by them; they also plundered two houses, but the people being alarmed, and pursuing them, they fled.

The country was now in terror and confusion. The women and children retired to the garrisons. The men went armed to their work, and posted sentinels in the fields. Troops of horse were quartered at Portsmouth and in the province of Maine. A scout of 360 men marched toward Pigwacket, and another to the Ossapy Pond, but made no discoveries. Alarms were frequent, and the whole frontier country, from Deerfield on the west, to Casco on the east, was kept in continual terror by small parties of the enemy.

In the fall, Colonel March, of Casco, made a visit to Pigwacket, where he killed six of the enemy and took six more; this encouraged the government to offer a bounty of 40*l.* for scalps.

As the winter came on, the frontier towns were ordered to provide a large number of snow shoes; and an expedition was planned in New Hampshire against the head quarters of the Indians. Major Winthrop Hilton and Captain John Gilman, of Exeter, Captain Chesley and Captain Davis, of Oyster river, marched with their companies on snow shoes into the woods, but returned without success. This is called in the council books, "an honourable service." Hilton received a gratuity of 12*l.*, and each of the captains 5*l.*

(1704.) With the return of spring there was a return of hostilities; for, notwithstanding the posting a few southern Indians in the garrison at Berwick, the enemy appeared at Oyster river, and shot Nathaniel Medar near his own field, and the next day killed Edward Taylor near Lamprey river, and captured his wife and son. These instances of mischief gave colour to a false alarm at Cochecho, where it was said they lay in wait for Colonel Waldron a whole day, but missing him by reason of his absence from home, took his servant maid as she went to a spring for water; and having examined her as to the state of the garrison, stunned her with a hatchet, but did not scalp her.

In May, Colonel Church, by Governor Dudley's order, having planned an expedition to the eastern shore, sailed from Boston with a number of transports, furnished with whaleboats for going up rivers. In his way he stopped at Pascataqua, where he was joined by a body of men under Major Hilton, who was

of eminent service to him in this expedition, which lasted the whole summer, and in which they destroyed the towns of Minas and Chiegnecto, and did considerable damage to the French and Indians at Penobscot and Passamaquoddy, and even insulted Port Royal. While they were at Mount Desart, Church learned from nine of his prisoners, that a body of 600 Indians were preparing for an attack on Casco and the head of Pascataqua river, and sent an express to Portsmouth, which obliged the people to be vigilant. No such great force as this appeared, but small parties kept hovering on the outskirts. At Oyster river they wounded William Tasker; and at Dover they laid in ambush for the people on their return from public worship, but happily missed their aim. They afterwards mortally wounded Mark Gyles at that place, and soon after killed several people in a field at Oyster river, whose names are not mentioned.

In the former wars, New Hampshire had received much assistance from their brethren of Massachusetts; but these now remonstrated to the governor that his other province did not bear their proportion of the charge for the common defence. The representatives of New Hampshire urged, in reply, the different circumstances of the two provinces, "most of the towns in Massachusetts being out of the reach of the enemy, and no otherwise affected by the war, than in the payment of their part of the expense, while this province was wholly a frontier by sea and land, and in equal danger with the county of York, in which four companies were stationed, and the inhabitants were abated their proportion of the public charges." They begged that twenty of the friendly Indians might be sent to scout on their borders, which request the governor complied with.

In the winter of 1705, Colonel Hilton with 270 men, including the 20 Indians, were sent to Norridgewog on snow shoes. They had a favourable season for their march, the snow being four feet deep. When they arrived there, finding no enemy to contend with, they burned the deserted wigwams and the chapel. The officers who went on this expedition complained that they had only the pay of private soldiers.

The late repairs of Fort William and Mary at Newcastle were always complained of as burdensome to the people, and a



representation thereof had been made to the queen, who instructed Dudley to press the assembly of Massachusetts to contribute to the expense; as the river belonged equally to both provinces. They urged in excuse that the fort was built at first at the sole charge of New Hampshire, to whom it properly belonged; that the whole expense of the repairs did not amount to what several of their towns singly paid towards the support of the war for one year; that all the trade and navigation of the river, on both sides, paid a duty toward maintaining that fortress; and that they had been at a great expense in protecting the frontiers of New Hampshire, and the parties who were employed in getting timber and masts for her majesty's service; while New Hampshire had never contributed anything to the support of the garrisons, forces, and guards by sea, which were of equal benefit to them as to Massachusetts. One thing which made New Hampshire more in favour with the queen was, that they had settled a salary on her governor, which the others never could be persuaded to do. The repairs of the fort, however, went on without their assistance, under the direction of Colonel Romer; and when they were completed, a petition was sent home for a supply of cannon, ammunition, and stores.

The next summer was chiefly spent in negotiating an exchange of prisoners; and Dudley had the address to protract the negotiation, under pretence of consulting with the other governments about a neutrality proposed by the governor of Canada, by which means the frontiers in general were kept tolerably quiet, although the enemy appeared once or twice in the town of Kittery. The line of pickets which enclosed the town of Portsmouth was repaired, and a nightly patrol established on the sea-shore, from Rendezvous Point to the bounds of Hampton, to prevent any surprise by sea; the coast being at this time infested by the enemy's privateers.

During this truce, the inhabitants of Kingston, who had left the place, were encouraged to petition for leave to return to their lands; which the court granted, on condition that they should build a fort in the centre of the town, lay out a parsonage, and settle a minister within three years. This last condition was rendered impracticable by the renewal of hostilities.

The governor of Canada had encouraged the Indians who inhabited the borders of New England to remove to Canada, where, being incorporated with the tribe of St. Francis, they have ever since remained. By this policy they became more firmly attached to the interests of the French, and were more easily despatched on their bloody business to the frontiers of New England, with which they were well acquainted. Dudley, who was generally apprised of their movements, and kept a vigilant eye upon them, apprehended a rupture in the winter; and gave orders, (1706,) for a circular scouting march, once a month, round the head of the towns from Kingston to Salmon falls; but the enemy did not appear till April; when a small party of them attacked the house of John Drew, at Oyster river, where they killed eight and wounded two. The garrison was near, but not a man in it; the women, however, seeing but death before them, fired an alarm, and then putting on hats, and loosening their hair, that they might appear like men, they fired so briskly, that the enemy, apprehending the people were alarmed, fled without burning or even plundering the house which they had attacked. John Wheeler, meeting this party, and mistaking them for friendly Indians, unhappily fell into their hands, and was killed, with his wife and two children. Four of his sons took refuge in a cave by the bank of the Little Bay, and though pursued by the Indians, escaped unhurt.

In July, Colonel Schuyler, from Albany, gave notice to Dudley that 270 of the enemy were on their march toward Pascatagua, of which he immediately informed the people, and ordered them to close garrison, and one half of the militia to be ready at a minute's warning. The first appearance of this body of the enemy was at Dunstable; from whence they proceeded to Amesbury and Kingston, where they killed some cattle. Hilton, with sixty-four men, marched from Exeter; but was obliged to return without meeting the enemy. The reason he gave to the council for returning so soon was the want of provision, there being none in readiness at the garrisons, notwithstanding a law lately enacted, enjoining every town to have stores ready, and deposited in the hands of their captains. For the same reason he had been obliged to discontinue a small

scout which he had for some time kept up. Hilton was so brave and active an officer that the enemy had marked him for destruction; and for this purpose a party of them kept lurking about his house, where they observed ten men to go out one morning with their scythes, and lay aside their arms to mow; they then crept between the men and their guns, and suddenly rushing on them, killed four, wounded one, and took three; two only of the whole number escaped. They missed the major for this time, and two of the prisoners escaped; but suffered much in their return, having nothing to subsist on for three weeks but lily roots and rinds of trees. After this they killed William Pearl, and took Nathaniel Tibbets at Dover. It was observed during this war that the enemy did more damage in small bodies than in larger, and by scattering along the frontiers kept the people in continual apprehension and alarm; and so very few of them were taken prisoners, that in computing the expense of the war it was judged that every Indian killed or taken cost the country a thousand pounds.

In the following winter, 1707, Hilton made another excursion to the eastward, and a shallop was sent to Casco with stores and provisions for his party, consisting of two hundred and twenty men. The winter being mild, and the weather unsettled, prevented their marching so far as they intended: cold dry weather, and deep snow, being most favourable to winter expeditions. However, they came on an Indian track near Black Point, and pursuing it, killed four, and took a squaw, who conducted them to a party of eighteen, whom they surprised as they lay asleep on a neck of land at break of day, and of whom they killed seventeen, and took the other. This was matter of triumph, considering the difficulty of finding their haunts. It is asserted, that on the very morning this affair happened, it was reported, with but little variation from the truth, at Portsmouth, though at the distance of sixty miles.

When Church went to Nova Scotia, he very earnestly solicited leave to make an attempt on Port Royal; but Dudley would not consent, and the reason he gave was, that he had written to the ministry in England, and expected orders and naval help to reduce the place. His enemies however assigned another reason for his refusal; which was that a clandestine



trade was carried on by his connivance, and to his emolument, with the French there. This report gained credit, and occasioned a loud call for justice. Those who were directly concerned in the illegal traffic, were prosecuted and fined; and the governor suffered much in his reputation. To wipe off these aspersions, he now determined to make an attack in earnest on Port Royal, even though no assistance should come from England. It was intended that an armament should be sent to America, and the commander was appointed; but the state of affairs in Europe prevented their coming.

Early in the spring the governor applied to the Assemblies of both his provinces, and to the colonies of Rhode Island and Connecticut, requesting them to raise one thousand men for the expedition. Connecticut declined; but the other three raised the whole number, who were disposed into two regiments, of which Colonel Wainwright commanded the one, and Colonel Hilton the other. They embarked at Nantasket in twenty-three transports, furnished with whaleboats, under convoy of the Deptford man-of-war, Captain Stuckley, and the province galley, Captain Southack. The chief command was given to Colonel March, who had behaved well in several scouts and rencounters with the Indians, but had never been tried in such service as this. They arrived before Port Royal in a few days, and after burning some houses, killing some cattle round the fort, and making some ineffectual attempts to bombard it, a jealousy and disagreement among the officers, and a misapprehension of the state of the fort and garrison, caused the army to break up and reembark in a disorderly manner. Some of the officers went to Boston for orders, some of the transports put in at Casco; a sloop, with Captain Chesley's company of 60 men, arrived at Portsmouth: Chesley suffered his men to disperse, but ordered them to return at the beat of the drum: being called to account for this conduct, he alleged that "general orders were given at Port Royal for every man to make the best of his way home." The governor, highly chagrined, and very angry, sent orders from Boston that if any more vessels arrived, the men should not be permitted to come on shore "on pain of death." After a while he ordered Chesley's company to be collected and reembarked, offering a pardon to those who

voluntarily returned, the rest to be severely punished. By the latter end of July they got on board, and with the rest of the army, returned to the place of action. At the landing, an ambuscade of Indians from among the sedge on the top of a seawall, greatly annoyed the troops. Major Walton, and Captain Chesley, being then on shore with the New Hampshire companies, pushed their men up the beach, flanked the enemy, and after an obstinate struggle, put them to flight. The command was now given to Wainwright, and the army put under the direction of three supervisors; but no means could inspire that union, firmness, and skill, which were necessary. By the last of August the whole affair was at an end, and the army returned sickly, fatigued, disheartened, and ashamed; but with no greater loss than sixteen killed, and as many wounded.

While this unfortunate expedition was in hand, the frontiers were kept in continual alarm. Two men were taken from Oyster river, and two more killed as they were driving a team between that place and Dover. Captain Sumersby pursued with his troop and recovered the contents of the cart. Stephen and Jacob Gilman, brothers, were ambushed between Exeter and Kingston; their horses were killed, but both of them escaped to the garrison. Kingston, being a new plantation, was much exposed, and was this summer weakened by the desertion of eight men. The remaining inhabitants complained to government, who ordered the captains of Exeter and Hampton to take them up as deserters, and oblige them to return to the defence of their settlements, or do duty at the fort during the governor's pleasure. They were afterwards bound over to the sessions for contempt of orders. The state of the country at this time was truly distressing; a large quota of their best men were abroad, the rest harassed by the enemy at home, obliged to continual duty in garrisons and in scouts, and subject to severe discipline for neglects. They earned their bread at the continual hazard of their lives, never daring to stir abroad unarmed; they could till no lands but what were within call of the garrisoned houses into which their families were crowded; their husbandry, lumber-trade, and fishery were declining, their taxes increasing, their apprehensions both from the force of the enemy and the failure of the Port Royal expedition were ex

ceedingly dismal, and there was no prospect of an end of the war, in which they were now advanced to the fifth summer. Yet under all these distresses and discouragements, they resolutely kept their ground and maintained their garrisons—not one of which was cut off during the whole of this war, within the limits of New Hampshire.

In September, one man was killed at Exeter, and two days after Henry Elkins at Kingston. But the severest blow on the frontiers happened at Oyster river, a place which suffered more than all the rest. A party of French Mohawks, painted red, attacked with a hideous yell a company who were in the woods, some hewing timber and others driving a team, under the direction of Captain Chesley, who was just returned the second time from Port Royal. At the first fire they killed seven and mortally wounded another. Chesley, with the few who were left, fired on the enemy with great vigour, and for some time checked their ardour; but being overpowered, he at length fell. He was much lamented, being a brave officer. Three of the scalps taken at this time were soon after recovered at Berwick.

The next year, 1708, a large army from Canada was destined against the frontiers of New England. Dudley received information of it in the usual route from Albany, and immediately ordered guards in the most exposed places of both his provinces. A troop under Captain Robert Coffin patrolled from Kingston to Cochecho, and scouts were kept out continually. Spy-boats were also kept out at sea between Pascataqua and Winter harbours. Four hundred Massachusetts soldiers were posted in this province. The towns were ordered to provide ammunition, and all things were in as good a state of preparation as could be expected. At length the storm fell on Haverhill; but the enemy's force having been diminished by various accidents, they proceeded no farther, and every part of New Hampshire was quiet. Hilton made another winter march to Pigwacket with 170 men, but made no discovery.

The next spring, 1709, William Moody, Samuel Stevens, and two sons of Jeremy Gilman, were taken at Pickpocket-mill in Exeter, and soon after Bartholomew Stevenson was killed at Oyster river. Colonel Hilton and Captain Davis performed their usual tour of duty in scouting, and the people this summer



kept close in garrison, on a report that two hundred Indians had marched against them from Montreal. But the principal object now in view was a desire of wiping off the disgrace of a former year, by an attempt, not on Port Royal, but on Canada itself. For this purpose solicitations had been made in England by Francis Nicholson, Esq., who had been Lieutenant-governor of Virginia, and Captain Samuel Vetch, a trader to Nova Scotia, who was well acquainted with the French settlements there, and made a full representation of the state of things in America to the British ministry. An expedition being determined upon, they came over early in the spring with the queen's command to the governors of the several provinces to raise men for the service. Vetch was appointed a colonel, and Nicholson, by nomination of the Governor of New York, and consent of the other governments, was made commander in chief. The people of New Hampshire were so much exhausted, and their men had been so ill paid before, that it was with great difficulty, and not without the dissolution of one assembly and the calling of another, that they could raise money to levy 100 men, and procure two transports for conveying them. After the utmost exertions had been made by the several governments, and Nicholson with part of the troops had marched to Wood creek, and the rest with the transports had lain at Nantasket three months waiting for a fleet, news arrived that the armament promised from England was diverted to another quarter. Upon which the commander of the frigates on the Boston station refused to convoy the troops, the whole army was disbanded, and the expense the colonies had been at was fruitless. A congress of governors and delegates from the assemblies met late in the year at Rhode Island, who recommended the sending home agents to assist Colonel Nicholson in representing the state of the country, and soliciting an expedition against Canada the next spring. The ministry at first seemed to listen to this proposal, but afterward (1710) changed their minds, and resolved only on the reduction of Port Royal. For this purpose Nicholson went over in July with five frigates and a bomb ketch; the colonies then had to raise their quotas; the New Hampshire assembly ordered 100 men, who were got ready as soon as possible, and put under the command of Colonel Shad-

rach Walton. The whole armament sailed from Boston the 18th of September, and on the 24th arrived at the place. The force now being equal to its reduction, Subcrease, the governor, waited only the compliment of a few shot and shells as a decent pretence for a surrender; which was completed on the 5th of October, and Vetch was appointed governor of the place, which in honour of the queen was called Annapolis.

While this expedition was in hand, and before the appointment of the commanders, New Hampshire sustained a heavy loss in the death of Col. Winthrop Hilton. This worthy officer being concerned in the masting business, and having several large trees felled about fourteen miles from home, went out with a party to peel the bark that the wood might not be injured by worms. While engaged in this business they were ambushed by a party of Indians, who at the first fire killed Hilton with two more, and took two; the rest being terrified, and their guns being wet, made no opposition, but escaped. The next day 100 men marched in pursuit, but discovered only the mangled bodies of the dead. The enemy in their barbarous triumph had struck their hatchets into the colonel's brains, and left a lance in his heart. He was a gentleman "of good temper, courage, and conduct, respected and lamented by all that knew him," and was buried with the honours due to his rank and character.

Flushed with this success, they insolently appeared in the open road at Exeter, and took four children who were at their play. They also took John Wedgwood, and killed John Magoon near his brother's barn, a place which for three days he had visited with a melancholy apprehension arising from a dream that he should there be murdered.

The same day that Hilton was killed, a company of Indians who had pretended friendship, and the year before had been peaceably conversant with the inhabitants of Kingston, and seemed to be thirsting after the blood of the enemy, came into the town, and ambushing the road, killed Samuel Winslow and Samuel Huntoon; they also took Philip Huntoon and Jacob Gilman, and carried them to Canada, where, after some time, they purchased their own redemption by building a saw-mill for the governor after the English mode.

The last that fell this summer was Jacob Garland, who was killed at Cochecho on his return from the public worship. As the winter approached, Colonel Walton, with 170 men, traversed the eastern shores, which the Indians usually visited at this season for the purpose of gathering clams. On an island where the party was encamped, several Indians, decoyed by their smoke, and mistaking them for some of their own tribe, came among them and were made prisoners. One of them was a sachem of Norridgewog, active, bold, and sullen; when he found himself in the hands of enemies he would answer none of their questions, and laughed with scorn at their threatening him with death. His wife being an eye-witness of the execution of the threatening, was so intimidated as to make the discoveries which the captors had in vain desired of the sachem; in consequence of which, three were taken at the place of which she informed, and two more at Saco river, where also five were killed. This success, inconsiderable as it may appear, kept up the spirits of the people, and added to the loss of the enemy, who were daily diminishing by sickness and famine.

In the spring, 1711, they renewed their ravages on the frontiers in small parties. Thomas Downs, John Church, and three more were killed at Cochecho; and on a sabbath-day several of the people there fell into an ambush as they were returning from public worship. John Horn was wounded, and Humphrey Foss was taken; but by the determined bravery of Lieutenant Heard, he was recovered out of the hands of the enemy. Walton with two companies marched to the ponds about the fishing season, but the Indians had withdrawn, and nothing was to be seen but their deserted wigwams.

After the reduction of Port Royal, Nicholson went to England to solicit an expedition against Canada. The tory ministry of Queen Anne, to the surprise of all the Whigs in England and America, fell in with the proposal; and on the 8th of June, Nicholson came to Boston with orders for the northern colonies to get ready their quotas of men and provision by the arrival of the fleet and army from Europe, which happened within sixteen days, and while the several governors were holding a consultation on the subject of their orders. A compliance with them in so short a time was impossible, yet, everything



that could be done was done; the nature of the service conspiring with the wishes of the people, made the governments exert themselves to the utmost. New Hampshire raised 100 men, which was more than they could well spare; one-half of the militia being continually employed in guarding the frontiers. They also voted them subsistence for 126 days, besides providing for them on shore before their embarkation. Two transports were taken up at 8*s.* per month per ton, and artillery stores were issued from the fort. The colony forces formed two regiments, under the command of Vetch and Walton. The army which came from England were seven veteran regiments of the Duke of Marlborough's army, and a battalion of marines under the command of Brigadier-General Hill, which, joined with the New England troops, made a body of about 6500 men, provided with a fine train of artillery. The fleet consisted of fifteen ships of war from eighty to thirty-six guns, with forty transports and six store-ships, under the command of Admiral Walker,—a force fully equal to the reduction of Quebec.

The fleet sailed from Boston on the 30th of July; and a fast was ordered by Dudley to be kept on the last Thursday of that, and each succeeding month, till the enterprise should be finished. This was an imitation of the conduct of the Long Parliament, during the civil wars in the previous century. But the sanguine hopes of success which had been entertained by the nation and the colonies, were all blasted in one fatal night; for, the fleet having advanced ten leagues into the river St. Lawrence, in the night of the 23d of August, the weather being thick and dark, eight transports were wrecked on Egg Island near the north shore, and 1000 people perished; of whom there was but one man who belonged to New England. The next day the fleet put back, and were eight days beating down the river against an easterly wind, which would in two days have carried them to Quebec. After collecting together at Spanish river in the island of Cape Breton, and holding a fruitless consultation about annoying the French at Placentia, the expedition was broken up; the fleet returned to England, and the New England troops to their homes. Loud complaints and heavy charges were made on this occasion; the ignorance of the pilots—the obstinacy of the admiral—the detention of



WRECK OF THE ENGLISH FLEET.

the fleet at Boston,—its late arrival there—the want of seasonable orders—and the secret intentions of the ministry, were all subjects of bitter altercation; but the miscarriage was never regularly inquired into, and the disasters of the voyage were finally completed by the blowing up of the admiral's ship, with most of his papers, and 400 seamen, at Spithead.

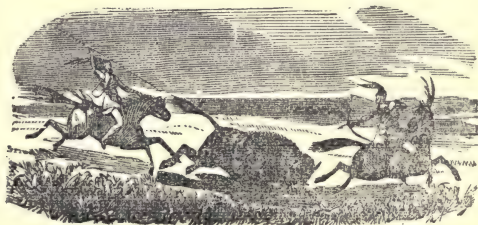
The failure of this expedition encouraged the Indians to harass the frontiers as soon as the season would permit. In April one Cunningham was killed at Exeter, Ensign Tuttle at Dover, and Jeremy Crommet at Oyster river; on one of the upper branches of this stream the enemy burned a saw-mill with a large quantity of boards. A scouting party who went up the river Merrimack, had the good fortune to surprise and kill eight Indians, and recover a considerable quantity of plunder, without the loss of a man. The frontiers were well guarded; one-half of the militia did duty at the garrisons, and were ready to march at a minute's warning; a scout of forty men kept ranging on the heads of the towns, and the like care was taken by sea—spy-boats being employed in coasting from Cape Neddock to the Great Boar's-head. Notwithstanding this vigilance, small parties of the enemy were frequently seen. Stephen



Gilman and Ebenezer Stevens were wounded at Kingston—the former was taken and put to death. In July, an ambush was discovered at Dover, but the enemy escaped; and while a party was gone in pursuit of them, two children of John Waldron were taken, and for want of time to scalp them, their heads were cut off. There being no man at that time in Heard's garrison, a woman, named Esther Jones, mounted guard, and with a commanding voice called so loudly and resolutely, as made the enemy think there was help at hand, and prevented farther mischief.

In autumn the news of the peace of Utrecht arrived in America; and on the 29th of October, the suspension of arms was proclaimed at Portsmouth. The Indians, being informed of this event, came in with a flag of truce to Captain Moody at Casco, and desired a treaty; which the governor, with the council of each province, 1713, held at Portsmouth, where the chiefs and deputies of the several belligerent tribes, by a formal writing under hand and seal, acknowledged their perfidy, promised fidelity, renewed their allegiance, submitted to the laws, and begged the queen's pardon for their former miscarriages. The frequent repetition of such engagements, and as frequent violations of them, had by this time much abated the sense of obligation on the one part, and of confidence on the other. But it being for the interest of both parties to be at peace, the event was peculiarly welcome.

To preserve the dependence of the Indians, and to prevent all occasions of complaint, private traffic with them was forbidden, and truck-houses established at the public expense; and the next summer, 1714, a ship was fitted out by both provinces, and sent to Quebec, where an exchange of prisoners was effected.







INDIAN SCOUT.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### LOVEWELL'S WAR.



THE fourth Indian war in which the people of New England were engaged, became generally known as "Lovewell's War," Captain John Lovewell being the chief actor in it upon the side of the whites. The French Jesuits had planted themselves among the eastern tribes, and had obtained great influence over them. They had one church at Penobscot, and another at Norridgewog, where Sebastian Ralle, a French Jesuit, resided. He was a man of good sense, learning, and address, and by a compliance with their mode of life, and a gentle, condescending deportment, had gained their affections so as to manage them at his pleasure. Knowing the power of superstition over the savage mind, he took advantage of this, and of their prejudice against the English, to promote the cause, and strengthen the interest of the French among them. He even made the offices of devotion serve as incentives to their ferocity, and kept a flag, in which

was depicted a cross, surrounded by bows and arrows, which he used to hoist on a pole, at the door of his church, when he gave them absolution, previously to their engaging in any war-like enterprise.

With this Jesuit, the governor of Canada held a close correspondence; and by him was informed of everything transacted among the Indians. By this means, their discontent with the English, on account of the settlements made at the eastward, was heightened and inflamed; and they received every encouragement, to assert their title to the lands in question, and molest the settlers, by killing their cattle, burning their stacks of hay, robbing and insulting them. These insolencies discouraged the people, and caused many of them to remove. (1720.) The garrisons were then reinforced; and scouting parties were ordered into the eastern quarter, under the command of Colonel Shadrach Walton. By this appearance of force, the Indians, who dreaded the power of the English, were restrained from open hostilities. They had frequent parleys with the commanders of forts, and with commissioners who visited them occasionally; and though at first they seemed to be resolute in demanding the removal of the English, declaring that "they had fought for the land three times, and would fight for it again;" yet when they were told that there was no alternative but perfect peace or open war, and that if they chose peace they must forbear every kind of insult, they seemed to prefer peace; and either pretended ignorance of what had been done, or promised to make inquiry into it; and as an evidence of their good intentions, offered a tribute of skins, and delivered up four of their young men as hostages. This proceeding was highly disrelished by the governor of Canada, who renewed his efforts to keep up the quarrel, and secretly promised to supply the Indians with arms and ammunition; though as it was a time of peace between the two crowns, he could not openly assist them.

The New England governments, though highly incensed, were not easily persuaded to consent to a war. The dispute was between the Indians and the proprietors of the eastern lands, in which the public were not directly interested. No blood had as yet been shed. Canseau had been surprised and plun-

dered, and some people killed there ; but that was in the government of Nova Scotia. Ralle was regarded as the principal instigator of the Indians ; and it was thought, that if he could be taken off, they would be quiet. It was once proposed to send the sheriff of York county, with a posse of 150 men, to seize and bring him to Boston ; but this was not agreed to. The next summer, 1721, Ralle, in company with Castine, from Penobscot, and Croisil, from Canada, appeared among the Indians, at a conference held on Arrowsic island, with Captain Penhallow, the commander of the garrison, and brought a letter, written in the name of the several tribes of Indians, directed to Governor Shute ; in which it was declared, "that if the English did not remove in three weeks, they would kill them and their cattle, and burn their houses." An additional guard was sent down ; but the government, loath to come to a rupture, and desirous, if possible, to treat with the Indians separately from the French emissaries, invited them to another conference, which they treated with neglect.

In the succeeding winter, a party under Colonel Thomas Westbrook was ordered to Norridgewog to seize Ralle. They arrived at the village undiscovered, but before they could surround his house, he escaped into the woods, leaving his papers in his strong box, which they brought off without doing any other damage. Among these papers were his letters of correspondence with the governor of Canada, by which it clearly appeared, that he was deeply engaged in exciting the Indians to a rupture, and had promised to assist them.

This attempt to seize their spiritual father, could not long be unrevenged. The next summer, 1722, they took nine families from Merrymeeting bay, and after dismissing some of the prisoners, retained enough to secure the redemption of their hostages, and sent them to Canada. About the same time they made an attempt on the Fort of St. George's ; but were repulsed with considerable loss. They also surprised some fishing vessels in the eastern harbours ; and at length made a furious attack on the town of Brunswick, which they destroyed. This action determined the government to issue a declaration of war against them, which was published in form at Boston and Portsmouth.

New Hampshire being seated in the bosom of Massachusetts,



had the same interest to serve, and bore a proportionable share of all these transactions and the expenses attending them. Walton, who first commanded the forces sent into the eastern parts, and Westbrooke, who succeeded him, as well as Penhalow, the commander of the Fort at Arrowsic, were New Hampshire men; the two former were of the council. A declaration of war being made, the enemy were expected on every part of the frontiers; and the Assembly were obliged to concert measures for their security, after an interval of peace for about ten years.

(1723.) The first appearance of the enemy in New Hampshire was at Dover, where they surprised and killed Joseph Ham, and took three of his children; the rest of the family escaped to the garrison. Soon after they waylaid the road, and killed Tristram Heard. Their next onset was at Lamprey river, where they killed Aaron Rawlins and one of his children, taking his wife and two children captive. This Aaron Rawlins (whose wife was a daughter of Edward Taylor, who was killed by the Indians in 1704) lived upon the plantation left by Taylor, about half a mile west from Lamprey river landing, at the lower Falls on Piscasick river.

The next spring, 1724, the Indians killed James Nock, one of the elders of the church, as he was returning on horseback from setting his beaver traps in the woods. Soon after they appeared at Kingston, where they took Peter Colcord and Ephraim Stevens, and two children of Ebenezer Stevens. They were pursued by scouts from Kingston and Londonderry, but in vain. Colcord made his escape in about six months, and received a gratuity of ten pounds from the Assembly, for his "courage and ingenuity, and for the account he gave of the proceedings of the enemy."

On a sabbath day they ambushed the road at Oyster river, and killed George Chesley, and mortally wounded Elizabeth Burnham, as they were returning together from public worship. In a few days more, five Indians took Thomas Smith and John Carr, at Chester, and after carrying them about thirty miles, bound them and lay down to sleep; the captives escaped, and in three days arrived safe at a garrison in Londonderry.

The settlements at Oyster river being very much exposed, a

company of volunteers under the command of Abraham Benwick, who went out on the encouragement offered by the government for scalps, were about marching to make discoveries. It happened that Moses Davis, and his son of the same name, being at work in their cornfield, went to a brook to drink, where they discovered three Indian packs. They immediately gave notice of this discovery to the volunteer company, and went before to guide them to the spot. The Indians had placed themselves in ambush; and the unhappy father and son were both killed. The company then fired, killed one, and wounded two others, who made their escape, though they were pursued and tracked by their blood to a considerable distance.

Within the town of Dover were many families of Quakers; who, scrupling the lawfulness of war, could not be persuaded to use any means for their defence, though equally exposed with their neighbours to an enemy who made no distinction between them. One of these people, Ebenezer Downs, was taken by the Indians, and was grossly insulted and abused by them, because he refused to dance as the other prisoners did, for the diversion of their savage captors. Another of them, John Hanson, who lived on the outside of the town in a remote situation, could not be persuaded to remove to a garrison, though he had a large family of children. A party of thirteen Indians, called French Mohawks, had marked his house for their prey; and lay several days in ambush, waiting for an opportunity to assault it. While Hanson with his eldest daughter were gone to attend the weekly meeting of Friends, and his two eldest sons were at work in a meadow at some distance, the Indians entered the house, killed and scalped two small children, and took his wife, with her infant of fourteen days old, her nurse, two daughters and a son, and after rifling the house carried them off. This was done so suddenly and secretly, that the first person who discovered it was the eldest daughter at her return from the meeting before her father. Seeing the two children dead at the door, she gave a shriek of distress, which was distinctly heard by her mother, then in the hands of the enemy among the bushes, and by her brothers in the meadow. The people being alarmed, went in pursuit; but the Indians, cautiously avoiding all paths, went off with their

captives undiscovered. They were all sold to the French in Canada. Hanson went the next spring and redeemed his wife, the three younger children and the nurse, but he could not obtain the elder daughter of seventeen years old, though he saw and conversed with her. He also redeemed Ebenezer Downs. He made a second attempt in 1727, but died at Crown-point on his way to Canada. The girl was married to a Frenchman, and never returned.

These and other insolencies of the enemy being daily perpetrated on the frontiers, caused the governments to resolve on an expedition to Norridgewog. The Captains Moulton and Harman, both of York, each at the head of a company of 100 men, executed their orders with great address. They completely invested and surprised that village—killed the obnoxious Jesuit, with about eighty of his Indians—recovered three captives—destroyed the chapel, and brought away the plate and furniture of the altar, and the devotional flag, as trophies of their victory. Ralle was then in the 68th year of his age, and had resided in his mission at Norridgewog 26 years, having before spent 6 years in travelling among the Indian nations, in the interior parts of America.

The parties of Indians who were abroad, continued to ravage the frontiers. Two men being missing from Dunstable, a scout of eleven went in quest of them; they were fired upon by thirty of the enemy, and nine of them were killed: the other two made their escape, though one of them was badly wounded. Afterwards another company fell into their ambush and engaged them, but the enemy being superior in number overpowered them, killed one and wounded four, the rest retreating. At Kingston, Jabez Colman, and his son Joseph, were killed as they were at work in their field. The success of the forces at Norridgewog, and the large premium offered for scalps, having induced several volunteer companies to go out, they visited one after another of the Indian villages, but found them deserted. The fate of Norridgewog had struck such terror into them, that they did not think themselves safe at any of their former places of abode, and occupied them as resting places only, when they were scouting or hunting.

One of these volunteer companies, under the command of



Captain John Lovewell, of Dunstable, was greatly distinguished, first by their success and afterwards by their misfortunes. This company consisted of thirty: at their first excursion to the northward of Winipiseogee lake, they discovered an Indian wigwam, in which there were a man and a boy. They killed and scalped the man, and brought the boy alive to Boston, where they received the reward promised by law, and a handsome gratuity besides.

By this success his company was augmented to seventy. They marched again, and visiting the place where they had killed the Indian, found his body as they had left it two months before. (1725.) Their provision falling short, thirty of them were dismissed by lot and returned. The remaining forty continued their march till they discovered a track, which they followed till they saw a smoke just before sunset, by which they judged that the enemy were encamped for the night. They kept themselves concealed till after midnight, when they silently advanced, and discovered ten Indians asleep round a fire by the side of a frozen pond. Lovewell now determined to make sure work, and placing his men conveniently, ordered part of them to fire, five at once, as quick after each other as possible, and another part to reserve their fire: he gave the signal by firing his own gun, which killed two of them; the men firing according to order, killed five more on the spot; the other three starting up from their sleep, two of them were immediately shot dead by the reserve; the other, though wounded, attempted to escape by crossing the pond, but was seized by a dog and held fast till they killed him. Thus in a few minutes the whole company was destroyed, and some attempt against the frontiers of New Hampshire prevented; for these Indians were marching from Canada, well furnished with new guns and plenty of ammunition; they had also a number of spare blankets, moccasins, and snow shoes for the accommodation of the prisoners, whom they expected to take, and were within two days' march of the frontiers. The pond where this exploit was performed is at the head of a branch of Salmonfall river, in the township of Wakefield, and has ever since borne the name of Lovewell's pond. The action was spoken of by elderly people, at a distance of time, with an air of exultation; and

considering the extreme difficulty of finding and attacking Indians in the woods, and the judicious manner in which they were so completely surprised, it was a capital exploit.

The brave company, with the ten scalps stretched on hoops, and elevated on poles, entered Dover in triumph, and proceeded thence to Boston; where they received the bounty of one hundred pounds for each, out of the public treasury.

Encouraged by this success, Lovewell marched a third time; intending to attack the villages of Pigwacket, on the upper part of the river Saco, which had been the residence of a formidable tribe, and which they still occasionally inhabited. His company at this time consisted of forty-six, including a chaplain and surgeon: two of them proving lame, returned: another falling sick, they halted, and built a stockade fort on the west side of great Ossapy pond; partly for the accommodation of the sick man, and partly for a place of retreat in case of any misfortune. Here the surgeon was left with the sick man, and eight of the company for a guard. The number was now reduced to thirty-four. Pursuing their march to the northward, they came to a pond, about twenty-two miles distant, in a line from the fort, and encamped by the side of it. Early the next morning, while at their devotions, they heard the report of a gun, and discovered a single Indian, standing on a point of land which runs into the pond, more than a mile distant. They had been alarmed the preceding night by noises round their camp, which they imagined were made by Indians, and this opinion was now strengthened. They suspected that the Indian was placed there to decoy them, and that a body of the enemy was in their front. A consultation being held, they determined to march forward, and by encompassing the pond, to gain the place where the Indian stood; and that they might be ready for action, they disencumbered themselves of their packs, and left them, without a guard, at the north-east end of the pond, in a pitch pine plain, where the trees were thin and the brakes, at that time of the year, small. It happened that Lovewell's march had crossed a carrying-place, by which two parties of Indians, consisting of forty-one men, commanded by Paugus and Wahwa, who had been scouting down Saco river, were returning to the lower village of Pigwacket, distant about

a mile and a half from this pond. Having fallen on Lovewell's track, they followed it till they came to the packs, which they removed; and counting them, found the number of his men to be less than their own: they therefore placed themselves in ambush, to attack them on their return. The Indian, who had stood on the point, and was returning to the village by another path, met our party, and received their fire, which he returned, and wounded Lovewell and another with small shot. Lieutenant Wyman, firing again, killed him, and they took his scalp. Seeing no other enemy, they returned to the place where they had left their packs, and while they were looking for them, the Indians rose, and ran toward them with a horrid yelling. A smart firing commenced on both sides, it being now about ten of the clock. Captain Lovewell and eight more were killed on the spot. Lieutenant Farwell, and two others, were wounded; several of the Indians fell; but, being superior in number, they endeavoured to surround the party, who, perceiving their intention, retreated—hoping to be sheltered by a point of rock which ran into the pond, and a few large pine trees standing on a sandy beach. In this forlorn place they took their station. On their right was the mouth of a brook, at that time unfordable; on their left was the rocky point; their front was partly covered by a deep bog, and partly uncovered, and the pond was in their rear. The enemy galled them in front and flank, and had them so completely in their power, that had they made a prudent use of their advantage, the whole company must either have been killed, or obliged to surrender at discretion—being destitute of a mouthful of sustenance, and an escape being impracticable. Under the conduct of Lieutenant Wyman they kept up their fire, and showed a resolute countenance, all the remainder of the day; during which their chaplain, Jonathan Frie, Ensign Robbins, and one more, were mortally wounded. The Indians invited them to surrender, by holding up ropes to them, and endeavoured to intimidate them by their hideous yells; but they determined to die rather than yield; and by their well-directed fire, the number of the savages was thinned, and their cries became fainter, till, just before night, they quitted their advantageous ground, carrying off their killed and wounded, and leaving the dead bodies of Love-



well and his men unscalped. The shattered remnant of this brave company, collecting themselves together, found three of their number unable to move from the spot, eleven wounded, but able to march, and nine who had received no hurt. It was melancholy to leave their dying companions behind, but there was no possibility of removing them. One of them, Ensign Robins, desired them to lay his gun by him charged, that if the Indians should return before his death, he might be able to kill one more. After the rising of the moon, they quitted the fatal spot, and directed their march toward the fort where the surgeon and guard had been left. To their great surprise they found it deserted. In the beginning of the action, one man (whose name has not been thought worthy to be transmitted to posterity) quitted the field, and fled to the fort; where, in the style of Job's messengers, he informed them of Lovewell's death, and the defeat of the whole company; upon which they made the best of their way home; leaving a quantity of bread and pork, which was a seasonable relief to the retreating survivors. From this place they endeavoured to get home. Lieutenant Farwell, the chaplain (who had the journal of the march in his pocket), and one more, perished in the woods, for want of dressing for their wounds. The others, after enduring the most severe hardships, came in one after another, and were not only received with joy, but were recompensed for their valour and sufferings; and a generous provision was made for the widows and children of the slain.

A party from the frontiers of New Hampshire were ordered out to bury the dead; but, by some mistake, did not reach the place of action. Colonel Tyng, with a company from Dunstable, went to the spot, and having found the bodies of twelve, buried them, and carved their names on the trees where the battle was fought. At a little distance he found three Indian graves, which he opened; one of the bodies was known to be their warrior Paugus. He also observed tracks of blood on the ground, to a great distance from the scene of action. It was remarked, that a week before this engagement happened, it had been reported in Portsmouth at the distance of eighty miles, with but little variation from the truth. Such incidents were not uncommon, and could scarcely deserve notice, if they did

not indicate that a taste for the marvellous was not extinguished in the minds of the most sober and rational.

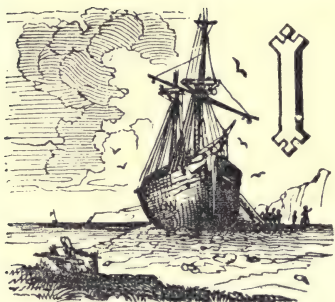
This was one of the most fierce and obstinate battles which had been fought with the Indians. They had not only the advantage of numbers, but of placing themselves in ambush, and waiting with deliberation the moment of attack. These circumstances gave them a degree of ardour and impetuosity. Lovewell and his men, though disappointed of meeting the enemy in their front, expected, and determined, to fight. The fall of their commander, and more than one quarter of their number, in the first onset, was greatly discouraging; but they knew that the situation to which they were reduced, and their distance from the frontiers, cut off all hope of safety from flight. In these circumstances, prudence as well as valour dictated a continuance of the engagement, and a refusal to surrender, until the enemy, awed by their brave resistance, and weakened by their own loss, yielded them the honour of the field. After this encounter the Indians resided no more at Pigwacket till the peace, which was concluded after long negotiations.





## CHAPTER IX.

THE FRENCH WAR OF 1745 TO 1748.

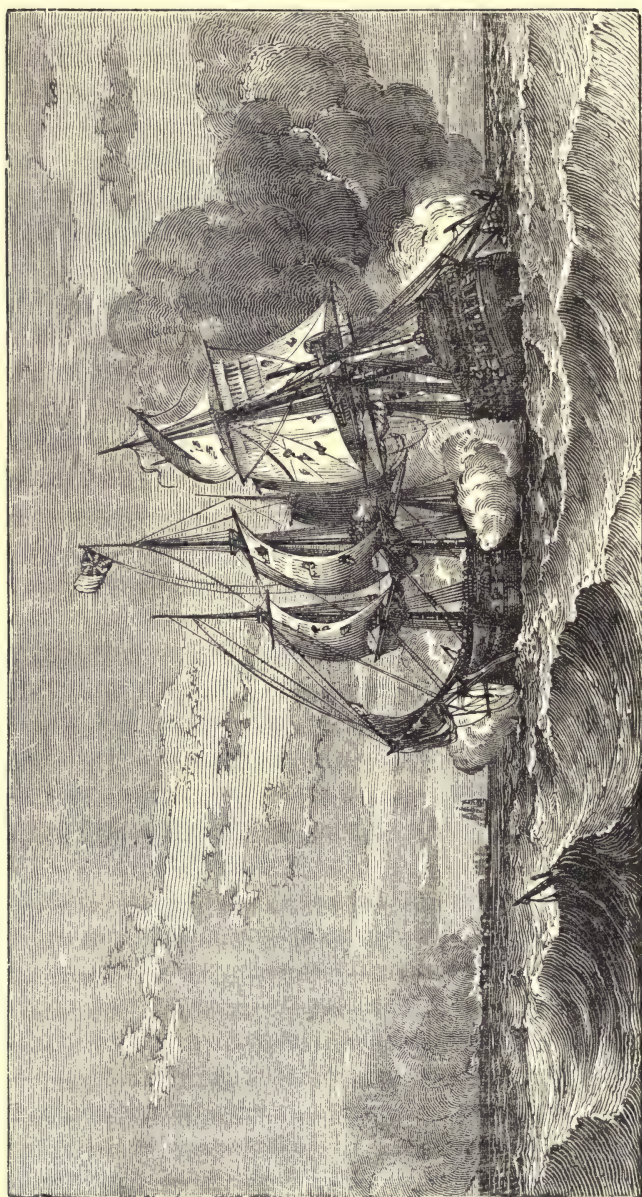


IT was the misfortune of the colonies, that, when the mother country became involved in war with the European powers, they were exposed to the attacks of active enemies, and yet were left to provide for their own defence. In 1744, a war which had been waged between Great Britain and Spain was extended to France, and of course, the contest brought the French and English colonies into conflict. An Indian war was a necessary consequence of a war with France. The scene of the opening of both was in Nova Scotia.

In the year 1745, a daring enterprise was projected against Louisbourg, a strong fortress belonging to the French, on the island of Cape Breton. This was proposed by Shirley, governor of Massachusetts, and approved of by the general court of that province. Louisbourg was the Dunkirk of North America. Five millions of dollars had been employed in its fortifications. It was of great importance to France, and also to England, me-







SEIGE OF LOUISBOURG—CAPTURE OF SHIP OFF THE PORT.

ditating, as both did, the extension of their American possessions. Upwards of five thousand men were raised in the New England colonies, and put under the command of William Pepperell, a respectable merchant in Massachusetts. This force arrived at Canso, early in April, 1745. A British marine force, from the West Indies, commanded by Commodore Warren, acted in concert with these land forces. The siege was conducted with such spirit and address, that on the 17th of June the fortress capitulated. The reduction of Louisbourg, by colonial troops, gave to European powers, enlarged ideas of the value of American possessions. The war henceforward became more important. Great projects occupied the attention of the belligerent powers. The recovery of Louisbourg, the reduction of Nova Scotia, the total devastation of the sea coast, and even the complete conquest of New England, were contemplated by France. With this view, a powerful fleet, and an army of three thousand men, under the command of Duke d'Anville, sailed, in 1746, for the American coast. There was no British fleet at hand, to resist this force. The distress of the colonies was great. Their apprehensions of danger were excited to a high pitch; when Providence wrought their deliverance. The French ships were visited by such an awful sickness, that thirteen hundred of their crews died at sea. Their whole fleet was dispersed by a violent tempest. Some of the ships were lost. Those which escaped returned singly to France. The whole expedition was defeated, without the firing of a single gun. Great Britain, not less sanguine, counted on the expulsion of the French from the continent of America; and that Canada, with the adjacent French possessions, would soon be British provinces. Preparations were made for executing these gigantic projects; but they came to nothing. No further important transaction took place in America, till the war ended, by the peace of Aix la Chapelle, in 1748. By this, it was stipulated, that all conquests, made during the war, should be restored. The British colonists had the mortification to see Louisbourg returned to its former owners, the French.





## CHAPTER X.

### THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR.

**T**HE treaty of Aix la Chapelle did not settle any of the points in dispute between France and England. It was a mere truce, during which each party gathered new strength for a more persevering contest. The boundaries of the British empire in North America, and the disputed property of Tobago and other islands in the West Indies, were left to be settled by the negotiation of commissaries,—a procedure in which it is easy for either party, by cunning and chicanery, to perplex the discussion, and indefinitely to protract its issue. This policy the French were fully prepared to pursue; and in unison with it, they pushed with redoubled vigour their system of territorial encroachment. Even previous to the appointment of commissaries on either side, and very soon after the conclusion of the peace, they attempted to make an establishment in Tobago; but, warned by the

violent expression of indignation which was provoked from the merchants of Britain by this measure, they receded from a pretension which seemed likely too soon to precipitate matters to an extremity, and, on the first complaint of the British government, consented to abandon the undertaking. Their conduct on this occasion, which admits of no cavil or disguise, justifies a presumption very unfavourable to their good faith in the other contemporary collisions and disputes, of which the merits, whether by artifice or accident; have been involved in greater doubt and obscurity. Eagerly resuming possession of Cape Breton, restored to them by the treaty of peace, the French speedily perceived that some of the advantages which they might hope to derive from this possession were likely to be counteracted by the establishment of the colonists despatched from Britain under Cornwallis to Nova Scotia; and though they had no pretence for disputing the legitimacy of this enterprise, they employed the most active endeavours to render it ineffectual. Their Indian allies attacked the English settlements in Nova Scotia; and, in the commencement of the year 1750, a band of two thousand five hundred French troops, detached by the governor of Canada, and reinforced by Indian auxiliaries, took possession of the whole tract of country from Chignecto, along the north side of the Bay of Fundy, to Kennebec river, which they declared to be still the property of the Most Christian King, and to which they invited all the French Neutrals, as they were called, to repair from the district confessedly ceded to Britain. Various skirmishes ensued between the forces of Cornwallis and the French and Indians; a number of forts were built, and some were taken and destroyed on both sides; but the French continued to maintain their position and fortify their interest. Cornwallis urgently solicited assistance from the government of Massachusetts, and would probably have obtained it, but for the absence of the popular and enterprising Shirley, who had repaired to Europe in order to act as one of the commissaries of Britain in the approaching discussions with France. Spencer Phipps, the lieutenant-governor, whose influence was not proportioned to his merit, recommended an expedition to Nova Scotia; but the Assembly declared that their own province was likely to need all its forces for its own protection.

They had just received intelligence of an encroachment on the territory of Massachusetts, by a settlement which the French were reported to have commenced on the river Lechock, about five leagues eastward of Penobscot; and Clinton, the governor of New York, had communicated to them the alarming tidings, that the French authorities in Canada were diligently endeavouring to seduce the Six Nations from the British interest, and had urged the New England governments to unite their counsels with his, in opposition to these dangerous intrigues. Thus, before the peace announced by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was fully established, the French engaged in measures which plainly tended to a renewal of the war.

New and more important subjects of dispute now arose. The extension of the Virginian settlements to the banks of the river Ohio, and especially the occupation of a part of this region by the English Ohio Company, were calculated to bring to a decisive test the long prevalent suspicion of the purpose of the French to render the line of forts which they had been erecting from Canada to Louisiana, subservient not merely to the communication between their own colonies, but to the confinement of the British settlements, and the obstruction of their advances into the interior of the country. Nor did the French hesitate a moment to afford unequivocal proof of their entire purpose, and to resist the first attempt of their rivals to overleap the boundaries within which they were resolved to enclose them. A menace of the governor of Canada, that he would treat as enemies any of the subjects of Britain who should settle near the Ohio, or presume even to trade with the Indian inhabitants of this region, having been disregarded, was promptly enforced by the seizure of a number of British traders, who were carried as prisoners to a fort which the French were erecting at Presque Isle, on Lake Erie. Other British traders, and servants of the Ohio Company, retreated in alarm from the stations which they had begun to occupy; and the French, perceiving that the critical juncture was come, when their ambitious system of policy, now plainly disclosed, must be either defended by force or completely abandoned, proceeded with augmented diligence to supply whatever was yet defective in its subsidiary arrangements and preparations. A fort was build at Niagara, within





ENGLISH TRADING WITH THE INDIANS.



the dominions of the Indian allies of Britain; and, in addition to the fort on Lake Erie, two others were built at commanding positions on the banks of the Ohio. Thus, at length, the French succeeded in completing their long-projected communication between the mouth of the Mississippi and the river St. Lawrence.

The English had established a trading-post upon the Miami, in the country of the tribe called Twightwees. Early in 1752, a party of French soldiers, who had been sent to guard the Ohio, hearing of this trading-post, came to the Twightwees and demanded the traders as unauthorized intruders upon French lands. The Indians refused to surrender their friends. The French then obtained the aid of the Ottawas and Chippewas, and attacked the station. After a severe conflict, in which fourteen of the natives were killed and others wounded, the post was carried and destroyed, and the traders taken to Canada as prisoners. Such was the fate of the first British settlement upon the Ohio, of which we have any record.

Blood had now been shed, and both parties became more determined to maintain their respective claims. On the 9th of June, 1752, a conference was held at Logstown, about 17 miles below Pittsburgh, upon the north side of the Ohio, between commissioners from Virginia and the Indians, for the settlement of all difficulties concerning the sale of the western lands. After some negotiation, the commissioners obtained the consent of the red men to a treaty very advantageous to the English. But the French knew how to manage the Indians, so as render the treaty a mere farce.

Having no satisfactory information in regard to the numbers and movements of the French forces upon the frontier, Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, determined to send a messenger to procure the desired knowledge. He selected Major George Washington (afterwards so illustrious), then twenty-one years of age, but distinguished for courage, fortitude, and discretion, and inured to the hardships of the wilderness. With Christopher Gist for his guide, Washington left Wills' Creek, where Cumberland now is, on the 15th of November, 1753, and on the 22d of the same month, reached the Monongahela, about ten miles above the fork. Thence he went to Logstown and



held a conference with the Indian chiefs of that neighbourhood. Finding that nothing could be done with these people, Washington left Logstown on the 30th of November, and travelling amid the severities of the season, reached Venango, an old Indian town at the mouth of French creek, on the 4th of the next month. Here he had an interview with the French, and in consequence of their arts, nearly lost those Indians who had accompanied him. Leaving Venango, the young messenger proceeded to the Fort at the head of French creek. Here he delivered Governor Dinwiddie's letter, received an answer, made accurate observations, and on the 16th, set out upon his return, having much difficulty in persuading his Indians to accompany him. From Venango, Washington and Gist went on foot, leaving their Indian friends with the French. During this return journey, the messenger and his guide had to contend with great difficulties and endure extreme hardships, in consequence of the character of the route, the uncertain disposition of the Indians, and the severity of the winter. In crossing the Alleghany



WASHINGTON CROSSING THE ALLEGHANY.

upon a raft, they were thrown into the water by the rushing of the loose ice, and made a narrow escape from drowning and from being frozen to death. In spite of all, however, they reached Will's creek on the 6th of January, safe and sound.\*

\* Perkins' Annals of the West.

A journal, in which Washington recorded the particulars of his journey and the fruits of his observation, was published soon after, and impressed his countrymen with a high respect for the solidity of his judgment, and the calm, determined fortitude of his character.

Governor Dinwiddie, finding that nothing was to be gained by amicable negotiation, projected the construction of forts at various places which had been surveyed and selected by Washington; and the Assembly agreeing to defray the expense of these operations, materials were procured and the works commenced without delay. Unfortunately, no means were taken to gain the consent of the natives to this measure, which accordingly served only to increase the jealousy and malevolence with which they had begun to regard the English. A regiment was raised at the same time by the Virginian government, and Washington, who was its lieutenant-colonel, marched with two companies, in advance of the main body, to the Great Meadows, situated within the disputed territory. [April, 1754.] Here he learned from some friendly Indians, that the French, with a force of six hundred men and eighteen pieces of cannon, having attacked and destroyed a fort which the Virginians had been erecting, were themselves engaged in completing another fort at the confluence of the Alleghany and Monongahela, one of the spots which was especially recommended in his own journal to the occupation of his countrymen; and that a detachment of French troops from this place was then on its march towards the Great Meadows, and had encamped for the night in the bosom of a retired valley at a short distance. Convinced that this was a hostile movement, Washington availed himself of the proffered guidance of the Indians, and, advancing with his troops on a dark and rainy night, effectually surprised the French encampment. The Virginians, rousing the enemy by a sudden discharge of firearms, completely disconcerted them by rushing forward to close attack, and compelled them instantly to surrender.

Washington, after this success, erected at the Great Meadows a small stockade fort, which received the name of Fort Necessity, and then advanced with his troops, which, by the accession of two companies, one from New York and the other from



North Carolina, now amounted to four hundred men, towards the new French fort, called Duquesne, with the intention of dislodging the enemy. But learning on his march that the French had been reinforced and were approaching with a great body of Indian auxiliaries to attack him, he retreated to Fort Necessity, and endeavoured to strengthen its defences by the construction of a ditch around the stockade. Before his operation was completed, the fort was attacked, on the 4th of July, by a very superior force, under the command of De Villiers. The garrison made a vigorous defence from ten in the morning till a late hour at night, when De Villiers having sounded a parley and tendered a capitulation, they at first refused, but finally consented, to surrender, or, more properly speaking, to evacuate the fort, on condition that they should be allowed to march out with the honours of war, to retain their arms and baggage, and to retire without molestation into the inhabited parts of Virginia,—and that the French themselves, instead of advancing farther at present, or even retaining the evacuated fort, should retreat to their previous station at Monongahela. Fifty-eight of the Virginians, and two hundred of the French, were killed and wounded in the encounter. Such a capitulation was by no means calculated either to damp the spirit of the Virginians or to depress the reputation of their commander. It was violated, however, with unscrupulous barbarity by the Indians who were united to the forces of De Villiers, and who, hovering round the Virginians during the whole of their retreat, harassed them with frequent attacks, and killed and wounded a considerable number of them. At the close of this unsuccessful expedition, the Virginian Assembly, with equal justice and magnanimity, expressed by a vote of thanks its approbation of the conduct of Washington and his troops.

Early in the spring of this year, and before the expedition from Virginia to the Great Meadows, the British ministers signified to the provincial governments the desire of the king that they should oppose the French encroachments by force of arms; together with a recommendation from his Majesty that they should send delegates to a general convention at Albany, both in order to form a league with the Six Nations, and to concert among themselves a plan of united operations



and defence against the common enemy. Seven of the colonies, consisting of Maryland, New York, Pennsylvania, and the New England States, agreed to comply with this recommendation; and the Assembly of Massachusetts at the same time (April 10, 1754) presented an address to Governor Shirley, desiring him "to pray his Majesty that affairs which relate to the Six Nations and their allies may be put under such general direction as his Majesty shall judge proper; and that the several governments may be *obliged* to bear their proportions of defending his Majesty's territories against the encroachments of the French and the ravages and incursions of the Indians." Shirley, sensible probably of the jealousy which any measure founded on this suggestion would provoke among the colonists in general, unless it originated with themselves, proposed to the governors of the several colonies, that the delegates elected to the convention should be authorized by their constituents to deliberate on a plan of united operation of all the States for their common safety and defence. Instructions to this effect were accordingly communicated to the delegates, who, assembling at Albany in the month of June, were met by a numerous deputation from the tribes of the Six Nations. After an explanatory and pacific treaty with the Indians, who very willingly accepted the presents that were tendered to them, but yet plainly betrayed by their negligent demeanour the success with which the French had intrigued to weaken their regard for the English,—the convention undertook the more important subject which was committed to its deliberations; and it was unanimously resolved that a union of the colonies was essential to the general safety, and ought to be forthwith accomplished. But here the unanimity of the delegates ended.

The British ministers, on receiving intelligence of the defeat of Washington, and of the establishment of French posts on the Ohio, perceived plainly that a war between France and England had begun. Even with a view to the speedy restoration of peace, it was expedient that they should exert more vigour and promptitude of hostility, and demonstrate more active and determined concern for the dignity of the British empire and the safety of its colonial adjuncts or dependencies. Finding that their complaints to the court of Versailles were answered only

by a repetition of former evasions, and learning that the French were making active preparation for the enlargement of their naval and military force in America, they determined to send a detachment of the standing army maintained in England, to the defence of the British possessions and pretensions in the same quarter. In conformity with this determination, and early in the following year (January, 1755), General Braddock was despatched from Ireland with two regiments of infantry commanded by Halket and Dunbar, which were destined to the service of America, and especially to the protection of the Virginian frontier. On the arrival of this armament at its destination, the provinces seemed to forget alike their disputes with each other and their jealousies of the parent state, and a vigorous offensive campaign against the French was projected. A convention of the provincial governors, at the request of the British commander, assembled at Annapolis, in Maryland, to settle the plan of military operations, and resolved that three simultaneous expeditions should be undertaken. The first, directed against Fort Duquesne, was to be conducted by Braddock with his British troops; the second, which was to attempt the reduction of the French fort at Niagara, was committed to the American regulars and Indians, commanded by Governor Shirley, who now received the rank of a British general from the king; and the third, an expedition against Crown Point, was to be undertaken by militia drawn from the northern colonies.

The French court, apprised of Braddock's departure for America, now made one more attempt to prolong the inactivity of the British government, by reiterating assurances of its pacific purposes and earnest desire of accommodation. But when the Marquis de Mirepoix, the ambassador of France at London, a truly honourable man, tendered these assurances, in full reliance on their truth, to the British ministers, they exhibited to him such incontestable proofs of the insincerity of his court, that he was struck with astonishment and mortification, and, repairing to Versailles, upbraided the ministers of Louis the Fifteenth with the indignity to which they had exposed him as the tool of their dissimulation. By them he was referred to the king, who commanded him to return to London with fresh

protestations of his royal intention to preserve peace; but the conduct of this monarch corresponded so ill with his professions, that his ambassador had scarcely obtained an audience to communicate them, when indubitable assurance was received that a powerful squadron was ready to sail for America from Brest and Rochefort. In effect, it sailed soon after, and transported a great quantity of military stores, and four thousand regular troops, commanded by the Baron Dieskau. Roused by this intelligence, the British government despatched a small fleet, under the command of Admiral Boscawen, and afterwards, on learning the superior strength of the enemy, a few more vessels under Admiral Holborne, to watch the motions of the French squadron. But no additional land forces were sent by Britain to America; nor yet did she think fit to declare war against France. The French monarch was still more bent on avoiding or at least postponing this extremity; and although a part of the fleet which he had despatched to America was attacked off Newfoundland and captured by Admiral Boscawen, he still refrained from any nearer approach to a declaration of war than the recall of his ambassador from England. (April 25, 1755.) The British king, in his speech to parliament, asserted the sincerity of his wishes and endeavours, and still expressed a hope of his ability, to preserve peace; but withal declared that he would not purchase even this blessing at the expense of submitting to encroachments upon his dominions. An act of parliament was passed, extending the provisions of the British *Mutiny Act* to North America; and declaring that all troops, raised by any of the colonial governors or assemblies, should, whenever they acted in conjunction with the British soldiers, be subject to the same system of martial law and discipline which obtained in the British army. A communication, addressed some time before to the provincial governments, signified the king's commands, that officers commissioned by his majesty, or by his commander-in-chief in North America, should take precedence of all those whose commissions were derived from the provincial governors or assemblies; "and that the general and field officers of the provincial troops should have no rank, when serving with the general and field officers commissioned by the crown." This regulation proved exceedingly unpalatable



to the Americans. Washington, in particular, resenting it as injurious to the merit of his countrymen and calculated to depress their spirit and character, resigned his commission. Happily, however, for his own fame and his country's interest, he was persuaded to accept the appointment of aid-de-camp to General Braddock.

While preparations were making for the prosecution of those military schemes devised by the convention of Annapolis, the New England colonies despatched a force against the forts and settlements established by the French in Nova Scotia. Three thousand men were raised, and placed under the command of Colonel Winslow. On arriving at the British settlement in Nova Scotia, May 25, 1755, the New England forces were joined by three hundred regular troops and a train of artillery, and the command of the whole was assumed by Colonel Monckton, an English officer. This expedition was crowned with entire success. Beau Sejour, the principal French fort at Chignecto, sustained a hot siege of a few days, and then surrendered. The victors gave it the name of Fort Cumberland. The garrison was sent to Louisbourg. The other fortresses of the French in this quarter, surrendered soon after upon the same honourable terms. Nova Scotia was thus reduced to the dominion of Britain, the loss of the conquerors being only 20 killed and as many wounded. A large number of the inhabitants, being inimical to the British rule, were forced to quit the country.

But little doubt was entertained that the expedition under Braddock, against Fort Duquesne, would be successful. After various difficulties with the colonial authorities, General Braddock was prepared to move forward. He commenced his march from Wills' Creek, on the 10th of June, at the head of two thousand two hundred men. The advance of the army, unavoidably retarded by the natural impediments of the region it had to traverse, was additionally and unnecessarily obstructed by the stubborn adherence of Braddock, amidst the boundless woods and tangled thickets of America, to the system of military movements adapted to the open and extensive plains of Europe. He was roused at length to greater vigour and activity by the intelligence that the French at Fort Duquesne expected a reinforcement of five hundred regular troops; whereupon, at the



GENERAL BRADDOCK.

head of twelve hundred men whom he selected from the different corps, and with ten pieces of cannon and the necessary ammunition and provisions, he resolved to press forward to the point of destination,—leaving the residue of the army, under the command of Colonel Dunbar, to follow, with all the heavy baggage, by easy and leisurely marches. After a laborious progress, which was still unnecessarily retarded, and yet unaccompanied by the precaution of reconnoitring the woods, Braddock arrived at the Monongahela on the 8th of July, and encamped within ten miles of Fort Duquesne. Though Dunbar was now forty miles behind him, and the proximity of the enemy increased the danger of instantaneous attack, he prepared to advance the next day in his usual style of march, and expected to invest the French fortress without opposition. Sir Peter Halket and others of his officers now vainly entreated him to proceed with greater caution, to convert the column of march into an order of battle, and to employ the friendly Indians, who attended him, as an advanced guard, to explore and anticipate

the probabilities of ambuscade. Not less vainly did Washington represent that the profound silence and apparent solitude of the gloomy scenes around them afforded no security in American warfare against deadly and imminent danger, and offer with the provincial troops to scour and occupy the woods in the front and on the flanks of the main body. Braddock treated with equal contempt the idea of aid and of hostility from Indian savages; and disdainfully rejecting the proposition of Washington, ordered the provincials to form the rearguard of the British force.

On the following day, this infatuated commander resumed his march (July 9, 1755), without having made the slightest attempt to gain intelligence of the situation or dispositions of the enemy. Three hundred British regulars, conducted by Colonel Gage, composed his van; and Braddock himself followed at some distance with the artillery and main body of the army divided into small columns. Thus incautiously advancing, and having arrived about noon within seven miles of Fort Duquesne,—in an open wood undergrown thickly with high grass, his troops were suddenly startled by the appalling sound of the Indian war-cry; and in the same moment a rattling shower of musketry was poured on their front and left flank from an enemy so artfully concealed that not a man of them could be descried. The vanguard, staggered and daunted, fell back upon the main body; and the firing being repeated with redoubled fury and without yet disclosing either the numbers or the position of the assailants, terror and confusion began to spread among the British troops; and many of them sought safety in flight, notwithstanding all the efforts of their officers, some of whom behaved very gallantly, to recall and rally them. Braddock himself, if he ever possessed any of the higher qualities of a soldier, was in this emergence deserted of them all, and exhibited only an obstinate and unavailing bravery. Instead of raking the thickets and bushes whence the fire was poured with grape-shot from the ten pieces of cannon which he had with him, or pushing forward flanking parties of his Indians against the enemy, he confined his attention exclusively to the regular infantry. To them the only command which he should have addressed was either an instant retreat, or a rapid charge with-





FRENCH AND INDIANS AT THE DEFEAT OF BRADDOCK.



out regard to methodical order and regularity. He adopted neither of these expedients; but, remaining on the ground where he was first attacked, under an incessant and galling fire, he directed the brave officers and men who continued with him, to form in regular line and advance. Meanwhile his troops fell fast beneath the iron tempest that hissed around them, and almost all his officers were singled out one after another and killed or wounded; for the Indians, who always take deliberate and particular aim when they fire, and aim preferably at the officers, easily distinguished them by their dress. After an action of three hours, Braddock, under whom three horses were killed, and whose obstinacy seemed to increase with the danger, received a shot through the right arm and the lungs, and was carried off the field by Colonel Gage. All the officers on horseback, except Colonel Washington, were now killed or wounded, and the residue of the troops by whom the conflict had been maintained, abandoned it in dismay and disorder. The provincials, who were among the last to leave the field, were rallied after the action by the skill and presence of mind of Washington, and covered the retreat of the regulars. The defeat was complete.

About seven hundred of the British were killed or wounded, including a considerable proportion of the Virginian troops, and sixty-four out of eighty-five officers. Sir Peter Halket fell by the first fire at the head of his regiment; and the general's secretary, son to Governor Shirley, was killed soon after. The artillery, ammunition, and baggage were abandoned to the enemy; and the defeated army fled precipitately to the camp of Dunbar, where Braddock expired of his wounds. Although no pursuit was attempted by the French, who afterwards gave out that their numbers, including Indian auxiliaries, had amounted only to four hundred men, and, with greater probability, that their loss in the action was perfectly insignificant, Dunbar, struck with astonishment and alarm, and finding that his troops were infected with the panic and disarray of the fugitives, hastily reconducted them to Wills' Creek. Here letters were brought to him from the governors of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, beseeching him to assist in defending the frontiers of these provinces, while they would endeavour



to raise from the inhabitants reinforcements that might enable him yet to resume the enterprise against Fort Duquesne. But, diffident of his safety, he declined to accede to their desire; and abandoning his position at Wills' Creek, pursued a hasty retreat to Philadelphia. Since their arrival in America, and especially during this retreat, the conduct of the British soldiers towards the American colonists was marked by licentious rapine and insolence; and it was generally declared of them that they were much more formidable to the people whom they had been commissioned to defend, than to the enemy whom they had undertaken to conquer.

The consequences of Braddock's defeat were soon felt by the frontier settlers. The tomahawk and scalping-knife were unceasingly employed, and all the horrors of savage warfare were experienced. The measures of the Virginia Assembly were inadequate to protect the people of that colony. The skilful and unwearied exertions of Washington proved unavailing to stem the furious and destructive incursions of the French and Indians, who, dividing into small parties, spread themselves over the frontier.

The proposed expedition against Niagara failed from various causes. By Braddock's death, Shirley became commander-in-chief of the British forces in North America. The troops he was to lead against Niagara, were to assemble at Albany. Various causes combined to delay his march; and while he was advancing to Oswego, the tidings of Braddock's defeat overtook him, and spread consternation through his army. Many of the boatmen and sledgemen who were hired to transport the stores and provisions, deserted, and the Indians displayed a desire to follow them. On the 21st of August, 1755, he arrived at Oswego. The forces were so much reduced by desertion, and the fidelity of the Indians was so precarious, that farther delay could not be avoided; and though Shirley finally endeavoured to press forward to Niagara, he was compelled to abandon his design. Leaving Colonel Mercer at Oswego, with a garrison of seven hundred men, and instructions to build two additional forts for the security of the place, the commander-in-chief returned with his main force to Albany.

The forces which were to proceed against Crown Point, as-

sembled at Albany. They consisted of militia regiments, supplied by the New England States and New York, and amounting to between five and six thousand men. The command was intrusted to Gen. William Johnson, a man without military experience, but energetic and enterprising. He possessed much influence over the Indians of the Six Nations, and persuaded Hendrick, a brave and sagacious Mohawk chief, with about three hundred warriors, to join him.

While Johnson was collecting his artillery and military stores, General Lyman, the second in command, advanced with the troops to the *carrying-place* between Hudson's River and Lake George, about sixty miles from Albany, and began to build a fortress, which received the name of Fort Edward, on the east side of the Hudson. Having joined his army, Johnson left a part of it as a garrison to Fort Edward, and towards the end of August proceeded with the main body to the southern extremity of Lake George. Here he learned from his Indian scouts, that a party of French and Indians had established a fort at Ticonderoga, which is situated on the isthmus between the north end of Lake George and the southern shore of Lake Champlain, about fifteen miles from Crown Point. As the fortifications at Ticonderoga were reported to be incomplete, Johnson, deeming that the conquest of the place would be attended with little difficulty, and regarding it as a key to the main object of his enterprise, was preparing to advance against it, when he was suddenly reduced to act on the defensive by the motions of the enemy, and the unexpected tidings that reached him of the force which they possessed.

Baron Dieskau, an able and experienced officer, had now arrived in Canada with a strong reinforcement of troops from France; and having collected a considerable army both of French and Indians, was advancing against the British settlements with the purpose of striking an important blow. Johnson hastened to transmit this alarming intelligence to the provinces whose troops he commanded, and especially to the government of Massachusetts,—together with an urgent request for further assistance, which he reckoned indispensable to the success of his enterprise and even to the safety of his army. The issue of this application affords another instance of that unconquer-

able spirit which distinguished the people of New England. Massachusetts had supplied the greatest part of the force which Johnson already commanded, and by her various military exertions, incurred an expense disproportioned to her resources, and of which she anxiously solicited a reimbursement from the parent state. The reputation of Dieskau, and the advantage which he possessed in commanding disciplined troops, contrasted with the inexperience of Johnson and the American militia, gave rise to apprehensions, which, combining with the depression occasioned by Braddock's defeat, produced a general despair of the success of the expedition against Crown Point. But this was a favourite enterprise with the people of New England, and they were determined to persist in it as long as possible, and to support to the utmost of their power the brave men who were engaged in conducting it. A large subsidiary force was raised in Massachusetts, and despatched with the hope of at least extricating Johnson and his army from the danger of being compelled to surrender to the superior power of the enemy. But the danger was over before this reinforcement reached the scene of action. Dieskau had been ordered to direct his first effort to the reduction of the British post at Oswego, of the importance of which the French government was fully aware; and he had already commenced his march for this purpose, when the tidings of Johnson's expedition induced him to reserve his force for the defence of Crown Point. Finding that Johnson's army, which was inferior both in number and experience, did not venture to approach, he determined to advance against it; and expecting an easy victory and the consequent fall of Fort Edward, proposed, as an ulterior measure, to invade Albany, to ravage the neighbouring settlements, and deprive the British of all communication with Oswego. His purpose would have succeeded, if the fate of the two armies had depended on the comparative skill of their commanders. But victory, though commonly, is not indefeasibly, the prize of either the skilful or the strong.

Johnson was apprised of Dieskau's approach, but ignorant both of his position and of his force; for the Indians, who were his scouts, had no words or signs for expressing any large number, and customarily pointed to the hair of their heads, or to



the stars in the firmament, when they meant to denote any quantity which exceeded their reckoning. It was impossible to collect from their reports whether the French fell short of a thousand, or exceeded ten thousand in number. Yet, notwithstanding this uncertainty, Johnson, who had fortified his camp at Lake George, committed the rashness of detaching a thousand men, under the command of a brave officer, Colonel Ephraim Williams, together with Hendrick and the Indian auxiliaries, to attack the enemy. (September 6, 1755.) This detachment had hardly advanced three miles beyond the camp, when it found itself almost entirely surrounded by the French army, and, after a gallant but hopeless conflict, was defeated with some loss and put to flight. Williams fell in this encounter; and Hendrick, with several of his Indians, who fought with heroic bravery, were also among the slain. The French, whose loss was not inferior, pursued the fugitives to their camp, and, had they made an instantaneous attack, they would probably have carried it; but, fortunately for its defenders, a pause took place, which, though short, gave time for their panic and confusion to subside. Dieskau had learned a few days before that Johnson had no cannon in his camp; and he was not aware, that, in the interim, a number of these engines had been seasonably transported to it from Fort Edward. Dismayed by the unexpected fire of this artillery, the Canadian militia and their Indian auxiliaries fled into the woods, whence the discharges of their musketry against a fortified camp produced little effect. The French regulars, however, maintained their ground, and with them, Dieskau, in an engagement which was prolonged for several hours, conducted a vigorous assault upon Johnson's position. Johnson displayed a firm and intrepid spirit during his brief participation in the commencement of the action; but having soon received a painful wound, he was compelled to retire to his tent and abandon the command to Lyman. Under the conduct of this American officer, his countrymen defended their camp with such resolution and success, that the French were finally repulsed with the loss of nearly a thousand men. Dieskau was mortally wounded and taken prisoner; and his discomfited forces, assembling at some distance and preparing to refresh themselves with food, were suddenly



DIESKAU WOUNDED AND CAPTURED.

attacked by a small party of New York and New Hampshire militia commanded by Captains Folsom and M'Ginnes, and, flying in confusion, left the whole of their baggage and ammunition a prey to the victors. In the various conflicts by which this important day was signalized, there were killed or mortally wounded about a hundred and thirty of the British provincials, and among others Captain M'Ginnes, by whom the success was completed, and Colonel Titcomb, of Massachusetts, who had previously gained the praise of distinguished bravery at the siege of Louisbourg.

Now was the time for the British to improve the advantage they had won, and reap the full fruit of their victory by a vigorous pursuit of the flying enemy and by investing Crown Point, which, from the smallness of its garrison, and the impression produced by the defeat of Dieskau, would have probably afforded them an easy conquest. But Johnson was less desirous of extending the public advantage than of reaping and securing his own personal share in it; and sensible of the claim he had acquired on royal favour, he was averse to expose it, while yet unrewarded, to the hazard of diminution. He directed his troops to strengthen the fortifications of his camp, in utter disregard of the spirited counsel of Shirley, who pressed him to



resume active operations, and at least to dislodge the French from Ticonderoga before they had time to fortify this post and recover from their surprise and consternation. Whether from negligence or from a politic deference to the sentiments of the British court, he maintained scarcely any communication with the New England governments, and sent the French general and the other prisoners to New York,—although Massachusetts had claimed the distinction of receiving them, as due to the preponderance of her interest in the army by which they were taken. With the additional troops lately raised in this province, and which were now united to Johnson's original and victorious army, it was not doubted that he would still attempt some farther enterprise before the close of the year. But he suffered the opportunity to pass by, and consumed the time in lingering and irresolute deliberation, till, by the advice of a council of war, the attack of Crown Point, and all other active operations, were abandoned for the present season. (October, 1755.) His army was then disbanded, with the exception of six hundred men, who were appointed to garrison Fort Edward, and another strong fort which was erected at the southern extremity of Lake George, and received the name of Fort William Henry.

As the victory of the English was not followed up, it was of little service, except in the way of raising their spirits, so depressed by Braddock's defeat. In his reports of the action, Johnson assumed all the credit of the triumph; and he was rewarded with the dignity of a baronet, the office of royal superintendent of Indian affairs, and the sum of five thousand pounds. The services of General Lyman and other meritorious Americans were unnoticed and unrewarded.

On the 12th of December, 1755, General Shirley convoked a council of war at New York, which was attended by the governors of New York, Connecticut, Maryland, and Pennsylvania. Here an extensive plan of operations for the next campaign was arranged. It was proposed to raise ten thousand men for an expedition against Crown Point; six thousand for an attempt upon Niagara, and three thousand for an attack on Fort Duquesne. To divert the attention of the enemy, it was proposed to send two thousand men to Canada by way of the Kennebec.



Lord Loudoun soon after arrived, and assumed the functions of commander-in-chief, as well as those of governor of Virginia. (July, 1756.) A difficulty concerning precedence, which existed between the British and colonial officers, was amicably adjusted as the colonists desired. Bright hopes were entertained that the campaign would have a glorious result, when all the arrangements were disconcerted by the news of an important advantage gained by the French.

Baron Dieskau, the French commander-in-chief in America, had been succeeded by the Marquis de Montcalm, a bold, skilful, and enterprising general. In August, 1756, Montcalm led an army of 5000 regulars, Canadian militia, and Indians, by a rapid march to Oswego, and invested two of the British forts. The scanty stock of ammunition with which the garrison had been supplied, was soon exhausted; and Colonel Mercer, the commander, thereupon spiked his guns, and, evacuating the place, carried his troops without the loss of a single man into the other fort. Upon this stronghold a heavy fire was speedily poured by the enemy from the deserted post, of which they assumed possession; and Mercer having been killed by a cannon-ball, the garrison, dismayed by his loss, and disappointed in an attempt to procure aid from Fort George, situated about four miles and a half up the river, where Colonel Schuyler was posted, demanded a capitulation and surrendered as prisoners of war. The garrison consisted of the regiments of Shirley and Pepperell, and amounted to one thousand four hundred men. The conditions of surrender were, that the prisoners should be exempted from plunder, conducted to Montreal, and treated with humanity. But these conditions were violated in a manner disgraceful to the warfare of the French. It was the duty of Montcalm to guard his engagements from the danger of infringement by his savage allies; and yet he instantly delivered up twenty of his prisoners to the Indians who accompanied him, as victims to their vengeance for an equal number of their own race who perished in the siege. Nor was the remainder of the captive garrison protected from the cruelty and indignity with which these savages customarily embittered the fate of the vanquished. Almost all of them were plundered; many were scalped; and some were assassinated. In the two



MONTCALM.





forts, the victors obtained possession of one hundred and twenty-one pieces of artillery, fourteen mortars, and a great quantity of military stores and provisions. A number of sloops and boats at the same time fell into their hands. No sooner was Montcalm in possession of the forts, than, with judicious policy, he demolished them both in presence of the Indians of the Six Nations, within whose territory they were erected, and whose jealousy they had not a little awakened.

In consequence of this severe blow, the English were driven to defensive operations. The old forts were strengthened, and new ones were built. Lord Loudoun exerted himself to the best of his ability to prepare forces and supplies for a campaign in the next spring; but he was unfit for his station, and by an imperious and yet undignified course of action, rendered himself obnoxious to the colonists, so that they had but little hope of effecting anything of importance while he was in the chief command. When New York and New England needed protection, Lord Loudoun withdrew the forces and projected an expedition against Louisbourg. In July, 1757, the armament sailed against that strong post, and it was found to be so powerfully garrisoned, that an attempt upon it would have been attended with utter defeat. His lordship then returned to New York, there to learn the consequences of his want of skill.

Montcalm, the French commander, availing himself of the unskilful movement by which Lord Loudoun withdrew so large a portion of the British force from New York to Halifax, advanced with an army of nine thousand men and laid siege to Fort William Henry, which was garrisoned by nearly three thousand troops, partly English and partly American, commanded by a brave English officer, Colonel Monroe. The security of this important post was supposed to be still farther promoted by the proximity of Fort Edward, which was scarcely fourteen miles from it, and where the English general, Webb, was stationed with a force of four thousand men. Had Webb done his duty, the besiegers might have been repulsed, and Fort William Henry preserved; but though he received timely notice of the approach of the enemy, yet, with strange indolence or timidity, he neither summoned the American governments to aid the place with their militia, nor despatched a single

company of his own soldiers to its succour. Nay, whether or not he desired, so far was he from hoping to avert, its capture, that the only communication he made to Monroe, during the siege, was a letter conveying the faint-hearted counsel to surrender without delay. (August 9, 1757.) Montcalm, on the other hand, who was endowed with a high degree of military genius, pressed the assault on Fort William Henry with the utmost vigour and skill. He had inspired his own daring ardour into the French soldiers, and roused the enthusiasm of his Indian auxiliaries by promising plunder as the reward of their conquest. After a sharp resistance, which, however, endured only for six days, Monroe, finding that his ammunition was exhausted, and that hopes of relief were desperate, was compelled to surrender the place by a capitulation, of which the terms were far more honourable to the vanquished than the fulfilment of them was to the victors. It was conditioned that the garrison should not serve against the French for eighteen months; that they should march out with the honours of war; and, retaining their private baggage, be escorted to Fort Edward by French troops, as a security against the lawless ferocity of the Indians. But these savages were incensed at the terms which Montcalm (whether swayed by generous respect for a gallant foe, or apprehensive that Webb might be roused at length from his supine indifference) conceded to the garrison; and seeing no reason why the French general should postpone the interest of his allies to that of his enemies, were determined, that, if he broke his word with either party, it should not be with *them*. Of the scene of cruelty and bloodshed which ensued, the accounts which have been transmitted are not less uniform and authentic than horrid and disgusting. The only point wrapped in obscurity is *how far* the French general and his troops were voluntarily or unavoidably spectators of the violation of the treaty they stood pledged to fulfil. According to some accounts, no escort whatever was furnished to the British garrison. According to others, the escort was a mere mockery, both in respect of the numbers of the French guards, and of their willingness to defend their civilized enemies against their savage friends. It is certain that the escort, if there was any, proved totally ineffectual. No sooner had the garrison





MASSACRE OF THE PRISONERS AT FORT WILLIAM HENRY.

marched out, and surrendered their arms, in reliance upon the pledge of the French general, than a furious and irresistible attack was made upon them by the Indians, who stripped them both of their baggage and their clothes, and murdered or made prisoners of all who attempted resistance. About fifteen hundred persons were thus slaughtered or carried into captivity. Such was the lot of eighty men belonging to a New Hampshire regiment, of which the complement was no more than two hundred. A number of Indian allies of the English, and who had formed part of the garrison, fared still more miserably. They were seized without scruple by their savage enemies, and perished in lingering and barbarous torture. Of the garrison of Fort William Henry scarcely a half were enabled to gain the shelter of Fort Edward in a straggling and wretched condition.

This terrible blow filled the colonists with alarm; yet excited a strong desire for vengeance upon their savage enemies. General Webb, roused at length from his censurable lethargy, invoked the aid of the New England colonies. The militia of Massachusetts and Connecticut were despatched at once to check the progress of the victorious enemy. Montcalm, however, did not even invest Fort Edward, as he was without information concerning the forces the English had at command. The only



additional operation of the French during the season was a predatory enterprise, in concert with their Indian allies, against the flourishing settlements of German Flats, in the province of New York, and along the Mohawk river, which they utterly wasted with fire and sword. Thus ended a campaign which covered the British with disgrace, and threw much lustre upon the French arms. Lord Loudoun concluded his term of service by quarrelling with the colonial authorities, displaying much more vigour in this contest than he had against the common enemy. Early in the winter of 1758, he was superseded, and the chief command in America was given to General Abercrombie.

The star of France was in the ascendant in America. But a change was coming. By the irresistible will of the English nation, the energetic statesman and powerful orator, William Pitt, was placed at the head of the ministry. He superseded Lord Loudoun, because, he said, he never could ascertain what that commander was doing; and resolved to make America the chief scene of the contest, instead of the continent of Europe. The colonies responded enthusiastically to the calls for new forces and new supplies. A powerful British fleet, under Admiral Boscawen, was sent to Halifax. General Amherst, with 12,000 regular troops, joined the colonial forces, and Abercrombie found himself at the head of about 50,000 men, the largest army yet assembled in the colonies. But the British commander-in-chief had little energy and very slender abilities, and he made small use of his extensive means.

The conquest of Canada was the object to which the most ardent wishes of the British colonists were directed; but they quickly perceived that the gratification of this hope, if ever realized, must be deferred at least till the succeeding year; as the cabinet of England had determined, for the protection of the English commerce against the cruisers and privateers of France, to employ a considerable part of the assembled forces in an attack upon Louisbourg, and to commence its new system of operations by the reduction of that place. Three expeditions were proposed for the present year (1758): the first, against Louisbourg, the second, against Ticonderoga and Crown Point; and the third, against Fort Duquesne. In prosecution of the



WILLIAM PITT, EARL OF CHATHAM.





first of these enterprises, Admiral Boscawen, sailing from Halifax (May 28) with a fleet of twenty ships of the line and eighteen frigates, conveying an army of fourteen thousand men conducted by Amherst, of which but a small proportion were provincial troops, arrived before Louisbourg on the 2d of June. The garrison of this place, commanded by the Chevalier de Drucourt, an intrepid and experienced officer, was composed of two thousand five hundred regulars, aided by six hundred militia. The condition of the harbour, secured by five ships of the line, one fifty-gun ship, and five frigates, three of which were sunk across the mouth of the basin, rendered it necessary for the invaders to land at some distance from the town. From the defensive precautions which the enemy had adopted, this operation was attended with considerable difficulty; but, by the heroic resolution and resistless intrepidity of General Wolfe, it was accomplished with success, and little loss; and the troops having been landed at the creek of Cormoran (June 8), and the artillery stores brought on shore, Wolfe was detached with two thousand men to seize a post which was occupied by the enemy at the Lighthouse Point, and was calculated to afford advantage to the besiegers by enabling them to annoy the ships in the harbour and the fortifications of the town. On the appearance of Wolfe, the post was abandoned; and there the British soon erected a formidable battery. (June 12.) Approaches were also made on the opposite side of the town; and the siege was pressed with a resolute activity characteristic of the English commanders, and yet with a severe and guarded caution, inspired by the strength of the place and the reputation of its governor and garrison, who fully supported the high idea that was entertained of them, by the skilful and obstinate valour they exerted in its defence. In all the operations of the siege, the dauntless courage and indefatigable energy of Wolfe were signally pre-eminent. A heavy cannonade having been maintained against the town and harbour, a bomb, exploding, set fire to one of the large ships, which soon blew up; and the flames were communicated to two others, which shared the same fate. The English admiral, in consequence of this success, despatched boats, manned with six hundred men, into the harbour, to make an attempt during the night on the two ships of



GENERAL WOLFE.

the line which still remained to the enemy. In spite of a tremendous fire of cannon and musketry, the assailants successfully performed this perilous feat; and one of the ships, which happened to be aground, was destroyed, while the other was towed off in triumph. By this gallant exploit the English gained complete possession of the harbour; and already more than one practicable breach in the works was produced by their batteries. The governor now judged the place no longer defensible, and offered to capitulate; but his propositions were refused; and it was required that the garrison should surrender at discretion, or abide the issue of an assault by sea and land. These severe terms, though at first rejected, were finally embraced; and in accordance with them, Louisbourg, with all its

artillery, provisions, and military stores, together with Isle Royale, St. John's, and their dependencies, was surrendered on the 26th of July to the English, who without farther difficulty, took entire possession of the island of Cape Breton. Four hundred of the besiegers and fifteen hundred of the garrison were killed or wounded during the siege; and the town of Louisbourg was reduced to nearly a heap of ruins. In this town the conquerors found two hundred and twenty-one pieces of cannon, eighteen mortars, and a vast quantity of stores and ammunition. The inhabitants of Cape Breton were transported to France in English ships; but the French garrison and their naval auxiliaries were carried prisoners of war to England, where the unwonted tidings of victory and conquest were hailed with demonstrations of the liveliest triumph and joy. The French colours, taken at Louisbourg, were carried in grand procession from Kensington Palace to the Cathedral of St. Paul's; and a form of thanksgiving was appointed to be used on the occasion in all the churches of England. The sentiments of the parent state were re-echoed in America; where the people of New England, more especially, partook of the warmth of an exultation that revived the glory of their own previous achievement in the first conquest of Cape Breton.

Before this conquest was completed, the expedition against Ticonderoga and Crown Point occurred to chequer the new and victorious career of the British arms in America. This enterprise was conducted by General Abercrombie, who, on the 5th of July, embarked his troops on Lake George in a hundred and twenty-five whaleboats and nine hundred batteaux. His army consisted of sixteen thousand effective men, of whom nine thousand were provincials, and was attended by a formidable train of artillery. Among other officers, he was accompanied by Lord Howe, a young English nobleman, who exhibited the most promising military talents, and whose valour, virtue, courtesy, and good sense, had greatly endeared him both to the English and the provincial troops. The mass of mankind are always prone to regard with veneration those titular distinctions, which, having no real substance, afford unbounded scope to the exercise of fancy; and almost universal suffrage is won, when the possessor of such lofty, though unsolid, pretensions appears to jus-





ABERCROMBIE'S ARMY CROSSING LAKE GEORGE.

tify them by merit and mitigate them by generosity, instead of arrogating them with stern insolence or reposing on them with indolent pride. Lord Howe seemed to regard his titular distinction less as a proof of noble nature than an incentive to noble action, and as facilitating the indulgence of an amiable politeness by exempting him from all suspicion of mean, obsequious servility. From the day of his arrival in America, he conformed himself, and caused his regiment to conform, to the style of service which the country required. He was the first to encounter the danger to which he conducted others, and to set the example of every sacrifice he required them to incur. While the strict discipline he maintained commanded respect, the kind and graceful benevolence of his manners conciliated affection. He was the idol and soul of the army.

The first operations of Abercrombie were directed against Ticonderoga. Having disembarked at the landing-place in a cove on the western side of the lake, the troops were formed into four columns, of which the centre was occupied by the British, and the flanks by the provincials. In this order they marched against the advanced guard of the French, which, consisting of one battalion only, destroyed its encampment and made a precipitate retreat. Proceeding from the abandoned post against Ticonderoga, the British columns, bewildered by

tangled thickets, and misled by unskilful guides, were thrown into confusion and commingled in a disorderly manner. At this juncture, Lord Howe, advancing at the head of the right centre column, unexpectedly encountered the fugitive battalion of the French, who had lost their way in the woods, and now stumbled upon the enemy from whom they were endeavouring to escape. They consisted of regulars and a few Indians; and, notwithstanding their surprise and inferiority of numbers, displayed a promptitude of action and courage, that had nearly reproduced the catastrophe of Braddock. With audacious temerity, which in war is easily mistaken for deliberate confidence, and frequently prevails over superior strength, they attacked their pursuers; and at the first fire Lord Howe with a number of his soldiers fell. (July 6.) The suddenness of the assault, the terror inspired by the Indian yell, and the grief and astonishment created by the death of Lord Howe, excited a general panic among the British regulars; but the provincials, who flanked them, and who were better acquainted with the mode of fighting practised by the enemy, stood their ground and soon defeated their opponents, with a slaughter, compared to which, the loss of the British in point of numbers was inconsiderable. But the death of Lord Howe had depressed the spirit, and enfeebled the councils of the army; and to this circumstance its subsequent misfortunes were mainly ascribed. The loss of that brave and accomplished officer was generally deplored in America; and the Assembly of Massachusetts, not long after, caused a monument to be erected to his memory in Westminster Abbey.

The British forces, without farther opposition, took possession of a post situated within two miles of Ticonderoga (July 7), previously occupied by an advanced guard commanded by Colonel Bradstreet, a provincial officer distinguished by his valour, intelligence, and activity. The general, understanding that the garrison at Ticonderoga consisted of about six thousand men (French, Canadians, and Indians), and that a reinforcement of three thousand more was daily expected, resolved on an immediate assault of the place. He directed his engineer to reconnoitre the position and intrenchments of the enemy; and, trusting to a hasty survey and a rash report of their weakness,



embraced the dangerous purpose of forcing them without the assistance of cannon. The troops, having received orders to march up briskly, to rush upon the enemy's fire, and to reserve their own until they had passed a breastwork which was represented as easily superable, advanced to the attack with the highest intrepidity. (July 8.) But unlooked-for impediments resisted their progress. The breastwork proved much more formidable than had been reported, and in front of it, to a considerable distance, trees were felled with their branches protruding outward and sharpened to a point; by which obstruction the assailants were not only retarded in their advance, but, becoming entangled among the boughs, were exposed in helpless embarrassment and disorder to a galling and destructive fire. The provincials, who were posted behind the regulars, inflamed with impatience, and not sufficiently restrained by discipline, could not be prevented from firing; and, notwithstanding their expertness as marksmen, their fire was supposed to have proved more fatal to their friends than their enemies. This sanguinary conflict was protracted during four hours. Of the assailants there were killed and wounded about two thousand men, including four hundred of the provincials. One half of a Highland regiment commanded by Lord John Murray, with twenty-five of its officers, were either killed or desperately wounded. The loss of the enemy, covered as they were from danger, was comparatively trifling. At length Abercrombie gave the signal to desist from the desperate enterprise; and to an ill-concerted assault succeeded a retreat no less precipitate and injudicious. The British army, still amounting to nearly fourteen thousand men, greatly outnumbered the enemy; and, if the artillery had been brought up to their assistance, might have overpowered with little difficulty the French forces and their defences at Ticonderoga. But Abercrombie, dismayed by his disastrous repulse, and heedless of the remonstrances of the provincial officers, carried the army back by a hasty march to the southern extremity of Lake George. Next to the defeat of Braddock, this was the most disgraceful catastrophe that had befallen the arms of Britain in America.

As Abercrombie showed himself destitute of the vigour that was requisite to repair his misfortune, Colonel Bradstreet con-



ceived the idea of at least counterbalancing it by an effort in a different quarter, and, with this view, suggested to the general a substitutional expedition which he offered to conduct against Fort Frontignac. Approving the proposal, and willingly relinquishing his designs against Ticonderoga and Crown Point, Abercrombie despatched Bradstreet at the head of three thousand men, of whom all but the trifling handful of a hundred and fifty-five were provincials, together with eight pieces of cannon and three mortars, to attempt the reduction of Fort Frontignac. Bradstreet marched to Oswego, embarked on Lake Ontario, and, on the evening of the 25th of August, landed within a mile of the fort. Before the lapse of two days, his batteries were opened at so short a distance, that almost every shot took effect; and the French commandant, finding his force overpowered, was compelled to surrender at discretion. (August 27.) The Indian auxiliaries of the French having previously deserted, the prisoners were but a hundred and ten. But the captors found in the fort sixty pieces of cannon, sixteen small mortars, together with a prodigious collection of military stores, provisions, and merchandise. Nine armed vessels also fell into their hands. Bradstreet, after destroying the fort and vessels, and such stores as he could not carry away, returned to exhilarate the main army with this ray of success.

The reduction of Fort Frontignac facilitated the enterprise against Fort Duquesne, of which the garrison awaited, from the post thus unexpectedly subdued, a large reinforcement of stores and ammunition. General Forbes, to whom the expedition against Fort Duquesne was intrusted, marched with his troops early in July from Philadelphia; but his progress was so much retarded by various obstructions, that it was not until two months after, that the Virginian forces, commanded by Washington, were summoned to join the British army at Raystown. Among other provincial troops which participated in this expedition was a detachment of the militia of North Carolina, conducted by Major Waddell, a brave and active officer and highly respected inhabitant of that State, and accompanied by a body of Indian auxiliaries. Before the combined army advanced from Raystown, Major Grant, an English officer, was detached with eight hundred men, partly British and partly

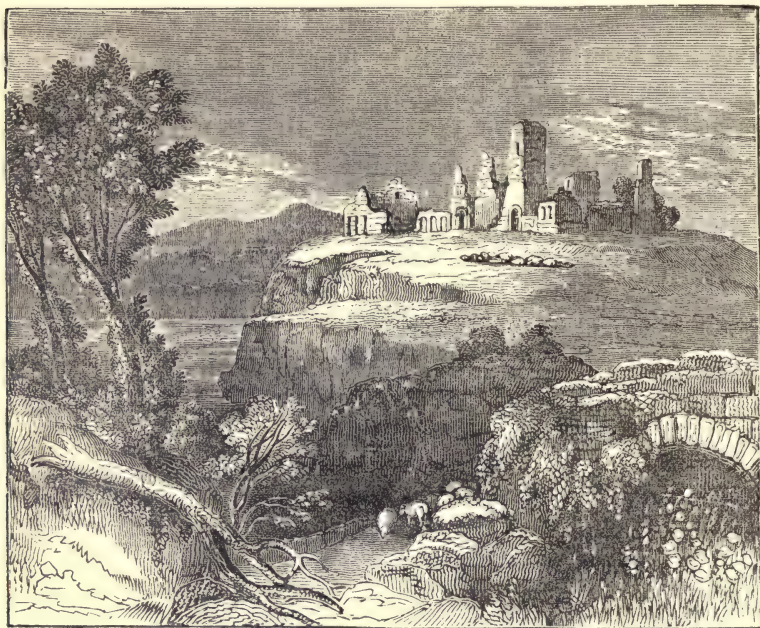
provincials, to reconnoitre the condition of Fort Duquesne and of the adjacent country. Rashly inviting an attack from the French garrison, this detachment was surrounded by the enemy, and, after a gallant but ineffectual defence, in which three hundred men were killed and wounded, Major Grant and nineteen other officers were taken prisoners. It was with the utmost difficulty that the French were able to rescue these officers from the sanguinary ferocity of their own Indian auxiliaries, who butchered the greatest part of the wounded and the prisoners. The whole residue of the detachment would have shared the same fate, if Captain Bullet, a provincial officer, with the aid of a small troop of Virginians, had not, partly by stratagem, and partly by the most desperate efforts of valour, checked the advance of the pursuing Indians, and finally conducted the fugitives to the main army, by a skilful, but protracted and laborious retreat. General Forbes, with his army, amounting to at least eight thousand men, at length advanced against Fort Duquesne; but, in spite of the most strenuous exertions, was not able to reach it till near the close of November. Enfeebled by their toilsome march, the British now approached the scene of Braddock's defeat, and beheld the field on which the mouldering corpses of Grant's troops still lay unburied. Anxious to know the condition of the fort and the position of the enemy's troops, Forbes offered a reward of forty pounds to any man who would make prisoner of a hostile Indian. This service was performed by a sergeant in the North Carolina militia; when the intelligence that was obtained from the captive showed Forbes that his labours were already crowned with unexpected success. The approach of the British force, which was attended with all those precautions of which the neglect proved so fatal to Braddock, had struck the Indians with such terror, that they withdrew from the assistance of the garrison of Fort Duquesne, declaring, that the Great Spirit had evidently withdrawn his favour from the French and his protection from their fortress; and the French themselves, infected with the fears and weakened by the desertion of their allies, as well as disappointed of the stores which they had expected to obtain from Fort Frontignac, judged their post untenable, and, abandoning it on the evening before the arrival of Forbes's army, made their

escape in boats down the Ohio. The British now took unresisted possession of this important fortress, (November 25), which had been the immediate occasion of the existing war; and, in compliment to the great statesman whose administration had already given a new complexion to the fortune of their country and brought back departed victory to her side, they bestowed upon it the name of Fort Pitt. No sooner was the British flag hoisted on its walls, than deputations arrived from the numerous tribes of the Ohio Indians, tendering their adherence and submission to the victors. With the assistance of some of these Indians, a party of British soldiers were sent to explore the thickets where Braddock was attacked, and to bestow the rites of sepulture on the bones of their countrymen which yet strewed the ground. Forbes, having concluded treaties of friendship with the Indians, left a garrison of provincials in the fort, and was reconducting his troops to Philadelphia, when he died, worn out by the ceaseless and overwhelming fatigues he had undergone.

The last important event of this indecisive campaign was the repulse of the French and Indians in an attack upon a settlement on the frontier of New England. These attempts to ravage the country were defeated by the exertions of Governor Pownall. The campaign was not, upon the whole, satisfactory to the British. More might have been done with the means at command. But the capture of two of the principal French posts and the consequent establishment of peace with the tribes in their vicinity, were important gains, which had an animating effect on the colonists.

The plan for the campaign of 1759 was now concerted. It was arranged that three powerful armies should enter Canada by different routes, and attack, at about the same time, nearly all the strongholds of the French. At the head of one division of the army, consisting principally of English troops, and aided by an English fleet, General Wolfe, who had gained so much distinction at the recent siege of Louisbourg, was to ascend the river St. Lawrence, as soon as its navigation should cease to be obstructed by ice, and attempt the siege of Quebec, the capital of Canada. General Amherst, the commander-in-chief, was to march against Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and after reducing





RUINS OF FORT TICONDEROGA.

these places, and establishing a naval force on Lake Champlain, was to penetrate, by the way of Richelieu river and the St. Lawrence, to Quebec, in order to form a junction with the forces of Wolfe. The third army, conducted by General Prideaux, and consisting chiefly of provincials, reinforced by a strong body of friendly Indians, assembled by the influence and placed under the special command of Sir William Johnson, was to attack the French fort near the Falls of Niagara, which commanded, in a manner, all the interior parts of North America, and was a key to the whole continent. As soon as this fort should be carried, Prideaux was to embark on Lake Ontario, descend the river St. Lawrence, make himself master of Montreal, and then unite his forces with those of Wolfe and Amherst. General Stanwix commanded a smaller detachment of troops, which was employed in reducing the French forts on the Ohio, and scouring the banks of Lake Ontario. It was expected, that, if Prideaux's operations, in addition to their own immediate object, should not facilitate either of the two other

capital undertakings, it would probably (as Niagara was the most important post which the enemy possessed in this quarter of America) induce the French to draw together all their troops which were stationed on the borders of the lakes in order to attempt its relief, which would leave the forts on these lakes exposed; and this effect was actually produced.

Early in the spring, Amherst transferred his head-quarters from New York to Albany, where his troops, amounting to twelve thousand men, were assembled in the end of May; yet the summer was far advanced before the state of his preparations enabled him to cross Lake George; and it was not till the close of July, that he reached Ticonderoga. At first the enemy seemed determined to defend this fortress, and Colonel Townsend, a brave and accomplished English officer, who advanced to reconnoitre it, was killed by a cannon-ball. But perceiving the determined yet cautious resolution, and the overwhelming force, with which Amherst was preparing to undertake the siege, and having received strict orders to retreat from post to post towards the centre of operations at Quebec, rather than incur the risk of being made prisoners, the garrison, a few days after, dismantled a part of the fortifications, and, evacuating Ticonderoga during the night, retired to Crown Point. Amherst, directly occupying the important post thus abandoned, which effectually covered the frontiers of New York and secured himself a safe retreat, caused the works to be repaired, and allotted a strong garrison for its defence. Thence advancing to Crown Point, with a cautious and guarded circumspection which the event showed to have been unnecessary, but which he was induced to observe by remembering how fatal a confident security had proved to other British commanders in this quarter of the world, he took possession of this fortress with the same facility which attended his first acquisition, in consequence of a farther retrogression of the enemy, who retired from his approach and intrenched themselves in a fort at Isle-aux-Noix, on the northern extremity of Lake Champlain. At this place the French, as he was informed, had collected three thousand five hundred men, with a numerous train of artillery, and possessed the additional resource of four large armed vessels on the lake. Amherst exerted the utmost activity to create a naval force,



without which it was impossible for him to attack the enemy's position; and with a sloop and a radeau, which were built with great despatch, he succeeded in destroying two of their vessels,—an achievement, in which the bold, adventurous spirit of Putnam was conspicuously displayed; but a succession of storms, and the advanced season of the year, compelled him reluctantly to postpone the farther prosecution of his scheme of operations. He established his troops in winter quarters at Crown Point, in the end of October, and confined his attention to strengthening the works of this fortress and of Ticonderoga. Thus the first of the three simultaneous expeditions embraced in the plan of this year's campaign, though attended with successful and important consequences, failed to produce the full result which had been anticipated by its projectors. Amherst, so far from being able to penetrate into Canada and form a junction with Wolfe, was unable to maintain the slightest communication with him; and only by a letter from Montcalm, in relation to an exchange of prisoners, obtained information that Wolfe was besieging Quebec. With the army which undertook the siege of Niagara, indeed, his communication was uninterrupted; and intelligence of its success had reached him before he advanced from Ticonderoga against Crown Point.

While Amherst's army was thus employed, General Prideaux, with his European, American, and Indian troops, embarking on Lake Ontario, advanced without loss or opposition to the fortress at Niagara, which he reached about the middle of July, and promptly invested on all sides. He was conducting his approaches with great vigour, when, on the twentieth of the month, during a visit he made to the trenches, he lost his life by the unfortunate bursting of a cohorn. Amherst was no sooner informed of this accident, than he detached General Gage from Ticonderoga to assume the command of Prideaux's army; but it devolved, in the mean time, upon Sir William Johnson, who exercised it with a success that added a new laurel to the honours which already adorned his name. The enemy, alarmed with the apprehension of losing a post of such importance, resolved to make an effort for its relief. From their forts of Detroit, Venango, and Presque Isle, they drew together a force of twelve hundred men, which, with a troop of Indian auxilia-



ries, were detached under the command of an officer named D'Aubry, with the purpose of raising the siege or reinforcing the garrison of Niagara. Johnson, who had been pushing the siege even more vigorously than his predecessor, learning the design of the French to relieve the garrison, made instant preparation to intercept it. As they approached, he ordered his light infantry, supported by a body of grenadiers and other regulars, to occupy the road from Niagara Falls to the fortress, by which the enemy were advancing, and covered his flanks with numerous troops of his Indian allies. At the same time, he posted a strong detachment of men in his trenches, to prevent any sally from the garrison during the approaching engagement. About nine in the morning (July 24), the two armies being in sight of each other, the Indians attached to the English, advancing, proposed a conference with their countrymen, who served under the French banners ; but the proposition was declined. The French Indians having raised the fierce, wild yell called the war-whoop, which by this time had lost its appalling effect on the British soldiers, the action began by an impetuous attack from the enemy ; and while the neighbouring cataract of Niagara pealed forth to inattentive ears its everlasting *voice of many waters*, the roar of artillery, the shrieks of the Indians, and all the martial clang and dreadful revelry of a field of battle, mingled in wild chorus with the majestic music of nature. The French conducted their attack with the utmost courage and spirit, but were encountered with such firm, deliberate valour in front by the British regulars and provincials, and so severely galled on their flanks by the Indians, that in less than an hour their army was completely routed, their general with all his officers taken prisoners, and the fugitives from the field pursued with great slaughter for many miles through the woods. This was the second victory gained in the course of the present war by Sir William Johnson, a man who had received no military education, and whose fitness for command was derived solely from natural courage and sagacity. Both his victories were signalized by the capture of the enemy's commanders. On the morning after the battle, Johnson sent an officer to communicate the result of it to the commandant of the garrison of Fort Niagara, and recommend an immediate

surrender before more blood was shed, and while it was yet in his power to restrain the barbarity of the Indians; and the commandant, having ascertained the truth of the tidings, capitulated without farther delay. The garrison, consisting of between six and seven hundred effective men, marched out with the honours of war, and were conveyed prisoners to New York. They were allowed to retain their baggage, and, by proper escort, were protected from the ferocity and rapacity of the Indians. Though eleven hundred of these savages (chiefly of the confederacy of the Six Nations) followed Johnson to Niagara, so effectually did he restrain them, that not an incident occurred to rival or retaliate the scenes at Oswego and Fort William Henry. The women, of whom a considerable number were found at Fort Niagara, were sent, at their own request, with their children to Montreal; and the sick and wounded, who could not sustain the fatigue of removal, were treated with humane attention. Although the army by which this success was achieved, whether from ignorance of the result of Wolfe's enterprise, or from some other cause more easily conjectured than ascertained, made no attempt to pursue the ulterior objects which had been assigned to its sphere of operation, and so far failed to fulfil its expected share of the campaign; yet the actual result of its exertions was gratifying and important in no ordinary degree. The reduction of Niagara effectually interrupted the communication, so much dreaded by the English, between Canada and Louisiana; and by this blow, one of the grand designs of the French, which had long threatened to produce war, and which finally contributed to provoke the present contest, was completely defeated.

General Wolfe, meanwhile, was engaged in that capital enterprise of the campaign which aimed at the reduction of Quebec. The army which he conducted, amounting to eight thousand men, having embarked at Louisbourg, under convoy of an English squadron commanded by Admiral Saunders and Holmes, after a successful voyage, disembarked, in the end of June, on the Isle of Orleans, a large, fertile island, surrounded by the waters of the St. Lawrence, situated a little below Quebec, well cultivated, producing plenty of grain, and abounding with inhabitants, villages, and plantations. Soon after his

landing, Wolfe distributed a manifesto among the French colonists, acquainting them that the king, his master, justly exasperated against the French monarch, had equipped a powerful armament in order to humble his pride, and was determined to reduce the most considerable settlements of France in America. He declared that it was not against industrious peasants and their families, nor against the ministers of religion, that he desired or intended to make war; on the contrary, he lamented the misfortunes to which they were exposed by the quarrel; he offered them his protection, and promised to maintain them in their temporal possessions, as well as in the free exercise of their religion, provided they would remain quiet, and abstain from participation in the controversy between the two crowns. The English, he proclaimed, were masters of the river St. Lawrence, and could thus intercept all succours from France; and they had besides the prospect of a speedy reinforcement from the army which General Amherst was conducting to form a junction with them. The line of conduct which the Canadians ought to pursue, he affirmed, was neither difficult nor doubtful; since the utmost exertion of their valour must be useless, and could serve only to deprive them of the advantages which they might reap from their neutrality. He protested that the cruelties already exercised by the French upon the subjects of Great Britain in America, would sanction the most severe reprisals; but that Britons were too generous to follow such barbarous example. While he tendered to the Canadians the blessings of peace amidst the horrors of war, and left them by their own conduct to determine their own fate, he expressed his hope that the world would do him justice, and acquit him of blame, should the objects of his solicitude, by rejecting these favourable terms, oblige him to have recourse to measures of violence and severity. Having expatiated on the strength and power of Britain, whose indignation they might provoke, he urged them to recognise the generosity with which she now held forth the hand of humanity, and tendered to them forbearance and protection, at the very time when France, by her weakness, was compelled to abandon them. This proclamation produced no immediate effect; nor, indeed, did the Canadians place much dependence on the assurances of a people whom



their priests industriously represented to them as the fiercest and most faithless enemy upon earth. Possessed with these notions, they disregarded the offered protection of Wolfe, and, abandoning their habitations, joined the scalping parties of the Indians who skulked among the woods, and butchered with the most inhuman barbarity all the English stragglers they could surprise. Wolfe, in a letter to Montcalm, remonstrated against these atrocities as contrary to the rules of war between civilized nations, and dishonourable to the service of France. But either the authority of Montcalm was not sufficient, or it was not exerted with sufficient energy, to bridle the ferocity of the savages; who continued to scalp and butcher with such increase of appetite for blood and revenge, that Wolfe, in the hope of intimidating the enemy into a cessation of this style of hostility, judged it expedient to connive at some retaliatory outrages, from which the nobleness of his disposition would otherwise have revolted with abhorrence.

From his position in the Isle of Orleans, the English commander had a distinct view of the danger and difficulty by which his enterprise was obstructed. Quebec is chiefly built on a steep rock on the northern bank of the St. Lawrence, and additionally defended by the river St. Charles, which, flowing past it on the east, unites with the St. Lawrence immediately below the town, and consequently encloses it in a peninsular locality. Besides its natural barriers, the city was tolerably fortified by art, secured with a numerous garrison, and plentifully supplied with provisions and ammunition. In the St. Charles, whose channel is rough, and whose borders are intersected with ravines, there were several armed vessels and floating batteries; and a boom was drawn across its mouth. On the eastern bank of this stream, a formidable body of French troops, strongly intrenched, extended their encampment along the shore of Beaufort to the falls of the river Montmorency, having their rear covered by an impenetrable forest. At the head of this army was the skilful, experienced, and intrepid Montcalm, the ablest commander that France had employed in America since the death of Count Frontignac, and who, though possessed of forces superior in number to the invaders, prudently determined to stand on the defensive, and mainly depend on the natural

strength of the country, which, indeed, appeared almost insurmountable. He had lately reinforced his troops with five battalions embodied from the flower of the colonial population; he had trained to arms all the neighbouring inhabitants, and collected around him a numerous band of the most ancient and attached Indian allies of France. To undertake the siege of Quebec, against such opposing force, was not only a deviation from the established maxims of war, but a rash and romantic enterprise. But great actions are commonly transgressions of ordinary rules; and Wolfe, though fully awake to the hazard and difficulty of the achievement, was not to be deterred from attempting it.

Resolved to attempt whatever was practicable for the reduction of Quebec, Wolfe took possession, after a successful skirmish, of Point Levi, on the southern bank of the St. Lawrence, and there erected batteries against the town; but his fire from this position, though it destroyed many houses, made little impression upon the works, which were too strong and too remote to be essentially affected by it, and, at the same time, too elevated to be reached by a cannonade from the ships of war. Perceiving that his artillery could not be efficiently exerted except from batteries constructed on the opposite side of the St. Lawrence, Wolfe soon decided on more daring and impetuous measures. The northern shore of the St. Lawrence, to a considerable extent above Quebec, is so rocky and precipitous, as to render a landing, in the face of an enemy, impracticable. An offensive attempt below the town, though less imprudent, was confronted by formidable obstructions. Even if the river Montmorency were passed, and the French driven from their intrenchments, the St. Charles must still present a new and less superable barrier against the assailants. Wolfe, acquainted with every obstacle, but heroically observing that "a victorious army finds no difficulties," resolved to pass the Montmorency and bring Montcalm to an engagement. For this purpose, thirteen companies of English grenadiers and a part of the second battalion of royal Americans were landed at the mouth of that river, while two divisions under Generals Townsend and Murray, prepared to cross it by a ford which was discovered farther up the stream. Wolfe's plan was to attack, in the first instance,

a redoubt close to the water's edge, and apparently beyond reach of shot from the enemy's intrenchments, in the hope that the French, by attempting to support that fortification, would enable him to bring on a general engagement; or that, if they should submit to the loss of the redoubt, he could thence take an accurate survey of their position, and regulate with advantage his subsequent operations. On the approach of the British troops, the redoubt was evacuated; and Wolfe, observing some confusion in the French camp, instantly changed his original plan, and determined to attack the hostile intrenchments without farther delay. Townsend and Murray were now commanded to hold their divisions in readiness for fording the river, and the grenadiers and royal Americans were directed to form on the beach, and await there the reinforcement which was requisite to sustain their exertions; but, flushed with ardour and negligent of support, these troops made a precipitate charge upon the enemy's intrenchments, where they were received with so steady and sharp a fire from the French musketry, that they were presently thrown into disorder, and compelled to take refuge in the abandoned redoubt. Here it proved, unexpectedly, that they were still exposed to an effective fire from the enemy, and several brave officers, exposing their persons in attempting to reform and rally the troops, were killed. A thunder-storm, which now broke out, contributed to baffle the efforts of the British, without depressing the spirit of the French, who continued to fire, not only upon the troops in the redoubt, but on those who were lying wounded and disabled on the field, near their own intrenchments. The English general, finding that his plan of attack was completely disconcerted, ordered his troops to repossess the river and return to the Isle of Orleans. Besides the mortifying check which he had received, he lost, in this rash, ill-considered attempt, nearly five hundred of the bravest men in his army.

Some experience, however, though dearly bought, had been gained; and Wolfe—now assured of the impracticability of approaching Quebec on the side of the Montmorency, while Montcalm retained his station, which he seemed determined to do, till, from the advance of the season, the elements should lend their aid in destroying the invaders—detached General Murray,



with twelve hundred men in transports, to co-operate with Admiral Holmes above the town in an attempt upon the French shipping, and to distract the enemy by descents on the banks of the river. (August 25.) After twice endeavouring without success to land on the northern shore, Murray, by a sudden descent which he accomplished at Chamboud, gained the opportunity of destroying a valuable magazine, filled with clothing, arms, ammunition, and provisions; but the French ships were secured in such a manner as to defy the approach either of the fleet or the army. On his return to the British camp, he brought the consolatory intelligence, obtained from his prisoners, that Fort Niagara was taken; that Ticonderoga and Crown Point had been occupied without resistance; and that General Amherst was making preparations to attack the enemy at Isle-aux-Noix. The camp of the Isle of Orleans was abandoned; and the whole army having embarked on board the fleet, a part of it was landed at Point Levi, and a part at a spot farther up the river. Admiral Holmes, meanwhile, for several days successively, manœuvred with his fleet in a manner calculated to engage the attention of the enemy on the northern shore, and draw their observation as far as possible from the city. These movements had no other effect than to induce Montcalm to detach fifteen hundred men, under the command of Bougainville, one of his officers, from the main camp, to watch the motions of the English fleet and army, and prevent a landing from being accomplished.

Wolfe was now confined to bed by a severe fit of the disease under which he laboured, aggravated by incessant fatigue and by the anxiety inseparable from a combination of difficulties sufficient to have appalled the stoutest courage and perplexed the most resolute and intelligent commander. In this situation, his three brigadier-generals, whom he invited to concert some plan of operations, projected and proposed to him a daring enterprise, of which the immediate object was to gain possession of the lofty eminences beyond Quebec, where the enemy's fortifications were comparatively slight. It was proposed to land the troops by night under the *Heights of Abraham*, at a small distance from the city, and to scale the summit of these heights before daybreak. This attempt manifestly involved extreme

difficulty and hazard. The stream was rapid, the shore shelving, the bank of the river lined with French sentinels, the landing-place so narrow as easily to be missed in the dark, and the cliff which must afterwards be surmounted so steep that it was difficult to ascend it even in open day and without opposition. Should the design be promulgated by a spy or deserter, or suspected by the enemy; should the disembarkation be disordered, through the darkness of the night, or the obstructions of the shore; the landing-place be mistaken, or but one sentinel alarmed,—the Heights of Abraham would instantly be covered with such numbers of troops as would render the attempt abortive and defeat inevitable.

The necessary orders having been communicated, and the preparatory arrangements completed, the whole fleet, upon the 12th of September, moved up the river several leagues above the spot allotted for the assault, and at various intervening places made demonstrations of an intention of landing the troops; as if the movement had been merely experimental, and no decisive purpose of attack were yet entertained. But, an hour after midnight, the troops were embarked in flat-bottomed boats, which, aided by the tide and the stream, drifted with all possible caution down the river towards the intended place of disembarkation. They were obliged to keep close to the northern shore, in order to diminish the danger of passing the landing place (which, nevertheless, very nearly happened) in the dark; and yet escaped the challenge of all the French sentinels except one or two, whose vigilance, however, was baffled by the presence of mind and ingenuity with which a Scotch officer replied to the call, and described the force to which he belonged as a part of Bougainville's troops employed in exploring the state of the river and motions of the English. Silence was commanded under pain of death, which was, indeed, doubly menaced; and a death-like stillness was preserved in every boat. A detachment of Scotch Highlanders and of light infantry, commanded by Colonel Howe (brother of the nobleman who perished at Ticonderoga) led the way up the dangerous cliff, which was ascended by the aid of the rugged projection of the rocks and the branches of some bushes and plants that protruded from their crevices. The rest of the troops, emulating



WOLFE'S ARMY ASCENDING THE HEIGHTS OF ABRAHAM.

this gallant and skilful example, followed their comrades up the narrow path; and by break of day, the whole army reached the summit. (September 13.)

When Montcalm received intelligence that the British force, which he supposing wandering on the river, had sprung up like a mine on the summit of the Heights of Abraham, he could not at first credit the full import of the tidings. Accounting it impossible that a whole army had ascended such a rugged and abrupt precipice, he concluded that the demonstration was merely a feint, undertaken by a small detachment, in order to induce him to abandon the position he had hitherto maintained. Convinced, however, by farther observation, of his mistake, he conceived that an engagement could no longer be avoided; and



instantly quitting his camp at Montmorency, crossed the river St. Charles, with the purpose of attacking the English army. In thus consenting to give battle, Montcalm was rather confounded by the genius and daring than overruled by the actual success and position of his adversary. Had he retired into Quebec, he might, especially at such an advanced period of the year, and with so numerous a garrison, have securely defied a siege. Wolfe, observing the movement of the enemy, began to form his own line, which consisted of six battalions and the Louisburg grenadiers. The right wing was commanded by Monckton; the left by Murray; the right flank was covered by the Louisburg grenadiers; and the rear and left by Howe's light infantry, which had shortly before achieved the easy conquest of a four-gun battery. As the form in which the French advanced indicated the purpose of outflanking the left of the English army, Townsend was sent to this part of the line, with the regiment of Amherst and the two battalions of royal Americans, which were formed in such disposition as to present a double front to the enemy. One regiment, drawn up in eight divisions, with large intervals, formed the English body of reserve. Montcalm's dispositions for the attack were not less skilful and judicious. The right and left wings of his army were composed almost equally of European and of colonial troops; the centre consisted of a column formed of two battalions of regulars. Fifteen hundred Indians and Canadians, expert and deadly marksmen, advancing in front, and screened by adjoining thickets, began the battle. Their irregular fire proved fatal to many officers, whom they preferably aimed at; but it was soon silenced by the steady fire of the British. Both armies were destitute of artillery, except two small pieces on the side of the French, and a single gun which the English seamen contrived to hoist up from the landing place, and which they employed during the action with considerable effect.

About nine in the morning, the main body of the French advanced vigorously to the charge, and the conflict soon became general. Montcalm having chosen for his own station the left of the French army, and Wolfe, for his, the right of the English, the two commanders directly confronted each other in the quarter where arose the hottest encounter of this memorable day.

The English troops reserved their fire till the French were within forty yards of their line ; and then, by a terrible discharge, spread havoc among the adverse ranks. Their fire was continued with a vigour and deliberation which effectually checked the advance and visibly abated the audacity of the French. Wolfe, who, early in the action, was wounded in the wrist, betraying no symptom of pain, wrapped a handkerchief round his arm, and continued to direct and animate his troops. Soon after, he received a shot in the groin ; but, concealing the wound, he was leading his grenadiers to the charge, when a third ball pierced his breast, and brought him to the ground. His troops, incensed rather than disconcerted by the fall of their general, continued the action, with unabated vigour, under Monckton, on whom the command now devolved, but who was soon obliged, by a dangerous wound, to resign it to Townsend. Montcalm, about the same time, while animating the fight, in front of his battalion, was pierced with a mortal wound ; and General Senezergus also, the second in command on the same side, shortly after fell. While the fall of Wolfe seemed to impart a higher temper to the courage of the English, and infused a spirit in their ranks that rendered them superior to almost any opposing force, the loss of Montcalm produced a contrary and depressing effect on the French. The British right wing now pressed on with fixed bayonets, determined on vengeance and victory. General Murray, at the same critical instant, advancing swiftly with the troops under his direction, broke the centre of the French army ; and their confusion was completed by a charge of the Highlanders, who, drawing their broadswords, rushed upon them with resistless fury, and drove them, with great slaughter, partly into Quebec, and partly over the St. Charles. On the left of the British position, the combat was less violent and sanguinary ; but here, also, the attack of the French was repulsed, and their attempt to outflank the British defeated. At this juncture, Bougainville, with a body of two thousand fresh troops, approached the rear of the victorious English ; but, observing the complete rout and dispersion of Montcalm's forces, he did not venture to attempt a renewal of the action. The victory was decisive. About a thousand of the French were made prisoners, and nearly an equal number





DEATH OF WOLFE.

fell in the battle and the pursuit; of the remainder, the greater number, unable to gain the shelter of Quebec, retired first to Point-au-Tremble, and afterwards to Trois Rivières and Montreal. The loss of the English, both in killed and wounded, was less than six hundred men.

But the fate of Wolfe was deeply and universally deplored. After his last wound, finding himself unable to stand, he leaned upon the shoulder of a lieutenant, who sat down in order to support him. This officer, seeing the French give way, exclaimed, "They run! they run!" "Who run?" cried Wolfe, with eagerness; for his glazing eye could no longer discern the fortune of the day. Being informed that it was the enemy, he replied with animation, "Then I die happy!"—and almost instantly after expired, *in the blaze of his fame*. Intensely studious, and yet promptly and vigorously active; heroically brave and determined, adventurous and persevering; of a



temper lively and even impetuous, yet never reproached as violent or irascible ; generous, indulgent, courteous, and humane,—Wolfe was the pattern of his officers and the idol of his soldiers. The force and compass of his genius enabled him practically to distinguish, what inferior minds never discover at all, the difference between great difficulties and impossibilities ; and being undiscouraged by what was merely, however mightily difficult, he undertook and achieved what others would have accounted and found to be impossible. His life (as was said of Sir Philip Sidney) was, indeed, *poetry in action*. He was, for a time, the favourite hero of England as well as of America ; and monumental statues, erected at the public expense, attested his glory, both in the Old World and the New. A marble statue, in particular, was decreed to his memory by the Assembly of Massachusetts. His rival, Montcalm, survived him but a few hours, and met his fate with the most undaunted courage. When he was informed that his wound was mortal, his reply was, “I am glad to hear it ;” and when the near approach of death was announced to him, he added, “So much the better :—I shall not, then, live to see the surrender of Quebec.” He was buried, by his own direction, in an excavation that had been produced by the explosion of a bomb. Unfortunately for his fame, the extent to which he is justly responsible for the treacherous cruelties of the Indian allies of his countrymen, on various occasions, still remains doubtful. It is pretended by some English writers, that Amherst had declared his purpose of treating Montcalm, if he should happen to take him alive, not as an honourable warrior, but as a bandit or robber. But if such sentiments were ever entertained, they were erased from the minds of victorious enemies by the heroic circumstances of Montcalm’s death, and the remembrance of his talent and intrepidity,—merits, which a wise regard to his own fame, and even more generous sentiment, must ever prompt a conqueror to recognise, and perhaps exaggerate, in a vanquished foe ; and when, some time after, the French government desired leave to erect a monument to his memory in Canada, the request was granted by the English minister, Pitt, in terms expressive of a high admiration of Montcalm’s character. Monckton recovered of his wound at New York.

General Townsend, who now commanded the army of Wolfe, proceeded to fortify his camp, and to construct lines and take other necessary measures for the investment of Quebec; but his operations, which might otherwise have been greatly protracted, if not entirely defeated, were happily abridged by a proposition of the garrison within five days of the late victory to surrender the place to the English forces. (September 17.) The discomfiture of Montcalm's plan of defence, and the loss of this commander, whose active genius and despotic authority had rendered him not merely the leader of the French, but the main spring of all their counsels and conduct, seemed to have confounded the spirit and paralyzed the vigour of the garrison, whose early surrender excited general surprise, and was equally grateful to their enemies and mortifying to their countrymen. The terms of the capitulation were the more favourable for the besieged, as the enemy was assembling a large force in the rear of the British army; as the season had become wet, cold, and stormy, threatening the troops with sickness and the fleet with danger; and as a considerable advantage was to be gained from taking possession of the town while the walls were yet in a defensible condition. It was stipulated, that the inhabitants, during the war, should be protected in the free exercise of their religion; their future political destiny was left to be decided at the return of peace. This treaty occurred very seasonably for the British, who learned immediately after that the enemy's army had rallied and been reinforced beyond Cape Rouge by two regular battalions which General de Levi had conducted to their aid from Montreal; and that Bougainville, with eight hundred men and a convoy of provisions, was prepared to throw himself into the town on the very day of its surrender. (September 18.) The capitulation was no sooner ratified, than the British forces took possession of Quebec, which, besides its garrison, contained a population of ten thousand persons. Next day, about a thousand prisoners were embarked on board of transports to be conveyed to Europe.

The capital of New France, thus reduced to the dominion of Great Britain, received a garrison of five thousand troops commanded by General Murray, whose security was farther promoted by the conduct which the French colonists in the neigh-

bourhood now thought proper to adopt; for they repaired in great numbers to Quebec, and, delivering up their arms, pledged themselves by oath to observe a strictly passive neutrality during the continuance of the war. The British fleet, shortly after, took its departure from the St. Lawrence, carrying with it General Townsend, who returned to England.

The operations which had been intrusted to General Stanwix were attended with complete success. By his conduct and prudence, the British interest and empire were established so firmly, to all appearance, on the banks of the Ohio, that the emigrants from Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania were very soon after enabled securely to resume and advantageously to extent the settlements in this quarter, from which the French had expelled them in the commencement of the war.

The inhabitants of North America eagerly indulged the hope that the reduction of Quebec not only betokened, but actually imported, the entire conquest of Canada; but they were speedily undeceived; and, aroused by the spirited and nearly successful attempt of the French to retrieve this loss, they consented the more willingly to a renewed exertion of their resources for the purpose of securing and improving the victorious posture of their affairs. The New England levies this year (1760) were as numerous as they had ever been during the war; the Virginian levies (augmented by the emergency of a war with the Cherokees) amounted to two thousand men.

No sooner had the English fleet retired from the St. Lawrence, than Levi, who succeeded to Montcalm's command, resolved to attempt the recovery of Quebec. The land forces he possessed were more numerous than the army of Wolfe, by which the conquest of the place had been achieved, and he enjoyed the co-operation of some frigates, which afforded him the entire command of the river, as the English had imprudently withdrawn every one of their vessels, on the supposition that they could not be useful in winter. He had hoped that a sudden attack might enable him to take Quebec by surprise, during the winter; but, after some preparatory approaches which were repulsed, and a survey which convinced him that the outposts were better secured and the governor more active and alert



than he had expected, he was induced to postpone his enterprise till the arrival of the spring. In the month of April, when the St. Lawrence afforded a navigation freed from ice, the artillery, military stores, and heavy baggage of the French were embarked at Montreal, and carried down the river under the protection of six frigates; and Levi himself, after a march of ten days, arrived with his army at Point-au-Tremble, within a few miles of Quebec. General Murray, to whom the preservation of the English conquest was intrusted, took prompt and skilful measures for its security; but his troops had suffered so much from the extreme cold of the winter and the want of vegetables and fresh provisions, that instead of five thousand, the original number of his garrison, he could now count on the services of no more than three thousand men. Impelled by overboiling courage, rather than guided by sound judgment, and relying more, perhaps, on the reputation than the strength of his army, he determined, with this once victorious and still valiant, though diminished force, to meet the enemy in the field, although their numbers amounted to more than twelve thousand; and, accordingly, marching out to the Heights of Abraham, he attempted to render this scene once more tributary to the glory of Britain, by an impetuous assault on the neighbouring position of the French at Sillery. (April 28, 1760.) But his attack was firmly sustained by the enemy, and after a sharp encounter, finding himself outflanked, and in danger of being surrounded by superior numbers, he withdrew his troops from the action and retired into the city. In this conflict the British lost the greater part of their artillery and nearly a thousand men. The French, though their loss in killed and wounded was more than double that number, had nevertheless gained the victory, which their general lost no time in improving. On the evening of the day on which the battle took place, Levi opened trenches against the town; yet, in spite of all his efforts, it was not till the 11th of May that his batteries were so far advanced as to commence an effectual fire upon the garrison. But Murray had now, by indefatigable exertion, in which he was assisted with alacrity by his soldiers, completed some outworks, and planted so powerful an artillery on the ramparts, that his fire was far superior to that of the

besiegers, and nearly silenced their batteries. Quebec, notwithstanding, would most probably have reverted to its former masters, if an armament which was despatched from France had not been outsailed by a British squadron, which succeeded in first gaining the entrance and the command of the St. Lawrence. The French frigates, which had descended from Montreal, were now attacked by the British ships, and, part of them having been destroyed, the rest betook themselves to a hasty retreat up the river. Levi instantly raised the siege, and, retiring with a precipitation that obliged him to abandon the greater part of his baggage and artillery, reconducted his forces (with the exception of a party of Canadians and Indians who became disheartened and deserted him by the way) to Montreal. Here the Marquis de Vaudreuil, governor-general of Canada, had fixed his head-quarters, and determined to make his last stand in defence of the French colonial empire,—thus reduced, from the attitude of preponderance and conquest which it presented two years before, to the necessity of a defensive and desperate effort for its own preservation. For this purpose Vaudreuil called in all his detachments and collected around him the whole force of the colony. Though little chance of success remained to him, he preserved an intrepid countenance, and in all his dispositions displayed the firmness and foresight of an accomplished commander. To support the drooping courage of the Canadians and their Indian allies, he had even recourse to the artifice of circulating among them feigned intelligence of the successes of France in other quarters of the world, and of her approaching succour.

Amherst, in the mean time, was diligently engaged in concerting and prosecuting measures for the entire conquest of Canada. During the winter, he had made arrangements for bringing all the British forces from Quebec, Lake Champlain, and Lake Ontario, to join in a combined attack upon Montreal. Colonel Haviland, by his direction, sailing with a detachment from Crown Point, took possession of Isle-aux-Noix, which he found abandoned by the enemy, and thence proceeded towards Montreal; while Amherst, with his own division, consisting of about ten thousand regulars and provincials, left the frontiers of New York, and advanced to Oswego, where his force received

the addition of a thousand Indians of the Six Nations, marching under the command of Sir William Johnson. Embarking with his entire army on Lake Ontario, he reduced the fort of Isle Royale, one of the most important posts which the French possessed on the river St. Lawrence; and thence, after a difficult and dangerous passage, conducted his troops to Montreal, where, on the very day of their arrival (September 6, 1760), they were met by the forces commanded by General Murray. In his progress up the river, Murray distributed proclamations among the Canadians inhabiting its southern shore, which produced such an effect that almost all the parishes in this quarter, as far as the river Sorel, declared their submission to Britain, and took the oath of neutrality; and Lord Rollo, meanwhile, advancing along the northern shore, disarmed all the inhabitants as far as Trois Rivières, which, though the capital of a large district, being merely an open village, was taken without resistance. By a happy concert in the execution of a well digested plan, the armies of Amherst and Murray, on the day after their own simultaneous arrival (September 7), were joined by the detachment confided to Colonel Haviland. Amherst had already made preparation for investing Montreal; but Vaudreuil, perceiving, from the strength of the combined armies, and the skilful dispositions of their commanders, that resistance must be ineffectual, hastened to demand a capitulation; and on the following day (September 8), Montreal, Detroit, and all the other places of strength within the government of Canada were surrendered to the British crown. After the capitulation, General Gage was appointed governor of Montreal, with a garrison of two thousand men; and Murray returned to Quebec, where his garrison was augmented to four thousand.

Thus fell the colonial empire of France on the continent of North America,—the victim of overweening ambition, and of the rage of a rival state, transported by insult and injury beyond the usual channel of its policy and the limits of the system it had hitherto pursued. On the south of the Mississippi, the French still possessed the infant colony of Louisiana; but this settlement, far from being powerful or formidable, was so thinly peopled and so ill-conditioned, that it could scarcely have pre-



served its existence, without the provisions of food and other supplies it obtained by a contraband trade with the British provinces. The downfall of the French dominion was completed by the fate of the armament, which was despatched this year from France for the assistance of Canada. The commander of this force, consisting of one frigate of thirty guns, two large store-ships, and nineteen smaller vessels, having ascertained before his arrival on the coast that a British squadron had already sailed up the St. Lawrence, took refuge in the Bay of Chaleurs, on the coast of Nova Scotia. Captain Byron, who commanded the British vessels, stationed at Louisbourg, receiving intelligence of the enemy's position, instantly sailed with five ships of war to the Bay of Chaleurs, and easily succeeded in destroying the hostile armament, as well as in dismantling two batteries which the French had erected on shore.

In the mean time, the Carolinas were suffering from Indian hostility, instigated by the French garrison, that had retreated from Fort Duquesne. In the different expeditions against Fort Duquesne, the Cherokees, agreeable to treaty, had sent considerable parties of warriors to the assistance of the British army. As the horses in those parts run wild in the woods, it was customary, both among Indians and white people on the frontiers, to lay hold of them and appropriate them to their own purposes; but while the savages were returning home through the back parts of Virginia, many of them having lost their horses, laid hold of such as came in their way, never imagining that they belonged to any individual in the province. The Virginians, however, instead of asserting their right in a legal way, resented the injury by force of arms, and killed twelve or fourteen of the unsuspecting warriors, and took several more prisoners. The Cherokees, with reason, were highly provoked at such ungrateful usage from allies, whose frontiers they had helped to change from a field of blood into peaceful habitations, and when they came home told what had happened to their nation. The flame soon spread through the upper towns, and those who had lost their friends and relations were implacable, and breathed nothing but fury and vengeance against such perfidious friends. In vain did the chieftains interpose their authority; nothing could restrain the furious

spirits of the young men, who were determined to take satisfaction for the loss of their relations. The emissaries of France among them instigated them to bloodshed, and for that purpose furnished them with arms and ammunition; and the scattered families on the frontiers of Carolina lay much exposed to scalping parties of these savages.

The garrison of Fort Loudon, consisting of about two hundred men, under the command of Captains Demere and Stuart, first discovered the ill-humour in which the Cherokee warriors returned from the northern expedition. The soldiers, as usual, making excursions into the woods to hunt for fresh provisions, were attacked by them, and some of them were killed. From this time such dangers threatened the garrison, that every one was confined within the small boundaries of the fort; and all communication with the distant settlement from which they received supplies being cut off, and the soldiers being but poorly provided, had no other prospects left but those of famine or death. Parties of young Indians took the field, and rushing down among the settlements, murdered and scalped a number of people on the frontiers.

The commanding officer at Fort Prince George having received intelligence of these acts of hostility, despatched a messenger to Charleston to inform Governor Lyttleton that the Cherokees had commenced hostilities. In consequence of which, parties of the independent companies were brought to Charleston; and the militia of the country had orders to rendezvous at Congarees, where the governor, with such a force as he could procure from the lower parts, resolved to join them, and march to the relief of the frontier settlements.

No sooner had the Cherokees heard of these warlike preparations at Charleston, than 32 of their chiefs set out for that place, in order to settle all differences, and prevent, if possible, a war; but the governor, notwithstanding, determined that nothing should prevent his military expedition, although Lieutenant-Governor Bull urged the danger of a war at that time.

A few days after holding this conference with the chieftains, the governor set out for Congarees, the place of general rendezvous for the militia, and about 140 miles distant from Charleston, where he mustered in all about 1400 men. To this

place the Cherokees marched along with the army, and were to all appearance contented, but in reality burning with resentment. When the army moved from the Congarees, the chieftains, very unexpectedly, were all made prisoners; and to prevent their escape to the nation, a captain's guard was mounted over them, and in this manner they were obliged to march to Fort Prince George. And these thirty-two Indians, upon the arrival of the army at Fort Prince George, were all shut up in a hut, scarcely sufficient for the accommodation of six soldiers, where they very naturally concerted plots for obtaining their liberty.

Governor Lyttleton's little army being not only ill armed and disciplined, but also discontented and mutinous, he judged it dangerous to proceed further into the enemy's country. Having beforehand sent for Attakullakulla, who was esteemed both the wisest man of the Creek nation and the most steady friend of the English, to meet him at Fort Prince George, this warrior hastened to his camp from an excursion against the French, in which he had taken some prisoners, one of whom he presented to the governor. Mr. Lyttleton knew that for obtaining a re-establishment of peace there was not a man in the whole nation better disposed to assist him than this old warrior, though it was observed that he cautiously avoided making any offer of satisfaction. But so small was his influence among the Cherokees at this time, that they considered him as no better than an old woman, on account of his attachment to their English enemies, and his aversion from going to war against them.

About the 18th of December, 1759, the governor held a congress with this warrior, and ultimately agreed to a treaty of peace, drawn up and signed by the governor and six of the head men; in which it was agreed, that the 32 chieftains of the Cherokees (who had been taken prisoners) should be kept as hostages confined in the fort, until the same number of Indians, guilty of murder, should be delivered up to the commander-in-chief of the province; that trade should be opened and carried on as usual; that the Cherokees should kill, or take every Frenchman prisoner, who should presume to come into their nation during the continuance of the war; and that they should hold no intercourse with the enemies of Great Britain, but should



apprehend every person, white or red, found among them, that might be endeavouring to set the English and Cherokees at variance, and interrupt the friendship and peace established between them.

Scarcely had Governor Lyttleton concluded the treaty of Fort Prince George, when the small-pox, which was raging in an adjacent Indian town, broke out in his camp; and as few of his little army had ever gone through that distemper, and as the surgeons were totally unprovided for such an accident, his men were struck with terror, and in great haste returned to the settlements, cautiously avoiding all intercourse one with another, and suffering much from hunger and fatigue by the way. The governor followed them, and arrived in Charleston about the beginning of the year 1760. Though not a drop of blood had been spilt during the expedition, he was received like a conqueror, with the greatest demonstrations of joy; and the most flattering addresses were presented to him by the different societies and professions, and bonfires and illuminations testified the high sense the inhabitants entertained of his merit and services, and the happy consequences which they believed would result from his expedition.

However, those rejoicings on account of the peace were scarcely over, when the news arrived that fresh hostilities had been committed, and the governor was informed that the Cherokees had killed fourteen men within a mile of Fort Prince George. The Indians had contracted an invincible antipathy to Captain Coytmore, the officer whom Mr. Lyttleton had left commander of that fort; and the treatment they had received at Charleston, but especially the imprisonment of their chiefs, had now converted their former desire of peace into the bitterest rage for war. Oconostota, a chieftain of great influence, had become a most implacable and vindictive enemy to Carolina, and determined to repay treachery with treachery. Having gathered a strong party of Cherokees, he surrounded Fort Prince George, and compelled the garrison to keep within their works; but finding that he could make no impression on the fort, nor oblige the commander to surrender, he contrived the following stratagem for the relief of his countrymen confined in it.

As that country was everywhere covered with woods, he placed a party of savages in a dark thicket by the river side, and then sent an Indian woman, whom he knew to be always welcome at the fort, to inform the commander that he had something of consequence to communicate to him, and would be glad to speak with him at the river side. Captain Coytmore imprudently consented, and without any suspicion of danger walked down towards the river, accompanied by Lieutenants Bell and Foster; when Oconostota, appearing on the opposite side, told him he was going to Charleston to procure a release of the prisoners, and would be glad of a white man to accompany him as a safeguard; and the better to cover his dark design, had a bridle in his hand, and added, he would go and hunt for a horse for him. The Captain replied, that he should have a guard, and wished he might find a horse, as the journey was very long. Upon which the Indian, turning quickly about, swung the bridle thrice round his head, as a signal to the savages placed in ambush, who instantly fired on the officers, shot the captain dead on the spot, and wounded the other two. In consequence of which, orders were given to put the hostages in irons, to prevent any further danger from them; but while the soldiers were attempting to execute their orders, the Indians stabbed the first man who laid hold of them with a knife, and wounded two more; upon which the garrison, exasperated to the highest degree, fell on the unfortunate hostages and butchered them in a manner too shocking to relate.

There were few men in the Cherokee nation that did not lose a friend or a relation by this massacre, and therefore with one voice all immediately declared for war. The leaders in every town seized the hatchet, telling their followers that the spirits of their murdered brothers were flying around them, and calling for vengeance. From the different towns large parties of warriors took the field, painted in the most formidable manner, and singing the war song, rushed down among the defenceless families on the frontiers of Carolina, where men, women, and children, without distinction, fell a sacrifice to their merciless fury. Such as fled to the woods, and escaped the scalping-knife, perished with hunger; and those whom they made prisoners were carried into the wilderness, where they suffered

inexpressible hardships ; and every day brought fresh accounts to the capital of their ravages, murders, and desolations. But while the back settlers impatiently looked to their governor for relief, the small-pox raged to such a degree in town, that few of the militia could be prevailed on to leave their distressed families to serve the public. In this extremity an express was sent to General Amherst, the commander-in-chief in America, acquainting him with the deplorable situation of the province, and imploring his assistance in the most pressing terms. Accordingly a battalion of Highlanders, and four companies of the Royal Scots, under the command of Colonel Montgomery, afterwards Earl of Eglinton, were ordered immediately to embark, and sail for the relief of Carolina.

In the mean time William Lyttleton being transferred to the government of Jamaica, the charge of the province devolved on William Bull, a man of great integrity and erudition. Application was made to the inhabitants of North Carolina and Virginia for relief, and seven troops of rangers were raised to patrol the frontiers, and prevent the savages from penetrating further down among the settlements. A considerable sum was voted for presents to such of the Creeks, Chickesaws, and Catawbias as should join the province, and go to war against the Cherokees ; and provisions were sent to the families that had escaped to Augusta and Fort Moore, and the best preparations possible made for chastising their enemy, so soon as the regulars coming from New York should arrive in the province.

Before the end of April, 1760, Colonel Montgomery landed in Carolina, and encamped at Monk's Corner ; but as the conquest of Canada was the grand object of this year's campaign in America, he had orders to strike a sudden blow for the relief of Carolina, and return to head-quarters at Albany without loss of time. Nothing was therefore omitted that was judged necessary to forward the expedition. Several gentlemen of fortune, excited by a laudable zeal, formed themselves into a company of volunteers, and joined the army. The whole force of the province was collected, and ordered to rendezvous at Congaree ; and wagons, carts, and horses were impressed.

A few weeks after his arrival, Colonel Montgomery marched to the Congaree, where he was joined by the internal strength



of the province, and immediately set out for the Cherokee country. He was provided with a half-blooded Indian, for a guide, who was well acquainted with the roads through the woods, and the passages through the rivers. Having little time allowed him, his march was spirited and expeditious. After reaching a place called Twelvemile River, he encamped on an advantageous ground, and marched with a party of his men in the night to surprise Estatoe, an Indian town about 20 miles from his camp. The first noise he heard by the way was the barking of a dog before his men, where he was informed there was an Indian town called Little Keowee, which he ordered the light infantry to surround, and, except women and children, to put every Indian in it to the sword. He next proceeded to Estatoe, which he found abandoned by all the savages, excepting a few who had not had time to make their escape; and this town, which consisted of at least 200 houses, and was well provided with corn, hogs, poultry, and ammunition, he reduced to ashes; and Sugar Town, and every other settlement in the lower nation, afterwards shared the same fate. In these lower towns about 60 Indians were killed and 40 made prisoners, and the rest were driven to seek for shelter among the mountains. He then marched to the relief of Fort Prince George, which had been for some time invested by savages, inasmuch that no soldier durst venture beyond the bounds of the fort, and where the garrison was in distress, not for the want of provisions, but of fuel to prepare them.

While the army rested at Fort Prince George, Edmund Atkin, agent for Indian affairs, despatched two Indian chiefs to the middle settlements, to inform the Cherokees that by suing for peace they might obtain it, as the former friends and allies of Britain; and at the same time he sent a messenger to Fort Loudon, requesting Captains Demere and Stuart, the commanding officers at that place, to use their best endeavours for obtaining peace with the Cherokees in the upper towns. Colonel Montgomery finding that the savages were as yet disposed to listen to no terms of accommodation, determined to carry the chastisement a little further. While he was piercing through the thick forest he had numberless difficulties to surmount, particularly from rivers fordable only at one place, and over-

looked by high banks on each side, where an enemy might attack him with advantage, and retreat with safety. When he had advanced within five miles of Etchoe, the nearest town in the middle settlements, he found there a low valley, covered so thickly with bushes that the soldiers could scarcely see three yards before them, and in the middle of which there was a muddy river, with steep clay banks. Through this dark place, where it was impossible for any number of men to act together, the army must necessarily march; and therefore Captain Morison, who commanded a company of rangers well acquainted with the woods, had orders to advance and scour the thicket. He had scarcely entered it, when a number of savages sprung from their lurking den, and firing on them, killed the captain and wounded several of his party. Upon which the light-infantry and grenadiers were ordered to advance and charge the enemy, which they did with great courage and alacrity. A heavy fire then began on both sides, and during some time the soldiers could only discover the places where the savages were hid by the report of their guns. Colonel Montgomery finding that the number of Indians that guarded this place was great, and that they were determined obstinately to dispute it, ordered the Royal Scots, who were in the rear, to advance between the savages and a rising ground on the right, while the Highlanders marched towards the left to sustain the light-infantry and grenadiers. The woods now resounded with the horrible shouts and yells of the savages, but these, instead of intimidating the troops, seemed rather to inspire them with double firmness and resolution. At length the savages gave way, and in their retreat falling in with the Royal Scots, suffered considerably before they got out of their reach. By this time the Royals being in the front and the Highlanders in the rear, the enemy stretched away and took possession of a hill, seemingly disposed to keep at a distance, and always retreating as the army advanced; and Colonel Montgomery perceiving that they kept aloof, gave orders to the line to face about, and march directly for the town of Etchoe; but the enemy no sooner observed this movement, than they got behind the hill, and ran to alarm their wives and children. During the action, which lasted above an hour, Colonel Mont-

gomery, who made several narrow escapes, had 20 men killed, and 76 wounded. What number the enemy lost is uncertain, but some places were discovered into which they had thrown several of their slain, from which it was conjectured that they must have lost a great number, as it is a custom among them to carry their dead off the field. Upon viewing the ground, all were astonished to see with what judgment and skill they had chosen it; for the most experienced European officer could not have fixed upon a spot more advantageous for waylaying and attacking an enemy, according to the method of fighting practised among the Indian nations.

This action, though it terminated much in favour of the British troops, had nevertheless reduced them to such a situation as made it very imprudent, if not altogether impracticable, to penetrate further into those woods. The repulse was far from being decisive, for the enemy had only retired from one to another advantageous situation in order to renew their attack when the army should again advance. Humanity would not suffer the commander to leave so many wounded men exposed to the vengeance of savages, without any stronghold in which he might lodge them, or some detachment, which he could not spare, to protect them; and should he proceed further, he saw plainly that he must expect frequent skirmishes, which would increase the number, and the burning of so many Indian towns would be a poor compensation for the great risk, and perhaps wanton sacrifice of so many valuable lives. To furnish horses for the men already wounded obliged him to throw many bags of flour into the river, and what remained was no more than sufficient for his army during their return to Fort Prince George. Orders were therefore given for a retreat, which was made with great regularity, although the enemy continued hovering around them, and annoying them to the utmost of their power. A large train of wounded men was brought above 60 miles through a hazardous country in safety, for which no small share of honour and praise was due to the officer that conducted the retreat.

After Colonel Montgomery had returned to the settlements, and was preparing to embark for New York, agreeable to his orders from General Amherst, the Carolinians were again thrown



under the most dreadful apprehensions from the dangers which still hung over the province; and prevailed on the colonel to leave four companies of the royal regiment, under the command of Major Frederick Hamilton, for covering the frontiers, while he embarked with the battalion of Highlanders, and sailed for New York.

In the mean time the distant garrison of Fort Loudon, consisting of 200 men, was reduced to the dreadful alternative of perishing by hunger or submitting to the mercy of the enraged Cherokees. The governor having information that the Virginians had undertaken to relieve it, for a while seemed satisfied, and anxiously waited to hear the news of that happy event, but the Virginians were equally ill qualified with their neighbours of Carolina to send them any assistance. So remote was the fort from every settlement, and so difficult was it to march an army through the barren wilderness, where the various thickets were lined with enemies, and to carry at the same time sufficient supplies along with them, that the Virginians had dropped all thoughts of the attempt. Provisions being entirely exhausted at Fort Loudon, the garrison was reduced to the most deplorable situation; and for a whole month they had no other subsistence but the flesh of lean horses and dogs, and a small supply of Indian beans, which some friendly Cherokee women procured for them by stealth. Long had the officers endeavoured to animate and encourage the men with the hopes of relief; but now being blockaded night and day by the enemy, and having no resource left, they threatened to leave the fort, and die at once by the hands of savages, rather than perish slowly by famine. In this extremity the commander was obliged to call a council of war, to consider what was proper to be done; when the officers were all of opinion, that it was impossible to hold out any longer, and therefore agreed to surrender the fort to the Cherokees on the best terms that could be obtained from them. For this purpose, Captain Stuart, an officer of great sagacity and address, and much beloved by all the Indians that remained in the British interest, procured leave to go to Chotè, one of the principal towns in the neighbourhood, where he obtained the following terms of capitulation, which were signed by the commanding officer, and two of the

Cherokee chiefs. "That the garrison of Fort Loudon march out with their arms and drums, each soldier having as much powder and ball as their officer shall think necessary for their march, and all the baggage they may choose to carry : that the garrison be permitted to march to Virginia, or Fort Prince George, as the commanding officer shall think proper, unmolested ; and that a number of Indians be appointed to escort them, and hunt for provisions during their march ; that such soldiers as are lame, or by sickness disabled from marching, be received into the Indian towns, and kindly used until they recover, and then allowed to return to Fort Prince George ; that the Indians do provide for the garrison as many horses as they conveniently can for their march, agreeing with the officers and soldiers for payment ; that the fort, great guns, powder, ball, and spare arms, be delivered to the Indians without fraud or further delay, on the day appointed for the march of the troops."

On these terms the garrison delivered up the fort, and marched out with their arms, accompanied by Oconostota, Judd's friend, the Chief of Chotè, and several other Indians, and that day went fifteen miles on their way to Fort Prince George. At night they encamped on a plain about two miles from Taliquo, an Indian town, when all their attendants, upon one pretence or another, left them ; which the officers considered as no good sign, and therefore placed a strict guard round their camp. During the night they remained unmolested, but next morning, about break of day, a soldier from an out-post came running in, and informed them that he saw a vast number of Indians, armed, and painted in the most dreadful manner, creeping among the bushes, and advancing in order to surround them. Scarcely had the officer time to order his men to stand to their arms, when the savages poured in upon them a heavy fire from different quarters, accompanied with the most hideous yells, which struck a panic into the soldiers, who were so much enfeebled and dispirited that they were incapable of making any effectual resistance. Captain Demere, with three other officers, and about twenty-six private men, fell at the first onset. Some fled into the woods, and were afterwards taken prisoners and confined among the towns in the valley. Captain

Stuart, and those that remained, were seized, pinioned, and brought back to Fort Loudon. No sooner had Attakullakulla heard that his friend Mr. Stuart had escaped, than he hastened to the fort, and purchased him from the Indian that took him, giving him his rifle, clothes, and all he could command, by way of ransom. He then took possession of Captain Demere's house, where he kept his prisoner as one of his family, and freely shared with him the little provisions his table afforded, until a fair opportunity should offer for rescuing him from their hands; but the poor soldiers were kept in a miserable state of captivity for some time, and then redeemed by the province at a great expense.

During the time these prisoners were confined at Fort Loudon, Oconostota formed a design of attacking Fort Prince George, and for this purpose despatched a messenger to the settlements in the valley, requesting all the warriors there to join him at Stickoey old town. By accident a discovery was made of ten bags of powder, and ball in proportion, which the officers had secretly buried in the fort, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands. This discovery had nearly proved fatal to Captain Stuart, and would certainly have cost him his life, had not the interpreter had so much presence of mind as to assure the enemy that these warlike stores had been concealed without his knowledge or consent. The Indians having now abundance of ammunition for the siege, a council was called at Chotè, to which the captain was brought, and put in mind of the obligations he lay under to them for sparing his life; and as they had resolved to carry six cannon and two cohorns with them against Fort Prince George, to be managed by men under his command, they told him he must go and write such letters to the commandant as they should dictate to him. They informed him at the same time, that if that officer should refuse to surrender, they were determined to burn the prisoners one after another before his face, and try if he could be so obstinate as to hold out while he saw his friends expiring in the flames. Captain Stuart was much alarmed at his situation, and from that moment resolved to make his escape, or perish in the attempt. His design he privately communicated to Attakullakulla, and told him how uneasy he was at the



thoughts of being compelled to bear arms against his countrymen. He acknowledged that he had always been a brother, and hoped he would assist him to get out of his present perilous circumstances. The old warrior, taking him by the hand, told him he was his friend, he had already given one proof of his regard, and intended to give another so soon as his brother should return and help him to concert the measure. He said he was well apprised of the ill designs of his countrymen, and should he go and persuade the garrison of Fort Prince George to do as he had done, what could he expect but that they should share the same dismal fate. Strong and uncultivated minds carry their friendship, as well as their enmity, to an astonishing pitch. Among savages family friendship is a national virtue, and civilized men may blush when they consider how much barbarians have often surpassed them in the practice of it.

Attakullakulla claimed Captain Stuart as his prisoner, and had resolved to deliver him from danger, and for this purpose there was no time to be lost. Accordingly he gave out among his countrymen that he intended to hunt for a few days, and carry his prisoner along with him to eat venison, of which he declared he was exceedingly fond. At the same time the captain went among his soldiers, telling them that they could never expect to be ransomed by the province, if they gave the smallest assistance to the Indians against Fort Prince George. Having settled all matters, they set out on their journey, accompanied by the warrior's wife, his brother, and two soldiers, who were the only persons in the garrison that knew how to convey great guns through the woods. For provisions they depended on what they might kill by the way; but the distance to the frontier settlements was great, and the utmost expedition was necessary to prevent any surprise from Indians pursuing them. Nine days and nights did they travel through a dreary wilderness, shaping their course by the sun and moon towards Virginia, and traversing many hills, valleys, and paths, that had never been crossed before but by savages and wild beasts. On the tenth they arrived at the banks of Holston's river, where they fortunately fell in with a party of 300 men, sent out by Colonel Bird for the relief of such soldiers as might make their

escape that way from Fort Loudon. On the fourteenth day the Captain reached Colonel Bird's camp on the frontiers of Virginia, where having loaded his faithful friend with presents and provisions, he sent him back to protect the unhappy prisoners till they should be ransomed, and to exert his influence among the Cherokees for the restoration of peace.

No sooner had Captain Stuart made his escape from the hands of the savages, than he immediately began to concert ways and means for the relief of his garrison. An express was despatched to Lieutenant-governor Bull, informing him of the disaster that had happened to the garrison of Fort Loudon, and of the designs of the enemy against Fort Prince George. In consequence of which orders were given to Major Thomson, who commanded the militia on the frontiers, to throw in provisions for ten weeks into that fort, and warn the commanding officer of his danger. At the same time a messenger was sent to Attakullakulla, desiring him to inform the Cherokees that Fort George was impregnable, having vast quantities of powder buried under ground everywhere around it, to blow up all enemies that should attempt to come near it. Presents of considerable value were sent to redeem the prisoners at Fort Loudon, a few of whom had by this time made their escape; and afterwards not only those that were confined among the towns in the valley, but also all that had survived the hardships of hunger, disease, and captivity in the upper towns were released, and delivered up to the commanding officer at Fort Prince George.

It might now have been expected that the vindictive spirit of the savages would be satisfied, and that they would be disposed to listen to some terms of accommodation. This treacherous conduct to the soldiers at Fort Loudon, they intended as a satisfaction for the harsh treatment their relations had met with at Fort Prince George; and dearly had the province paid for the base imprisonment and massacre of the chiefs at that place. Still, however, a great majority of the nation spurned at every offer of peace. The lower towns had all been destroyed by Colonel Montgomery; the warriors in the middle settlements had lost many friends and relations; and several Frenchmen had crept in among the upper towns, and helped to foment

their ill humour against Carolina. Lewis Latinac, a French officer, was among them, and proved an indefatigable instigator to mischief. He persuaded the Indians that the English had nothing less in view than to exterminate them from the face of the earth; and, furnishing them with arms and ammunition, urged them on to war. At a great meeting of the nation he pulled out his hatchet, and striking it into a log of wood, called out, Who is the man that will take this up for the king of France? Saloue, the young warrior of Estatoe, instantly laid hold of it, and cried out, "I am for war. The spirits of our brothers who have been slain still call upon us to avenge their death. He is no better than a woman that refuses to follow me." Many others seized the tomahawk, yet dyed in British blood, and burned with impatience for the field.

Under the flattering appearance of a calm were these clouds again gathering; however, Lieutenant-governor Bull, who well knew how little Indians were to be trusted on any occasion, kept the Royal Scots and militia on the frontiers in a posture of defence. But finding the province still under the most dreadful apprehensions from their savage neighbours, who continued insolent and vindictive, and ready to renew their ravages and murders, he made application a second time to General Amherst for assistance. Canada being now reduced, the commander-in-chief could the more easily spare a force adequate to the purpose intended; and Colonel Montgomery, who conducted the former expedition, having by this time embarked for England, the command of the Highlanders devolved on Lieutenant-Colonel James Grant, who received orders to return to the relief of Carolina. Early in the year 1761 he landed at Charleston, where he took up his winter quarters, until the proper season should approach for taking the field; but, unfortunately, during this time many of the soldiers, by drinking brackish water, were taken sick, which afforded the inhabitants an opportunity of showing their kindness and humanity. They considered themselves under the strongest obligations to treat men with tenderness, who came to protect them against their enemies, and therefore they brought the sick soldiers into their houses, and nursed them with the greatest care and attention.

In this campaign the province determined to exert itself to



the utmost, that, in conjunction with the regular forces, a severe correction might be given to those troublesome savages. For this purpose a provincial regiment was raised, and the command of it given to Colonel Middleton. Presents were provided for the Indian allies, and several of the Chickesaws and Catawbias engaged to assist them against the Cherokees. But the Creeks, whose help was also strongly solicited, played an artful game between the English and the French, and gave the one or the other encouragement, according to the advantages they reaped from them. All possible preparations were made for supplying the army with provisions at different stages, and with such carts and horses as were thought necessary to the expedition.

As all white men in the province, of the military age, were soldiers as well as citizens, and trained in some measure to the use of arms, it was no difficult matter to complete the provincial regiment. Their names being registered in the list of militia, on every emergency they were obliged to be ready for defence, not only against the incursions of Indians, but also against the insurrection of negroes; and although the same prompt obedience to orders could not be expected from them that is necessary in a regular army, yet the provincials had other advantages which compensated for that defect. They were better acquainted than strangers with the woods, and the nature of that country in which their military service was required. They were seasoned to the climate, and had learned from experience what clothes, meat, and drink were most proper to enable them to do their duty. In common occasions, when the militia was called out, the men received no pay, but when employed, as in this Cherokee war, for the public defence, they were allowed the same pay with the king's forces.

As soon as the Highlanders had recovered from their sickness, and were in a condition to take the field, Colonel Grant began his march for the Cherokee territories; and after being joined by the provincial regiment and Indian allies, he mustered in all about 2600 men. Having served some years in America, and been in several engagements with the Indians, he was now no stranger to their methods of making war.

On the 27th of May, 1761, Colonel Grant arrived at Fort

Prince George, and Attakullakulla having got information that he was advancing against his nation with a formidable army, hastened to his camp to signify his earnest desire of peace. He told the colonel that he always had been, and ever would continue to be, a firm friend to the English; that the outrages of his countrymen covered him with shame, and filled his heart with grief; yet nevertheless he would gladly interpose in their behalf, in order to bring about an accommodation. Often, he said, had he been called an old woman by the mad young men of his nation, who delighted in war, and despised his counsels. Often had he endeavoured to get the hatchet buried, and the former good correspondence with the Carolinians established; but now he was determined to set out for the Cherokee towns, to persuade them to consult their safety, and speedily agree to terms of peace, and again and again begged the colonel to proceed no further until he returned.

Colonel Grant, however, gave him no encouragement to expect that his request could be granted; but, on the 7th of June, began his march from Fort Prince George, carrying with him provisions for the army for 30 days. A party of 90 Indians, and 30 woodmen, painted like Indians, under the command of Captain Quintine Kennedy, had orders to march in front and scour the woods. After them the light infantry, and about 50 rangers, consisting in all of about 200 men, followed, by whose vigilance and activity the commander imagined that the main body of the army might be kept tolerably quiet and secure. For three days he made forced marches, in order to get over two narrow and dangerous defiles, which he accomplished without a shot from the enemy, but which might have cost him dear, had they been properly guarded and warmly disputed. On the day following he found suspicious ground on all hands, and therefore orders were given for the first time to load and prepare for action, and the guards to march slowly forward, doubling their vigilance and circumspection. As they frequently spied Indians around them, all were convinced that they should that day have an engagement. At length, having advanced near to the place where Colonel Montgomery was attacked the year before, the Indian allies in the van-guard, about eight in the morning, observed a large body of Cherokees

posted upon a hill on the right flank of the army, and gave the alarm. Immediately the savages, rushing down, began to fire on the advanced guard, which being supported, the enemy were repulsed, and recovered their heights. Under this hill the line was obliged to march a considerable way. On the left there was a river, from the opposite bank of which a large party of Indians fired briskly on the troops as they advanced. Colonel Grant ordered a party to march up the hill, and drive the enemy from the heights, while the line faced about, and gave their whole charge to the Indians who annoyed them from the side of the river. The engagement became general, and the savages seemed determined obstinately to dispute the lower grounds, while those on the hill were dislodged only to return with redoubled ardour to the charge. The situation of the troops was in several respects deplorable; fatigued by a tedious march, in rainy weather, surrounded with woods, so that they could not discern the enemy, galled by the scattered fire of savages, who when pressed always kept aloof, but rallied again and again, and returned to the ground. No sooner did the army gain an advantage over them in one quarter, than they appeared in another. While the attention of the commander was occupied in driving the enemy from their lurking-place on the river's side, the rear was attacked, and so vigorous an effort made for the flour and cattle, that he was obliged to order a party back for the relief of the rear-guard. From eight o'clock in the morning until eleven the savages continued to keep up an irregular and incessant fire, sometimes from one place, and sometimes from another, while the woods resounded with hideous shouts and yells, to intimidate the troops. At length the Cherokees gave way, and being pursued for some time, random shots continued till two o'clock, when they disappeared. What loss the enemy sustained in this action we have not yet been able to learn, but of Colonel Grant's army there were between 50 and 60 men killed and wounded; and it is probable the loss of the savages could not be much greater, and perhaps not so great, owing to their manner of fighting. Orders were given not to bury the slain, but to sink them in the river, to prevent their being dug up from their graves and scalped. To provide horses for those



that were wounded, several bags of flour were thrown into the river. After which they proceeded to Etchoe, a pretty large Indian town, which they reached about midnight, and next day reduced to ashes. Every other town in the middle settlements, fourteen in number, shared the same fate; and their magazines and corn fields were likewise destroyed, and those miserable savages, with their families, were driven to seek for shelter and provisions among the lower mountains.

Colonel Grant continued 30 days in the heart of the Cherokee territories, and, upon his return to Fort Prince George, the feet and legs of many of his army were so torn and bruised, and their strength and spirits so much exhausted, that they were utterly unable to march further. He resolved therefore to encamp at that place, both to refresh his men, and wait the resolutions of the Cherokees, in consequence of the heavy chastisement which they had received. Besides the numberless advantages their country afforded for defence, it was supposed that some French officers had been among them, and given them all the assistance in their power. It is true the savages supported their attack for some hours with considerable spirit; but being driven from their advantageous posts and thickets, they were wholly disconcerted, and though the repulse was far from being decisive, yet after this engagement they returned no more to the attack.

Such engagements in Europe would be considered as trifling skirmishes, scarcely worthy of relation, but in America a great deal is often determined by them. It is no easy matter to describe the distress to which the savages were reduced by this severe correction; even in time of peace they are in a great measure destitute of that foresight which provides for future events; but in time of war, when their villages are destroyed, and their fields laid desolate, they are reduced to extreme want. Being driven to the barren mountains, the hunters furnished with ammunition might indeed make some small provision for themselves; but women, children, and old men must perish, being deprived of the means of subsistence.

A few days after Colonel Grant's arrival at Fort Prince George, Attakullakulla, attended by several chieftains, came to his camp, and expressed a desire of peace. Severely had

they suffered for breaking their alliance with Britain ; and convinced at last of the weakness and perfidy of the French, who were neither able to assist them in time of war, nor supply their wants in time of peace, they resolved to renounce all connexion with them for ever. Accordingly terms of peace were drawn up and proposed, which were no less honourable to Colonel Grant than advantageous to the province. The different articles being read and interpreted, Attakullakulla agreed to them all excepting one, by which it was demanded, "That four Cherokee Indians be delivered up to Colonel Grant at Fort Prince George, to be put to death in the front of his camp ; or four green scalps be brought to him in the space of twelve nights." The warrior having no authority from his nation, declared he could not agree to this article, and therefore the Colonel sent him to Charleston, to see whether the lieutenant-governor would consent to mitigate the rigour of it.

Accordingly Attakullakulla, and the other chieftains, being furnished with a safeguard, set out for Charleston, to hold a conference with Mr. Bull, and a peace was formally ratified and confirmed by both parties.

Thus ended the Cherokee war, which was among the last humbling strokes given to the expiring power of France in North America, and Colonel Grant returned to Charleston.

A treaty of peace was concluded at Paris on the 10th of February, 1763. By this treaty, the French monarch renounced all claim to Nova Scotia, and ceded Canada and its dependencies, together with Cape Breton and all the islands and coasts adjoining the river St. Lawrence, to the British crown.





COLONEL BOUQUET.

## CHAPTER XI.

### PONTIAC'S WAR.



PONTIAC was scarcely concluded between France and England, when the north-western frontier of the colonies was visited with the horrors of Indian warfare. (1763.) When the English had taken possession of the French posts in Canada, Detroit also fell into their hands. The tribes in the vic-

nity of this post were under the government of Pontiac, an Ottawa chief, of great sagacity, bravery, and determination. Though he affected to be the friend of the English, he preferred the French, and quietly, but effectually entered into measures, the object of which was to drive the former from his country.



Pontiac now proceeded in his great work of forming the north-western tribes into a vast confederacy, and proved himself an able diplomatist. His eloquence and representations prevailed, and he found himself at the head of a mighty body of warriors. The plan of attack was next concerted. All the posts held by the English from Fort Pitt to Michilimackinac were to be attacked simultaneously upon a certain day. Until that day arrived, every precaution was taken to lull the English into a feeling of security, yet bands of the various tribes united in the confederacy gathered about Michilimackinac, Detroit, the Mouree post, Presque Isle, Niagara, Pitt, Ligonier, and other stations. At length, the appointed day arrived. The traders everywhere were seized, their goods taken from them, and more than one hundred of them put to death. Nine British forts yielded instantly, and over the whole north-western frontier, the work of horror and desolation was actively pursued. In Western Virginia, more than 20,000 people were driven from their homes. The burning of houses, the wasting of fields, and the capturing and butchering of settlers and traders, occupied every hour. Fort Michilimackinac was taken by a stratagem, which is thus narrated by Henry, a contemporary :

“The next day, being the fourth of June, was the king’s birth-day. The morning was sultry. A Chippeway came to tell me that his nation was going to play at *baggatiway*, with the Sacs or Saakies, another Indian nation, for a high wager. He invited me to witness the sport, adding that the commandant was to be there, and would bet on the side of the Chippeways. In consequence of this information, I went to the commandant, and expostulated with him a little, representing that the Indians might possibly have some sinister end in view; but the commandant only smiled at my suspicions.

“*Baggatiway*, called by the Canadians *le jeu de la crosse*, is played with a bat and ball. The bat is about four feet in length, curved, and terminating in a sort of racket. Two posts are planted in the ground, at a considerable distance from each other, as a mile or more. Each party has its post, and the game consists in throwing the ball up to the post of the adversary. The ball at the beginning is placed in the middle

of the course, and each party endeavours as well to throw the ball out of the direction of its own post, as into that of the adversary's.

"I did not go myself to see the match which was now to be played without the fort, because, there being a canoe prepared to depart, on the following day, for Montreal, I employed myself in writing letters to my friends; and even when a fellow-trader, Mr. Tracy, happened to call upon me, saying that another canoe had just arrived from Detroit, and proposing that I should go with him to the beach, to inquire the news, it so happened that I still remained, to finish my letters; promising to follow Mr. Tracy in the course of a few minutes. Mr. Tracy had not gone more than twenty paces from the door, when I heard an Indian war-cry, and a noise of general confusion. Going instantly to my window, I saw a crowd of Indians, within the fort, furiously cutting down and scalping every Englishman they found. In particular, I witnessed the fate of Lieutenant Jemette.

"The game of baggatiway, as from the description above will have been perceived, is necessarily attended with much violence and noise. In the ardour of contest, the ball, as has been suggested, if it cannot be thrown to the goal desired, is struck in any direction by which it can be diverted from that designed by the adversary. At such a moment, therefore, nothing could be less liable to excite premature alarm, than that the ball should be tossed over the pickets of the fort, nor that, having fallen there, it should be followed on the instant by all engaged in the game, as well the one party as the other, all eager, all struggling, all shouting, all in the unrestrained pursuit of a rude athletic exercise. Nothing could be less fitted to excite premature alarm; nothing, therefore, could be more happily devised, under the circumstances, than a stratagem like this; and this was, in fact, the stratagem which the Indians had employed, by which they had obtained possession of the fort, and by which they had been enabled to slaughter and subdue its garrison, and such of its other inhabitants as they pleased. To be still more certain of success, they had prevailed upon as many as they could, by a pretext the least liable to suspicion,

to come voluntarily without the pickets; and particularly the commandant and garrison themselves."

At Detroit, where Pontiac commanded, treachery prevented success; of this we give the account by Captain Carver:—

"As every appearance of war was at an end, and the Indians seemed to be on a friendly footing, Pontiac approached Detroit without exciting any suspicions in the breast of the governor, or the inhabitants. He encamped at a little distance from it, and let the commandant know that he was come to trade; and being desirous of brightening the chain of peace between the English and his nation, desired that he and his chiefs might be admitted to hold a council with him. The governor, still unsuspecting, and not in the least doubting the sincerity of the Indians, granted their general's request, and fixed on the next morning for their reception.

"On the evening of that day, an Indian woman who had been appointed by Major Gladwin to make a pair of Indian shoes, out of a curious elkskin, brought them home. The major was so pleased with them, that, intending these as a present for a friend, he ordered her to take the remainder back, and make it into others for himself. He then directed his servant to pay her for those she had done, and dismissed her. The woman went to the door that led to the street, but no further; she there loitered about as if she had not finished the business on which she came. A servant at length observed her, and asked her why she stayed there? She, gave him, however, no answer.

"Some short time after, the governor himself saw her, and inquired of his servant what occasioned her stay. Not being able to get a satisfactory answer, he ordered the woman to be called in. When she came into his presence, he desired to know what was the reason of her loitering about, and not hastening home before the gates were shut, that she might complete in due time the work he had given her to do. She told him, after much hesitation, that as he had always behaved with great goodness towards her, she was unwilling to take away the remainder of the skin, because he put so great a value upon it; and yet had not been able to prevail upon herself to tell him so. He then asked her why she was more reluctant to do so



now than she had been when she made the former pair. With increased reluctance she answered, that she should never be able to bring them back.

“His curiosity was now excited, he insisted on her disclosing the secret that seemed to be struggling in her bosom for utterance. At last, on receiving a promise that the intelligence she was about to give him should not turn to her prejudice; and that if it appeared to be beneficial, she should be rewarded for it, she informed him, that at the council to be held with the Indians the following day, Pontiac and his chiefs intended to murder him; and, after having massacred the garrison and inhabitants, to plunder the town. That for this purpose, all the chiefs who were to be admitted into the council room had cut their guns short, so that they could conceal them under their blankets; with which on a signal given by their general, on delivering the belt, they were all to rise up and instantly to fire on him and his attendants. Having effected this, they were immediately to rush into the town, where they would find themselves supported by a great number of their warriors, that were to come into it during the sitting of the council under the pretence of trading, but privately armed in the same manner. Having gained from the woman every necessary particular relative to the plot, and also the means by which she acquired a knowledge of them, he dismissed her with injunctions of secrecy, and a promise of fulfilling on his part with punctuality the engagements he had entered into.

“The intelligence the governor had just received gave him great uneasiness; and he immediately consulted the officer who was next him in command on the subject. But this gentleman, considering the information as a story invented for some artful purpose, advised him to pay no attention to it. This conclusion, however, had happily, no weight with him. He thought it prudent to conclude it to be true, till he was convinced that it was not so; and therefore, without revealing his suspicions to any other person, he took every needful precaution that the time would admit of. He walked around the fort for the whole night, and saw himself, that every sentinel was upon duty, and every weapon of defence in proper order.

“As he traversed the ramparts that lay nearest to the Indian

camp, he heard them in high festivity, and little imagining that their plot was discovered, probably pleasing themselves with the anticipation of their success. As soon as the morning dawned, he ordered all the garrison under arms, and then imparting his apprehensions to a few of the principal officers, gave them such directions as he thought necessary. At the same time he sent round to all the traders, to inform them, that as it was expected a great number of Indians would enter the town that day, who might be inclined to plunder, he desired they would have their arms ready, and repel any attempt of that kind.

“About ten o'clock, Pontiac and his chiefs arrived, and were conducted to the council chamber, where the governor and his principal officers, each with pistols in his belt, awaited his arrival. As the Indians passed on, they could not help observing that a greater number of troops than usual were drawn up on the parade, or marching about. No sooner were they entered and seated on the skins prepared for them, than Pontiac asked the governor, on what occasion his young men, meaning the soldiers, were thus drawn up and parading the streets? He received for answer that it was only intended to keep them perfect in their exercise.

“The Indian chief warrior now began his speech, which contained the strongest professions of friendship and good will towards the English: and when he came to the delivery of the belt of wampum, the particular mode of which, according to the woman's information, was to be the signal for the chiefs to fire, the governor and all his attendants drew their swords half way out of their scabbards; and the soldiers at the same time made a clattering with their arms before the door, which had been purposely left open. Pontiac, though one of the bravest men, immediately turned pale and trembled; and instead of giving the belt in the manner proposed, delivered it according to the usual way. His chiefs, who had impatiently expected the signal, looked at each other with astonishment, but continued quiet, waiting the result.

“The governor, in his turn, made a speech, but instead of thanking the great warrior for the professions of friendship he had just uttered, he accused him of being a traitor. He told

him that the English, who knew everything, were convinced of his treachery and villanous designs; and as a proof that they were acquainted with his most secret thoughts and intentions, he stepped towards an Indian chief that sat nearest to him, and drawing aside the blanket, discovered the shortened firelock. This entirely disconcerted the Indians, and frustrated their design.

“He then continued to tell them, that as he had given his word at the time they had desired an audience, that their persons should be safe, he would hold his promise inviolable, though they so little deserved it. However, he desired them to make the best of their way out of the fort, lest his young men, on being acquainted with their treacherous purposes, should cut every one of them to pieces.

“Pontiac endeavoured to contradict the accusation, and to make excuses for his suspicious conduct; but the governor, satisfied of the falsity of his protestations, would not listen to him. The Indians immediately left the fort; but instead of being sensible of the governor’s generous behaviour, they threw off the mask, and the next day made a regular attack upon it.”

Thus foiled, Pontiac laid formal siege to the fortress, and for many months that siege was continued in a manner, and with a perseverance, unexampled by the Indians. Even a regular commissariat department was organized, and bills of credit drawn out upon bark, were issued, and what is rarer, punctually paid.

Fort Pitt was besieged and reduced to great straits. Niagara remained in the possession of the British. Sir Jeffry Amherst, who now commanded in America, determined to make an effort to relieve and strengthen Pitt, Detroit, and Niagara. The troops, destined to relieve Detroit, were commanded by Captain Dalyell. He arrived at that post on the 30th of July. Before his arrival, Pontiac had summoned Major Gladwin to surrender the fort to the French king. To force the Indians to abandon their present design, Captain Dalyell sallied out early on the morning of the 31st, with 250 men. At Bloody Bridge, he was attacked by the Indians. Learning their immense superiority, he was about to retreat, when he was killed.





PONTIAC.

Captain Grant now assumed the command, brought his men to the fort in good order, and acquired great honour by the able manner in which he conducted the retreat. Besides Captain Dalyell, the English lost one sergeant and eighteen rank and file killed; and Captain Grey, Lieutenants Duke and Brown, one drummer, and thirty-eight rank and file wounded.

Colonel Bouquet, with two regiments of regulars, in a shattered condition, was ordered to march to the relief of Fort Pitt, with a quantity of military stores.

Early orders had been given to prepare a convoy of provisions on the frontiers of Pennsylvania, but such was the universal terror and consternation of the inhabitants, that when Colonel Bouquet arrived at Carlisle, nothing had yet been done. A great

number of the plantations had been plundered and burnt by the savages; many of the mills were destroyed, and the full ripe crops stood waving in the field, ready for the sickle, but the reapers were not to be found. The greatest part of the county of Cumberland, through which the army had to pass, was deserted, and the roads were covered with distressed families, flying from their settlements, and destitute of all the necessities of life. In the midst of that general confusion, the supplies necessary for the expedition became very precarious, nor was it less difficult to procure horses and carriages, for the use of the troops.

The commander found that, instead of expecting such supplies from a miserable people, he himself was called, by the voice of humanity, to bestow on them some share of his own provisions, to relieve their present exigency. However, in eighteen days after his arrival at Carlisle, by the prudent measures which he pursued, joined to his knowledge of the country, and the diligence of the persons he employed, the convoy and carriages were procured with the assistance of the interior parts of the country, and the army proceeded.

Their march did not abate the fears of the dejected inhabitants. They knew the strength and ferocity of the enemy. They remembered the former defeats even of our best troops, and were full of diffidence and apprehensions on beholding the small number and sickly state of the regulars employed in this expedition. Without the least hopes, therefore, of success, they seemed only to wait for the fatal event, which they dreaded, to abandon all the country beyond the Susquehanna.

Meanwhile, Fort Ligonier, situated beyond the Allegheny mountains, was in the greatest danger of falling into the hands of the enemy, before the army could reach it. The stockade being very bad, and the garrison extremely weak, they had attacked it vigorously, but had been repulsed by the bravery and good conduct of Lieutenant Blane, who commanded there.

The preservation of that post was of the utmost consequence, on account of its situation and the quantity of military stores it contained, which, if the enemy could have got possession of, would have enabled them to continue their attack upon Fort



Pitt, and reduced the army to the greatest straits. For an object of that importance, every risk was to be run; and the Colonel determined to send through the woods, with proper guides, a party of thirty men to join that garrison. They succeeded by forced marches in that hazardous attempt, not having been discovered by the enemy till they came within sight of the fort, into which they threw themselves, after receiving some running shot.

Previous to that reinforcement of regulars, twenty volunteers, all good woodsmen, had been sent to Fort Ligonier by Captain Ourry, who commanded at Fort Bedford, another very considerable magazine of provisions and military stores, the principal and central post between Carlisle and Fort Pitt, being about one hundred miles distant from each. This fort was also in a ruinous condition, and very weakly garrisoned, although the two small intermediate posts, at the crossing of the Juniata and Stony creek, had been abandoned to strengthen it. Here the distressed families, scattered for twelve or fifteen miles around, fled for protection, leaving most of their effects a prey to the savages. All the necessary precautions were taken by the commanding officer to prevent surprise, and repel open force, as also to render ineffectual the enemy's fire arrows. He armed all the fighting men, who formed two companies of volunteers, and did duty with the garrison till the arrival of two companies of light infantry, detached as soon as possible from Colonel Bouquet's little army.

These two magazines being secured, the Colonel advanced to the remotest verge of our settlements, where he could receive no sort of intelligence of number, positions, or motions of the enemy. Not even at Fort Bedford, where he arrived with his whole convoy on the 25th of July, for though the Indians did not attempt to attack the fort, they had by this time killed, scalped, and taken eighteen prisoners in that neighbourhood, and their skulking parties were so spread, that at last no express could escape them. This want of intelligence, was a very embarrassing circumstance in the conduct of a campaign in America. The Indians had better intelligence, and no sooner were they informed of the march of the army, than they broke up the siege of Fort Pitt, and took a route by which they knew



the enemy was to proceed, resolved to take advantageous opportunity of an attack on the march.

In this uncertainty of intelligence under which the Colonel laboured, he marched from Fort Bedford, the 28th of July, and as soon as he reached Fort Ligonier, he determined, prudently, to leave his wagons at that post, and to proceed only with pack-horses. Thus disburdened, the army continued their route. Before them lay a dangerous defile at Turtle creek, several miles in length, bounded the whole way by high craggy hills. This defile he intended to have passed the ensuing night, by a double or forced march; thereby, if possible, to elude the vigilance of so alert an enemy, proposing only to make a short halt in his way, to refresh the troops at *Bushy Run*.

When they came *within half a mile of that place*, about one in the afternoon, August 5th, 1763, after a harassing march of seventeen miles, and just as they were expecting to relax from their fatigue, they were suddenly attacked by the Indians, on their advanced guard; which being speedily and firmly supported, the enemy was beaten off, and even pursued to a considerable distance.

But the flight of these barbarians must often be considered as a part of the engagement, rather than an abandonment of the field. The moment the pursuit ended, they returned with renewed vigour to the attack. Several other parties, who had been in ambush in some high grounds which lay along the flanks of the army, now started up at once, and falling upon the troops with a resolution equal to that of their companions, galled them with a most obstinate fire.

It was necessary to make a general charge with the *whole line, to dislodge them from the heights*. This charge succeeded; but still the success produced no decisive advantage; for as soon as the savages were driven from one post, they still appeared on another, till by constant reinforcements they were at length able to surround the whole detachment, and attack the convoy which had been left in the rear.

This manœuvre enabled the main body to fall back in order to protect it. The action, which grew every moment hotter, now became general. Our troops were attacked on every side; the savages supported their spirit throughout; but the steady

behaviour of the English troops, who were not thrown into the least confusion by the very discouraging nature of this service, in the end prevailed; they repulsed the enemy, and drove them from all the posts with fixed bayonets. The engagement ended only with the day, having continued from one o'clock without intermission.

The ground on which the action ended, was not altogether inconvenient for an encampment. The convoy and the wounded were in the middle, and the troops, disposed in a circle, encompassed the whole. In this manner, and with little repose, they passed an anxious night, obliged to observe the strictest vigilance by an enterprising enemy, who had surrounded them.

At the first dawn of light the savages began to show themselves all about the camp, at the distance of about five hundred yards; and by shouting and yelling in the most horrid manner, quite around the extensive circumference, endeavoured to strike terror by an ostentation of their numbers and their ferocity.

After this alarming preparation, they attacked the forces, and under the favour of an incessant fire, made several bold efforts to penetrate into the camp. They were repulsed in every attempt, but by no means discouraged from new ones. The troops, continually victorious, were constantly in danger. They were besides extremely fatigued with a long march, and with the equally long action of the preceding day; and they were distressed to the last degree by a total want of water, much more intolerable than the evening's fire.

Tied to their convoy, they could not lose sight of it for a moment, without exposing, not only that interesting object, but their wounded men, to fall a prey to the savages, who pressed them on every side. To move was impracticable. Many of the horses were lost, and many of the drivers, stupified by their fears, hid themselves in bushes, and were incapable of hearing or obeying orders.

Their situation became extremely critical and perplexing, having experienced that the most lively efforts made no impressions upon an enemy who always gave way when pressed; but who, the moment the pursuit was over, returned with as much alacrity as ever to the attack. Besieged rather than engaged; attacked without interruption, and without decision; able

neither to advance nor retreat, they saw before them the most melancholy prospect of crumbling away by degrees, and entirely perishing without revenge or honour, in the midst of those dreadful deserts. The fate of Braddock was every moment before their eyes; but they were more ably conducted. The commander was sensible that everything depended upon bringing the savages to a close engagement, and to stand their ground when attacked. Their audaciousness, which was increased with their success, seemed favourable to this design. He endeavoured, therefore, to increase their confidence as much as possible.

For that purpose he contrived the following stratagem. Our troops were posted on an eminence, and formed a circle round their convoy from the preceding night, which order they still retained. Colonel Bouquet gave directions that two companies of troops, who had been posted in the most advanced situations, should fall within the circle; the troops on the right and left immediately opened their files, and filled up the vacant space, that they might seem to cover their retreat. Another company of light infantry, with one of grenadiers, were ordered to lie in an ambuscade, to support the two first companies of grenadiers, who moved on the feigned retreat, and were intended to begin the real attack. The dispositions were well made, and the plan executed without the least confusion.

The savages were led completely into the snare. The thin line of troops which took possession of the ground which the two companies of light troops had left, being brought nearer to the centre of the circle, the barbarians mistook those motions for a retreat, abandoned the wood which covered them, hurried headlong on,—advancing with the most daring intrepidity, and galled the English troops with their heavy fire. But at the moment when, certain of success, they thought themselves masters of the camp, the two first companies made a sudden turn, and sallying out from a part of the hill which could not be observed, fell furiously upon their right flank.

The savages, though they found themselves disappointed and exposed, preserved their recollection, and resolutely returned the fire which they had received. Then it was the superiority of combined strength and discipline appeared. On



the second charge they could no longer sustain the irresistible shock of regular troops, who rushing upon them, killed many, and put the rest to flight.

At the instant when the savages betook themselves to flight, the other two companies, which had been ordered to support the first, rose from the ambuscade, marched to the enemy, and gave them their full fire. This accomplished their defeat. The four companies now united, did not give the enemy time to look behind them, but pursued them till they were totally dispersed. The other bodies of the savages attempted nothing. They were kept in awe during the engagement by the rest of the British troops, who were so posted, as to be ready to fall on them upon the least motion. Having been witness to the defeat of their companions, without any effort to support or assist them, they at length followed their example, and fled.

This judicious and successful manœuvre, rescued the party from the most immediate danger. The victory secured the field, and cleared all the adjacent woods. But still the march was so difficult, and the army had suffered so much, and so many horses were lost, that before they were able to proceed, they were reluctantly obliged to destroy such part of their convoy of provisions as they could not carry with them, for want of horses. Being lightened by this sacrifice, they proceeded to Bushy Run, where finding water, they encamped.

The enemy lost about sixty men on this occasion, some of them their chief warriors; which they reputed a very severe stroke. They likewise had many wounded in the pursuit. The English lost about fifty men, and had about sixty wounded. The savages thus signally defeated in all their attempts to cut off this reinforcement upon its march, began to retreat with the utmost precipitation to their remote settlements, wholly giving up their designs against Fort Pitt, at which place Col. Bouquet arrived safe with his convoy, four days after the action; receiving no further molestation on the road, except a few scattered shot from a disheartened and flying enemy.\*

During this time, Detroit continued to be blockaded, and the garrison suffered extremely from fatigue and want of provisions; but a schooner detached from Niagara, with twelve whites and

six Mohawks, with supplies, arrived, on the 3d of September, at the river Detroit. While at anchor, the vessel was attacked by about 350 Indians in boats; but by the skill and bravery of the crew, they were dispersed. Two of the crew were killed and four wounded. The others carried the vessel to Detroit, and thus saved the garrison. The officers of the fort presented each of them with a silver medal, descriptive of the action.

The Indians were now satisfied with the triumphs they had obtained, and Pontiac could not keep them in the field. The chief had displayed great ability in conducting the war; but his people were not disposed to sustain him any further, and he saw them leave him to treat for peace. In June, 1764, a treaty was concluded at Niagara, as a preliminary to definitive negotiations at Detroit on the 21st of August. Bouquet led a strong force to the Upper Muskingum, concluded a treaty with the Delawares and Shawanese, received 206 whites, who had been in captivity, and took hostages for the deliverance of others. (November, 1764.) By May, 1765, peace was completely restored.

Pontiac, the master spirit of the Indians, despairing of saving his country and race from the encroachments of the English, left his tribe and went into the West, where he endeavoured to unite other tribes, but failed. He was assassinated by a Kaskaskia Indian. In nobility of spirit, and force of genius, he was much superior to any Indian chief of whom we have any account, except, perhaps, Tecumseh. His plan of extermination was masterly, and treachery alone prevented it from being completely successful.





LOGAN.

## CHAPTER XII.

### DUNMORE'S WAR.



**T**HE settlements of Virginia spread westward very rapidly in spite of the hostility of the Indians. The calamities of savage warfare might have been warded off, if the pioneers had possessed a certain degree of prudence and discretion; but on several occasions, it was demonstrated that the whites regarded the Indians as inferiors, and did not consider them entitled to be treated as civilized men. The red men then determined that if they could not be received as friends and equals, they should be felt as foes. The murder



of the old chief, Bald Eagle, and other Indians, exasperated the north-western tribes, till they thought they would be women to remain quiet any longer.

In 1772, there was an Indian town on the little *Kenhawa*, called Bulltown, inhabited by families, who were in habits of social and friendly intercourse with the whites on Buchanan and Hacker's creeks. There was likewise residing on Gauley river, the family of a German by the name of Strond. In the summer of that year, Mr. Strond being from home, his family were all murdered, his house plundered, and his cattle driven off. The trail made by these, leading in the direction of Bulltown, induced the supposition that the Indians of that village had been the authors of the outrage, and caused several to resolve on avenging it upon them.

A party of five men (two of whom were William White and William Hacker, who had been concerned in previous murders) expressed a determination to proceed immediately to Bulltown. The remonstrance of the settlement generally, could not operate to effect a change in that determination. They went; and on their return, circumstances justified the belief that the apprehension of those who knew the temper and feelings of White and Hacker, had been well founded; and that there had been some fighting between them and the Indians. And notwithstanding that they denied ever having seen an Indian in their absence, yet it was the prevailing opinion, that they had destroyed all the men, women, and children at Bulltown, and threw their bodies into the river. Indeed, one of the party is said to have, inadvertently, used expressions confirmatory of this opinion; and to have then justified the deed, by saying that the clothes and other things known to have belonged to Strond's family, were found in the possession of the Indians. The village was soon after visited, and found to be entirely desolated, and nothing being ever after heard of its former inhabitants, there can remain no doubt but that the murder of Strond's family was requited on them.

The commission of these outrages in the time of professed peace, was of itself sufficient to cause a revival of hostilities; yet not until crimes still of a deeper dye were perpetrated, was there any attempt at retaliation.

In the spring of 1774, it appears there were some horses stolen by the Indians from a party of land-jobbers on the Ohio, below Wheeling, which was looked upon as a signal for the commencement of a war against the frontiers. And consequently those that delighted in a renewal of open hostilities, were ready to be avenged of the depredators, however small the offence.

The land-jobbers shortly afterwards being collected at Wheeling, heard of a couple of Indians and some traders coming down the river, then but a short distance above. It was immediately proposed by Captain Cresap, the commandant of the station, that he would go up with a small party and kill the Indians. The project was opposed by Colonel Zane, but the party left, and on their return being asked respecting the Indians, they evasively answered that they had fallen overboard into the river; however, allowing it to be understood that they had been killed by them and thrown into the river.

On the evening of the same day, news reached them that a party of Indians were encamped at the mouth of Grave creek, a few miles below; when they forthwith proceeded down the river, and falling upon them, killed several and put the rest to flight. In the skirmish one of Cresap's men was severely wounded, which was the only injury received.

The Indians thus appearing in the neighbourhood in parties, was looked upon as undeniable evidence of their intention to fall upon the whites; and attacks were hourly expected.

A short time after the skirmish at Grave creek, it was known that a number of Indians were encamped at the mouth of Yellow creek, some distance above Wheeling. And on account of some settlers living in that neighbourhood, fears were expressed for their safety, and it was proposed that a party should be sent from Wheeling for the purpose of routing the Indians. Thirty-two men were accordingly raised, and immediately marched under the command of Daniel Greathouse, who had been a terrible enemy to the savages, in time of war or peace. Secretly reaching the vicinity of a cabin of a settler on the opposite side of the river from the Indians, the party concealed themselves, while Greathouse, with a show of friendship, went over to the Indian encampment to ascertain their strength.

While there he was privately admonished by an Indian woman to leave, for the warriors, she said, were on a frolic, and being displeased on account of the murder of their people at Grave creek, might do him harm.

On the return of Greathouse to the party, he reported that the enemy was too strong for an open attack, and that some stratagem must be resorted to.

The liquor they were using they had obtained from the settlers, and were frequently crossing back and forwards for it. Greathouse went to the cabin and advised that they should be given freely, as much as they wanted; and an endeavour made, not only to detain such as came over, but invitations be sent for others to come, that they might be separated considerably, when an attack should be suddenly commenced upon them.

The plan succeeded well. Several, after a time, were gathered into the cabin, and soon became quite intoxicated; when they were fallen upon by the party rushing in, and all killed but a young Indian girl.

Those across the river at the encampment hearing the firing, immediately sent some over in canoes to ascertain the cause, who were permitted to land, but no sooner on the shore than they were fallen upon and killed. The party not returning, another was detached from the encampment to their aid, for they began to correctly apprehend the whole disturbance. Before these had reached the shore, a fire was opened upon them, and the most of them killed, while the survivors retreated back to the other shore. An attack was now made by the Indians from the other side of the river, but without effect.

The family of the celebrated Logan, the Mingo chief, and former friend of the white man, was principally murdered at this place and at Grave creek, which called forth a fearful revenge upon the frontiers.

On the 12th of July, 1774, Logan, at the head of a small party of only eight warriors, struck a blow on some inhabitants upon the Muskingum, where no one expected it. He had left the settlements in the Ohio undisturbed, which every one supposed would be the first attacked, in case of war, and hence the reason of his great successes. His first attack was upon three



men who were pulling flax in a field. One was shot down, and the two others taken. These were marched into the wilderness, and, as they approached the Indian town, Logan gave the scalp halloo, and they were met by the inhabitants, who conducted them in. Running the gauntlet was next to be performed. Logan took no delight in tortures, and he in the most friendly manner instructed one of the captives how to proceed to escape the severities of the gauntlet. This same captive, whose name was Robinson, was afterwards sentenced to be burned; but Logan, though not able to rescue him by his eloquence, with his own hand cut the cords that bound him to the stake, and caused him to be adopted into an Indian family. He became afterwards Logan's scribe.

The Virginia Legislature was in session, when the Indians began their depredations. That body immediately resolved to raise an army of about three thousand men, and march into the heart of the Indian country. One-half of the required number of men were to be drawn from Virginia, and the command was given to General Andrew Lewis, a man of cool, determined temper, and possessed of considerable military skill. The remainder of the troops were to be raised in Pennsylvania, and were to be under Governor Dunmore's immediate orders. Dunmore directed General Lewis to proceed to the mouth of the Kenhawa, where the two divisions would unite.

By the 11th of September, Lewis's division was ready to march. A competent guide was secured, and in nineteen days, the troops arrived at the appointed rendezvous. On the next morning, the 1st of October, two men were out some distance from the camp, in pursuit of deer, and were fired upon by a large body of Indians; one was killed, and the other, with difficulty, retreated to the camp, to which he immediately communicated the alarm.

General Lewis was a remarkably cool and considerate man; and upon being informed of this, "after deliberately lighting his pipe," gave orders that the regiment under his brother Colonel Charles Lewis, and another under Colonel Fleming, should march and reconnoitre the enemy, while he would place the remainder of the troops in order for battle. The two regiments marched without delay, and had not proceeded more

than four hundred yards when they were met by the Indians, approaching for the same purpose. A skirmish immediately ensued, and before the contest had continued long, the colonels of the two regiments fell mortally wounded, when a disorder in the ranks followed, and the troops began a precipitate retreat; but almost at this moment another regiment under Colonel Field arriving to their aid, and coming up with great firmness to the attack, effectually checked the savages in the pursuit, and obliged them in turn to give way till they had retired behind a breastwork of logs and brush which they had partially constructed.

Lewis, on his arrival at the place, had encamped quite on the point of land between the Ohio and Kenhawa, and having moved but a short distance out to the attack, the distance across from river to river was still but short. The Indians soon extending their ranks entirely across, had the Virginians completely hemmed in, and in the event of getting the better of them, had them at their disposal, as there could have been no chance for escape.

Never was ground maintained with more obstinacy; for it was slowly, and with no precipitancy, that the Indians retired to their breastwork. The division under Lewis was first broken, although that under Fleming was nearly at the same moment attacked. This heroic officer first received two balls through his left wrist, but continued to exercise his command with the greatest coolness and presence of mind. His voice was continually heard, "Don't lose an inch of ground. Advance, outflank the enemy, and get between them and the river." But his men were about to be outflanked by the body that had just defeated Lewis; meanwhile the arrival of Colonel Field turned the fortune of the day, but not without a severe loss; Colonel Fleming was again wounded, by a shot through the lungs; yet he would not retire, and Colonel Field was killed as he was leading on his men. The whole line of the breastwork now became as a blaze of fire, which lasted nearly till the close of the day. Here the Indians under Logan, Cornstock, Elenipsico, Red-Eagle, and other mighty chiefs of the tribes of the Shawnees, Delawares, Mingos, Wyandots, and Cayugas, amounting, as was supposed, to fifteen hundred warriors, fought, as men

will ever do for their country's wrongs, with a bravery which could only be equalled. The voice of the great Cornstock was often heard during the day, above the din of strife, shouting: "Be strong! Be strong!" And when by the repeated charges of the whites, some of his warriors began to waver, he is said to have sunk his tomakawk into the head of one, who was cowardly endeavouring to desert. General Lewis, finding at length that every charge upon the lines of the Indians lessened the number of his forces to an alarming degree, and rightly judging that if the Indians were not routed before it was dark, a day of more doubt might follow, he resolved to throw a body, if possible, into their rear. As the good fortune of the Virginians turned, the bank of the river favoured this project, and forthwith three companies were detached upon the enterprise, under the three captains, Isaac Shelby, (after renowned in the revolution, and since in the war with Canada), George Matthews, and John Stewart. These companies got unobserved to their place of destination upon Crooked Creek, which runs into the Kenhawa. From the high weeds upon the banks of this little stream, they rushed upon the backs of the Indians with such fury, as to drive them from their works with precipitation. The day was now decided. The Indians, thus beset from a quarter they did not expect, were ready to conclude that a reinforcement had arrived. It was about sunset when they fled across the Ohio, and immediately took up their march for their towns on the Sciota.

Of the loss of both Indians and whites in this engagement, various statements have been given. A number amounting to seventy-five killed, and one hundred and forty wounded of the whites, has been rendered; with a loss on the part of the Indians not so great, but not correctly known.\*

Governor Dunmore, having collected his troops at Fort Pitt, descended the Ohio to Wheeling, and thence to the mouth of the Hockhocking. On arriving at that point, he sent two scouts, one of whom was the famous Simon Girty, to General Lewis, to march to the Shawnee towns, where a junction should take place. The Governor then proceeded towards the Piqua plains. Before he had reached that place, the Indians

\* History of the Backwoods.





SIMON GIRTY.

sent messengers to meet him, suing for peace. After some deliberation, Dunmore determined to comply, and sent an express to General Lewis, ordering him to retreat. Lewis supposed the Governor was ignorant of the victory at Point Pleasant, and continued his march until he was met by Dunmore in person, when a retreat, in compliance with his orders, was commenced with great reluctance.

An encampment being made by the governor, a council was opened on the ensuing day.

Cornstock, the Shawnee chief, opened the meeting with a warm and animated speech, in which he boldly attributed the occasion of the war to the murder of their people above and below Wheeling.

He displayed the skill of a statesman, joined to powers of oratory, rarely, if ever surpassed. With the most patriotic devotion to his country, and in a strain of most commanding

eloquence, he recapitulated the accumulated wrongs which had oppressed their fathers, and which were oppressing them. Sketching in lively colours the once happy and powerful condition of the Indians, he placed in striking contrast their present fallen fortunes and unhappy destiny. He is said to have been opposed to the war from its commencement; and to have proposed on the eve of the battle at Point Pleasant, to send in a flag, and make overtures for peace; but this proposal was overruled by the general voice of the chiefs. When a council was first held after the defeat of the Indians, Cornstock reminding them of their late ill-success, and that the Long Knives were still pressing on them, asked what should be then done. But no one answered. Rising again, he proposed that the women and children should all be killed; and that the warriors should go out and fight until they too were slain. Still no one answered. Then, said he, striking his tomahawk into the council-post, "I will go and make peace." Peace was accordingly sued for, and the treaty held.

Logan would not meet the whites in council, but remained in his cabin in sullen silence, until a messenger was sent to him to know whether he would accede to the proposals it contained. What the distance was from the treaty-ground to Logan's cabin we are not told; but of such importance was his name considered, that he was waited on by a messenger from Lord Dunmore, who requested his assent to the articles of the treaty. Logan had too much at heart the wrongs lately done him to accede without giving the messenger to understand fully the grounds upon which he acceded; he therefore invited him into an adjacent wood, where they sat down together. Here he related the events of butchery which had deprived him of all his connexions; and here he pronounced his memorable speech:

"I appeal to any white man to say, if ever he entered Logan's cabin hungry, and he gave him no meat; if ever he came cold and naked, and he clothed him not.

"During the course of the last long bloody war, Logan remained idle in his cabin, an advocate for peace. Such was my love for the whites, that my countrymen pointed as they passed, and said, 'Logan is the friend of the white man.'"



CORNSTALK.





"I had even thought to have lived with you, but for the injuries of one man. Colonel Cresap, the last spring, in cold blood, and unprovoked, murdered all the relations of Logan; not even sparing my women and children.

"There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it. I have killed many. I have fully glutted my vengeance. For my country, I rejoice at the beams of peace. But do not harbour a thought that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan?—Not one!"

The treaty of peace was not satisfactory to the people of Virginia, and they boldly asserted that Governor Dunmore had made the war for the purpose of breaking the proud spirit of the provincials. But the Governor could not have obtained terms more advantageous to the whites without wronging the Indians.

The noble chiefs, Logan and Cornstock, were both murdered. They were the friends of the whites up to the time of their death. The murder of Cornstock was an act of the most detestable barbarity. In the spring of 1777, he went with his son, Ellinipsico, to the Fort at Point Pleasant, and was on intimate terms with the officers of the garrison. While the chiefs were in the fort, one of the rangers, named Gilmore, was killed by Indians of a hostile tribe. His friends immediately came to the fort, and, in revenge, shot Cornstock and his son dead upon the spot. The officers dared not attempt to prevent the murder or punish the murderers. Cornstock met his fate with heroic resignation. The Shawnees immediately took up arms for the British cause, and took a dreadful vengeance for the slaughter of their mighty chief.

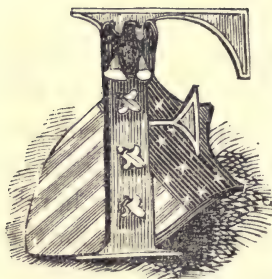




THE MINUTE MAN.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### THE REVOLUTION.



FROM the time of the first settlement of Virginia and Massachusetts, the colonists had displayed an unquenchable love of free institutions. In general, they had their representative assemblies, and the assent of those bodies was necessary to the effective operations of the government. All assertions of an extensive royal prerogative met with a determined resistance. Quarrels between the governors, appointed by the sovereigns of Great Britain, and the colonists, were frequent, and it is to be observed, that the people generally came out of those contests triumphant. During the wars with the Indians and French, the provinces did not receive that amount of assistance to which they thought themselves entitled, and were forced to depend upon their own exertions and resources. This necessity developed their strength and gave them confidence; so that after the destruction of the French



power in America, we find them making bolder assertions of their rights. Unfortunately for the British government, its ministers, instead of yielding something to this rising spirit, sought to heap additional burdens upon the colonists, and that, too, without allowing them, what all British subjects had a constitutional right to demand, a representation in parliament. This course provoked resistance; and bold, determined, and eloquent men were found to lead the friends of civil liberty. In Massachusetts, James Otis, Joseph Warren, Samuel Adams, and John Adams were prominent upon the patriotic side. In Virginia, the thunders of Patrick Henry sounded the alarm.

In 1764, Mr. Grenville, in the British parliament, proposed a measure, the avowed object of which was to raise a revenue in America, the entire produce of which was to go into the exchequer of Great Britain. Early in this year, the minister proposed several resolutions, as a sort of prelude to this grand scheme; laying additional duties upon imports into the colonies from foreign countries; on clayed sugar, indigo, coffee, &c. These resolutions were passed by parliament, without much debate or notice; and though they awakened some fears among the reflecting politicians of America, they were quietly acquiesced in, as a commercial regulation of Great Britain.

Among the resolutions reported by Mr. Grenville, was one imposing "certain stamp duties on the colonies;" but he declared to the house, his desire that it should not be acted upon until the next session of parliament. It was foreseen that the law would be disregarded, if extraordinary measures were not adopted to enforce it; and provision made that penalties for violating it, and all other revenue laws, might be recovered in the admiralty courts. The judges of these courts were dependent solely on the king, and decided the causes brought before them without the intervention of a jury.

The colonial agents in London sent copies of the resolutions to their respective colonies. As soon as the intelligence of these proceedings reached America, they were considered as the commencement of a system of oppression, which, if not vigorously resisted, would eventually deprive them of the liberty of British subjects. The General Court of Massachusetts, at their session in June, took this law into consideration. The house of Repre-

sentatives sent instructions to their agent in England, in which they denied the right of parliament to impose duties and taxes upon those who were not represented in the house of Commons; and directed him to remonstrate against the duties imposed, and the stamp act in contemplation. They acquainted the other colonies with the instructions they had given to their agent, and desired their concurrence. When their communication was received in the house of Burgesses in Virginia, a committee was immediately appointed to prepare an address to the king and two houses of parliament, expressing their sense of the consequences of such a measure to the colonies. Every argument which ingenuity could furnish, or interest could enforce, was employed, in order to prevent the passage of the obnoxious statutes; but all without effect. Associations were formed in all the provinces, in order to diminish the use of British manufactures; a step which, besides its immediate effects, rendered the merchants of England a party against the ministry, and increased the opposition with which those in power were obliged to contend.

In March 1765, Mr. Grenville, not deterred by an opposition which he had expected, brought into parliament a bill for imposing duties in America. The friends of the administration employed much able reasoning in support of the bill. Among those who distinguished themselves by the ability and eloquence with which they advocated the cause of the colonies, was Colonel Barré. He stated with a manly freedom, that the same spirit which had actuated the people at first, still continued with them. He insinuated, in a way that could not be mistaken, what would be the effect of the measure which England was about to adopt. He declared that he spoke from a particular acquaintance with the character of the Americans, and expressed his belief, that while they were jealous of their rights, they were loyal to their king; and finally, he entreated the ministry to pause before they ordained that the privileges of Englishmen were to be invaded or destroyed.

Eloquence and argument, however, availed nothing. The bill almost unanimously passed in parliament; and received the sanction of the crown. The night after its passage, Dr. Franklin, then in England as agent for Pennsylvania, wrote to Charles



COLONEL BARRE.

Thompson, his friend, in America—"The sun of liberty is set; you must light up the candles of industry and economy." "Be assured," said Mr. Thompson in reply, "we shall light up torches of quite another sort;"—thus predicting the commotions which followed. The act provided that all contracts and legal processes should be written on stamped paper, which was to be furnished by agents of the British government, at exorbitant prices.

On the arrival of the news of the stamp act in America, a general indignation spread throughout the colonies; and spirited resolutions were passed. In these resolutions Virginia led the way. On the meeting of the house of Burgesses, Patrick Henry proposed five resolutions; the four first asserted the various rights and privileges claimed by the colonists; and the fifth boldly and explicitly denied the right of parliament to tax America. These he defended by strong reasoning and irresistible eloquence, and they were adopted by a majority of one. The next day, in his absence, the fifth was rescinded; but this with the rest had gone forth to the world. They formed the first public opposition to the stamp act, and to the schemes of taxing America by the British parliament. Nearly at the same time, and be-





PATRICK HENRY.

fore the proceedings of Virginia were known in Massachusetts, her General Court had also adopted measures to produce a combined opposition. Letters were addressed to the other Assemblies, proposing a congress of deputies from each colony, to consult on the common interest. The knowledge of what had been done in Virginia aroused the most violent feelings. The resolutions, which at first were circulated cautiously, were at length openly published in newspapers; and one general feeling of indignation pervaded all classes of society.

On the first Tuesday of October, 1765, the day appointed for the meeting of the proposed congress, the delegates assembled at New York, where were present members from Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and South Carolina. A committee from six of the provinces drew up a declaration of their rights and grievances. They declared themselves entitled to all the rights and liberties of natural born subjects of Great Britain: among the most essential of which, were the exclusive right to tax themselves, and the privilege of trial by jury. The first of these they regarded as infringed by the stamp act; the last, by the extension of the jurisdiction of the courts of admiralty.

The congress also agreed upon a petition to the king, and a memorial to both houses of parliament. The colonies not represented, forwarded to England similar petitions.

The 1st of November, the important day when the stamp act was to take effect, at length approached. Combinations were everywhere formed to prevent its execution. The violence of the populace could with difficulty be restrained. In some places the day was ushered in with the tolling of bells, as for a funeral procession. The act which was the object of their aversion, was hawked in the streets with a death's head attached to it. It was styled the "Folly of England, and the ruin of America." The stamps were destroyed wherever they could be found by the enraged multitude; who, with all the intemperance of popular agitation, burned and plundered the houses of such as supported the act. So general was the opposition to the law, that the stamp officers in all the colonies were obliged to resign. Opposition became general, systematic, and alarming. Confederacies were everywhere forming. It was universally agreed that no articles of British manufacture should be imported, and that those which were prepared in the colonies, though both dearer and of worse quality, should be employed in all the settlements. The women, animated with a similar spirit, cheerfully relinquished every species of ornament which was manufactured in England. The proceedings in the courts of justices were suspended, that no stamps might be used; and the colonists were earnestly and frequently exhorted by those who took the lead on this occasion, to terminate their disputes by reference.

In the mean time an entire change had taken place in the British cabinet: the Marquis of Rockingham became first lord of the treasury; and it was perceived that they must either repeal the obnoxious statutes, or oblige the Americans to submit to them by force of arms. Each of these measures had its advocates. Among the foremost to vindicate the colonies, in the house of Peers, was Lord Camden. "My position," said he, "is this; I repeat it, I will maintain it to my last hour—taxation and representation are inseparable. This position is founded on the laws of nature; it is more—it is itself an eternal law of nature; for whatever is a man's own is absolutely his

own; no man has a right to take it from him without his consent. Whoever attempts to do it, attempts an injury; whoever does it, commits a robbery."

In the house of commons, Lord Chatham entered into the views of the colonists; and maintained with all the eloquence for which he was conspicuous, that taxation is no part of the governing or legislative power, but that taxes are a voluntary gift and grant of the commons alone: and concluded his speech with a motion, "that the stamp act be repealed, absolutely, totally, and immediately."

About this time (1766) Dr. Franklin was examined before the house of commons, and gave it as his opinion, that the tax was unprofitable and ruinous. He asserted that it had alienated the affections of the colonists from the mother-country, and made them regard the people of England as conspiring against their liberties, and its parliament as desirous to oppress rather than to protect them. A petition was received from the Congress at New York; and some change having taken place in the cabinet, the existing administration agreed with Lord Chatham, and the stamp act was repealed. But accompanying the repeal of the stamp act, was published another act, declaring, "that parliament have, and of right ought to have, power to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever." This assertion diminished the joy which the repeal of the stamp act would otherwise have occasioned. It was considered by the Americans as a foundation on which any future ministry might oppress them, under the sanction of parliamentary authority; and it had no other effect than that of rendering them more suspicious of arbitrary designs, and more solicitous to mark with a jealous eye the first encroachments of power.

An opportunity for the exercise of this spirit was not long wanting. Immediately after the ratification of the treaty of peace at Paris, the intention of the ministers to quarter troops in America, and oblige the colonies to support them, was announced in the English papers. The maintaining of a standing army was connected with the system of taxation, but the ministry well knew it would be opposed, and they calculated that an army sent under pretence of protecting the colonies, afforded a plausible pretext for taxing them, while it would awe them



into submission to the mandates of the British government. An act had been passed by the Rockingham administration, for providing the soldiers, who had been quartered in the colonies, with the necessaries and accommodations which their circumstances might require, at the expense of the colony in which they were stationed. The Assembly of New York refused obedience to this law, considering it an indirect mode of taxing them without their consent. The Assembly at Boston not only followed the example of that of New York, but proceeded still further; and resolved, that the conduct of the governor, in issuing money from the treasury in order to furnish the artillery with provisions, was unconstitutional and unjust; and that it disabled them from granting cheerfully to the king the aids which his service demanded. These resolutions were not approved in England, even by many who had heretofore espoused the interests of the colonies. The consequence of this change of sentiment was perceptible by a change of measures in parliament. A bill was introduced by Mr. Townsend, the chancellor of the exchequer, imposing a duty on all tea, glass, paper, and painters' colours. It passed both houses without much opposition, and was the next year sent to the colonies.

(1767.) The act for imposing the new taxes was received with greater aversion than the stamp act itself. Letters were sent from Massachusetts to all the other colonies, inveighing against the injustice and tyranny of the British legislature. Circulars were sent to most of the colonial assemblies, suggesting the expediency of acting in concert in all endeavours to obtain redress. These proceedings incensed and alarmed the ministry. They feared that a union of the colonies would give them strength and confidence; and determined if possible to prevent it. They instructed Sir John Bernard, then governor of Massachusetts, to require the General Court to rescind the vote directing the circular to be sent; and in case of refusal, to dissolve it. The governor communicated these instructions to the house of Representatives; which, by a vote of ninety-two to seventeen, refused to rescind, and was accordingly dissolved.

This measure, like all the others which the British government at this period pursued, with the intention of intimidating the colonies, did but exasperate and arouse them. Frequent

meetings of the people were held at Boston, and the different provinces; a petition was made to the governor, in which he was desired to remove the ships of war from the neighbourhood of the town; a request with which he was neither able nor willing to comply.

At the opening of the year 1768, everything appeared to indicate a rupture between the colonies and the parent state. The agent of the province was refused admission to the presence of the king. A report was circulated that the troops had been ordered to march into Boston, a dreadful alarm took place, and all ranks of men joined in beseeching the governor that a general assembly might be convoked. The answer of Governor Bernard was, that by his last instructions from England, he was prevented from complying with this wish of the people.

On this refusal, the selectmen of Boston proposed to the several towns in the colony to hold a convention, which was accordingly holden in that town on the 22d of September. In this convention it was resolved that they would defend their violated rights at the peril of their lives and fortunes, and that the people who had no arms, should furnish themselves. At the same time, they thought it proper to assure the government of their pacific intentions, and requested again that an assembly might be called; but after transmitting to England an account of their proceedings, and the reasons which had induced them to assemble, they were again refused, and stigmatized with the appellation of rebels.

The refractory spirit of the people of Boston had been so often displayed, that General Gage, who was commander-in-chief of the troops in the colonies, was ordered to station a regiment in that town, not only to overawe the citizens, but to protect the officers of the revenue in the discharge of their duty. Before the order was executed, the seizure of a sloop belonging to Mr. Hancock, an eminent merchant, and a popular leader, occasioned a riot, in which those officers were insulted and beaten.

On the 28th of September, two regiments, escorted by seven armed vessels, arrived at Boston from Halifax. The landing of the troops was protected by the fleet, which was drawn up with the broadsides of the vessels opposite the town. In con-



JOHN HANCOCK.

sequence of their formidable appearance, they marched into Boston without any resistance on the part of the inhabitants. The selectmen of the town having refused to provide them with quarters, the governor commanded the state house to be opened for their reception. The presence of the soldiers had great influence in restraining the excesses of the population; but the hatred of the colonies towards England was much increased by this highly offensive measure.

Early in 1769, news reached the colonies that both houses of parliament, in a joint address to his majesty, had recommended vigorous measures in order to enforce their obedience; and had even gone so far as to beseech the king to direct the governor of Massachusetts Bay to make strict inquiries as to all treasons committed in that province since the year 1767, in order that the persons most active in committing them might be sent to England for trial. This proposal gave great offence to the colonists.

The Legislature of Massachusetts was not in session when the news of this address reached America; but the house of Burgesses in Virginia, which met a few days afterwards, were not tardy in expressing their sense of it. They passed several



spirited resolutions, declaring their exclusive right to tax themselves, and denying the right of his majesty to remove an offender out of the colony for trial. An address to his majesty was also agreed on, which stated, in a style of loyalty and real attachment to the crown, the deep conviction of the house of Burgesses of Virginia, that the complaints of the colonists were well founded. When the intelligence of these proceedings reached the governor, he suddenly dissolved the Assembly. But the current of opposition was too strong to be stayed. The members assembled at a private house, elected their speaker, Peyton Randolph, Esq., moderator; and proceeded to pass resolutions against importing British goods. Their example was followed by other colonies; and non-importation agreements, which had before been entered into by Boston, Salem, the city of New York, and the colony of Connecticut, now became general.

On the 5th of March, 1770, an affray took place at Boston between the military and some of the inhabitants, who insulted them while under arms, in which four persons were killed. The bells were instantly rung; the people rushed from the country to the aid of the citizens; and the soldiers were obliged to retire to Castle William, in order to avoid the fury of the enraged multitude. A trial was instituted: the soldiers engaged in the affray were all acquitted, except two, who were found guilty of manslaughter. The moderation of the jury, and the ability with which the soldiers were defended by two of the leading opposers of British aggression, John Adams and Josiah Quincy, were honourable to the individuals and to their country. This event, however, increased the detestation in which the soldiers stationed among the people were held.

In the mean time the parliament of Great Britain showed, that it had neither sufficient vigour to compel the Americans to submit, nor sufficient liberality to yield to their remonstrances. The ministry agreed to take off all the duties which had lately been imposed, except that on tea; but it was predicted by the opposition that their indulgence would have no good effect, while any duty remained which was imposed upon the Americans without their consent. What was predicted by the opposition, was in the end found to be true. It was resolved



DESTRUCTION OF THE TEA.

that the tea should not be landed, but sent back to Europe in the same vessels that had brought it; for it was obvious to all, that it would be extremely difficult to hinder the sale, if the commodity should once be received on shore. The people assembled in great numbers at Boston, and forced those to whom it had been consigned to give up their appointments, and to swear that they would abandon them for ever. Such as refused to engage in this opposition were denounced as the enemies of their country. This disposition was not confined to Massachusetts alone; but the same spirit appeared in all the colonies.

Such was the situation of affairs, when three ships laden with tea arrived at the port of Boston. The captains of these vessels, alarmed at the menaces of the people, offered to return with their cargoes to England, provided they could obtain the necessary discharges from the merchants, to whom the teas had been consigned; and likewise from the governor, and the officers of the custom-house. But though afraid to issue orders for landing the tea, the merchants and officers, in conjunction with the governor, refused to grant the discharges, and the ships were obliged to remain in the harbour. The people,



however, apprehensive that the obnoxious commodity would be landed in small quantities, if the vessels should continue in the neighbourhood of the town, resolved to destroy it at once. For this purpose, several persons disguised themselves as Indians, boarded the ships during the night, and threw their cargoes into the water, without making any further disturbance. No fewer than 142 chests were thus broken open, and their contents emptied into the sea.

At Philadelphia, the pilots were enjoined not to conduct the ships into the river: and at New York, though the governor ordered some of the tea to be landed under the protection of a man-of-war, he was obliged to deliver it into the custody of the people, who took care that none of it should be sold.

The parliament of England resolved not to change their measures, but to punish the inhabitants of Boston in a exemplary manner, by imposing a fine upon them, equal to the value of the tea which had been destroyed. The port of Boston was shut by an armed force until this should be accomplished, and their refractory spirit subdued.

An act was also passed, giving to the crown the appointment of counsellors; whereas, it had resided with the court. The custom-house was to be removed to Salem; and General Gage was made governor in the place of Hutchinson.

Gage removed the Assembly from Boston, in Massachusetts, to Salem. Having met at that place, they declared it necessary that a congress of delegates from all the provinces should assemble, to take the affairs of the colonies into their most serious consideration. And they nominated James Bowdoin, Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, John Adams, Robert Treat Paine, men celebrated for their talents and opposition to England, as the representatives to such a congress, from Massachusetts. They recommended to the whole province to abandon the use of tea; and urged the necessity of giving all the encouragement in their power to the manufactures of America.

In the mean time, the governor having learned their proceedings, sent an officer to dissolve the assembly in the king's name; but he finding the door shut and entrance denied him, was compelled to read the order of dissolution aloud on the staircase.





SAMUEL ADAMS.

The inhabitants of Salem, which had now become the metropolis of the country, appear to have adopted the same spirit with those of Boston. They published a declaration in favour of the latter; in which they asserted, that nature, in forming their harbour, had prevented their becoming rivals in trade; and that even if that were otherwise, they would regard themselves lost to every idea of justice and all feelings of humanity, could they indulge one thought of seizing upon the wealth of their neighbours, or raising their fortunes upon the ruins of their countrymen.

The cause of Boston was espoused by the rest of the colonies. The 1st of June, the day on which the city was to be blockaded by the king's ships, was observed in Virginia as a day of fasting and humiliation; and a public intercession in behalf of the American people, was enjoined throughout the province. The style of prayer was, "That God would give them one heart and mind, firmly to oppose every invasion of American rights." Virginia united with Massachusetts in recommending a General Congress. They declared if any one of the colonies was taxed without its consent, the rights of the whole were violated; and that in the present case, they regarded the injury done to the inhabitants of Boston as done to themselves.

The proposal for a General Congress had now been discussed, and was approved, and eleven of the colonies had elected their delegates. Georgia had not determined to unite her fate with that of New England; and North Carolina was later than the others in acceding to the measure.

At length, on the 4th of September, 1774, the first Congress of the American States assembled at Philadelphia. This was the most important deliberative body which had ever met in America. Peyton Randolph, Esq., of Virginia, was chosen president by the unanimous suffrage of the delegates. To this august body of citizens, who were met for the highest purposes which can affect the temporal interests of men, the eyes of the people of America were turned with anxious concern. The officers and dependants of the crown looked also to their measures with the deepest interest, and, alarmed at the calm determined spirit which they manifested, dreaded the consequences of their deliberations.

These delegates, having resolved that each colony should have only one vote, and that their deliberations should take place without the admission of strangers, proceeded to the high duty which their countrymen had imposed on them.

They first expressed their approbation of what had been done by the inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay; warmly exhorted them to perseverance in the cause of freedom; and voted that contributions should be made for them in all the provinces, and continued so long, and in such a manner, as their circumstances might require.

They next addressed a letter to General Gage, in which they informed him of their unalterable resolution to oppose every attempt to carry the British acts of parliament into effect; and entreated him to desist from military operations, lest a difference, altogether irreconcilable, should take place between the colonies and parent state. The next step was a declaration of their rights, addressed to the people in the shape of resolutions. This instrument is commonly quoted by the title of the bill of rights.

A committee was next appointed, who drew a petition to the king, stating the grievances under which they had laboured;—grievances, which they said were the more intolerable, as the

colonies were born the heirs of freedom, and had long enjoyed it under the auspices of former sovereigns; and stating also, that they had wished for no diminution of the prerogative, and no privileges or immunities, except those which were their rightful inheritance as the subjects of Great Britain;—concluding the whole with an earnest prayer, that his majesty, as the father of his people, would not permit the ties of blood, of law, and of loyalty to be broken, in expectation of consequences, which, if they ever took place, would never compensate for the suffering to which they must give rise.

The committee who brought in this address, were Mr. Lee, Mr. John Adams, Mr. Johnston, Mr. Henry, and Mr. Rutledge. The original composition has been generally attributed to Mr. Lee.

The petition to the king was followed by an address to the people of England, conceived with great vigour, and expressed in the most energetic language.

This address was followed by a memorial to their constituents. They applauded them for the spirit which they had shown in defence of their rights; enjoined them to persevere in abstaining from the use of everything manufactured or prepared in England; and hinted at the necessity of looking forward to melancholy events, and being ready for any contingency that might take place.

The inclinations of the people were in exact accordance with the decision of the Congress. The inhabitants of Boston were supplied by contributions from all quarters. Even those, who by their station seemed likely to derive advantage from the cessation of their trade, were most forward to relieve them in their distress. The people of Marblehead, a town at no great distance, generously offered them the use of their harbour, their wharfs, and warehouses, free of all expense. Every one who could procure arms was diligent in learning their use.

Complete unanimity, however, did not exist. Some of the late emigrants, on whom England had bestowed offices, and many who feared her power, clung to her authority, and declared themselves her adherents. Whigs and Tories were the distinguishing names of the parties. The former favoured the cause of the colonists; the latter that of Great Britain.



In the mean time, many British troops having assembled at Boston, General Gage thought it prudent to fortify the neck of land that joins that city to the continent. He also seized the magazines of gunpowder, ammunition, and military stores at Cambridge and Charlestown.

An Assembly was called, and its sitting immediately countermanded; but the representatives met at Salem, notwithstanding the proclamation of the governor; and after waiting a day for his arrival, they voted themselves "a Provincial Congress," and adjourned to Concord. Mr. Hancock was chosen president; and the delegates resolved, that for the defence of the province, a military force, to consist of one-fourth of the militia, should be organized, and stand ready to march at a minute's warning; and that money should be raised to purchase military stores. They appointed a committee of safety to sit during the recess.

The more southern provinces, particularly Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland, displayed the same determination to resist, and passed resolutions designed to animate those who, in Massachusetts, stood in the post of danger.

General Gage had hitherto, probably under instructions from home, avoided every movement which could bring on a collision, and lead to a commencement of actual war. Yet, remaining almost besieged at Boston, he began to experience scarcity of provisions; and an impression was felt, that something must be done to check these extensive preparations, and seize the military stores now collected all over the country. He formed the injudicious plan of sending out secretly small detachments to capture them by surprise. Even if successful, which was not very probable, the adoption of such a scheme must have lowered the impression of British power. If the troops were to march into the country, it should have been in such large bodies as would overpower, and even deter resistance. A small party sent towards Salem were induced to return, owing to the mere obstacles raised by the country people against their march.

The governor, having learned that a considerable magazine of stores had been formed at Concord, determined on an attempt to seize them. He employed a larger force, but trusted still to



BATTLE OF LEXINGTON.

secrecy and surprise. On the night of the 19th of April, 1775, Colonel Smith began his march, seeking to conceal it by sending forward some horsemen to arrest all travellers on the road. Dr. Warren, from Boston, however, having contrived to transmit previous notice, they had not advanced far when the firing of guns and the ringing of bells were heard, summoning the people to arms. They pushed forward nearly fifteen miles, and at five in the morning reached Lexington, where about a hundred militia were exercising on a green. The events which followed, and form the fatal crisis of this great contest, are involved in a cloud of controversy which will never perhaps be fully cleared away. According to the statement of the Americans, supported even by affidavits, Major Pitcairn, who led the van, galloped up, calling, "Disperse, rebels! throw down your arms and disperse." The soldiers then ran up, huzzaing; some muskets were fired, followed by a general discharge. The English asserted that the summons to disperse was slowly and reluctantly obeyed, and that, mean time, some shots were fired from behind walls, which being returned, the contest soon became general.





RETREAT FROM CONCORD.

The troops, who drove the militia before them, proceeding about four miles farther, arrived at Concord; and while the main body were destroying the stores, a detachment was sent forward to occupy two bridges beyond. It was surrounded by the colonists in great numbers, and in a threatening attitude; a firing was commenced, but returned with such vigour, that the party were obliged to fall back upon the main body. The whole then began a retrograde movement to Boston; but the Americans, in increasing numbers, attacked them incessantly on their rear and flanks, firing from houses, trees, and behind walls. The British, accordingly, when they arrived at Lexington, found themselves in a most exhausted state; and it is alleged, that they would have been totally destroyed, but for a timely succour. General Gage had sent forward Lord Percy with sixteen companies and two pieces of cannon, who drove back the provincials, and forming a square, protected their countrymen while they lay down to recruit their strength. All together then proceeded to Boston; while the assailants, without attempting to obstruct their march, kept up an incessant fire, both in front and rear, from behind stone fences, which are there very numerous. On their arrival, they found that they had lost sixty-five killed, one hundred and eighty wounded, and twenty-seven missing; while the Americans, who fought



mostly from under cover, acknowledged only fifty killed and thirty-eight wounded.

The intelligence of this event excited the utmost enthusiasm throughout Massachusetts, and the whole country was soon arrayed in a warlike form. The people were studiously assured that a wanton attack had been made; while the degree of success gained by their undisciplined force against regular troops, inspired the most sanguine hopes and military ardour. The provincial Congress immediately passed a vote for raising thirteen thousand six hundred men, and called upon the other New England colonies for their respective quotas, making in all thirty thousand. Measures were also taken to obtain a loan of £100,000. The provincials crowded to the standard in numbers greater than could be maintained in the field; and the levies were placed under the command of Ward and other officers, who had acquired experience in the last war, and were now raised from the rank of colonel to that of general. The fortifications of Boston were considered sufficiently strong to preclude the hazard of any attack; but a line of thirty miles was formed around the peninsula, entirely cutting off its connexion with the surrounding country.

Meantime, an adventurous scheme was formed by two determined leaders, the colonels Arnold and Allen. Having collected a small body of troops in Connecticut, they proceeded against the strong fortresses of Crown Point and Ticonderoga,—the keys of Canada. Traversing undiscovered the immense tracts, then almost desert, that lay to the north of New England, they completely surprised and captured, without resistance, both these important places, each containing a valuable supply of military stores. Arnold was equally successful against a sloop of war lying at St. John's, and thus obtained the command of Lake Champlain.

Meantime Congress, having met on the 10th of May, received a report of these transactions, which called for their most earnest consideration. Some it is said were unprepared for so serious a result; but the general resolution was to follow it up, and place all the colonies in a posture of military defence. Still, before adopting any active measures, they determined, though with some dissentient voices, to make fresh appeals to the king

and people of Great Britain. To his majesty they professed as strongly as ever their devotion to his person, family, and government; their deep regret at any event which could weaken their connexion with his crown, and their ardent desire for the restoration of harmony. To the people they strenuously repelled the charge of aiming at independence, which none of their actions were said to justify. They had never made overtures to any foreign power, nor availed themselves of the weak state of the cities, to become masters of them. The late hostilities had been merely the repulse of a wanton attack; they had lamented the wounds they were obliged to give, and had not yet learned to rejoice at a victory over Englishmen. The armies were said to be raised with objects purely defensive, and the fortresses seized merely as a preventive against invasion from Canada. Complaining, however, that the clemency of their sovereign was diverted, that their petitions were treated with indignity, and that their prayers were answered by insults, they dreaded that the nation wanted either the will or the power to assist them. In that case, they expressed a firm determination that, "while we revere the memory of our gallant and virtuous ancestors, we never can surrender those glorious privileges, for which they fought, bled, and conquered;—your fleets and armies can destroy our towns and ravage our coasts; these are inconsiderable objects,—things of no moment to men whose bosoms glow with the ardour of liberty. We can retire beyond the reach of your navy, and, without any sensible diminution of the necessaries of life, enjoy a luxury, which from that period you will want,—the luxury of being free."

Having emitted these declarations, Congress proceeded to make military arrangements which should comprehend the whole range of the colonies. All the troops within their limits were to be now called the Continental Army; committees were appointed to devise ways and means for supporting and supplying it with arms and stores, and preparing regulations for its government. An issue of paper-money was voted to the amount of three millions of dollars. The first object was considered to be the choice of a commander, and in this respect they were singularly fortunate. There had at this time sprung up among them an uncommon number of men of distinguished

abilities; but it was generally agreed that the fittest person was George Washington. Next day the choice was announced to him, when, in a plain, modest reply, he expressed his high sense of the honour, not concealing the pain which arose from a consciousness that his abilities and military experience might not be equal to so mighty a trust. Yet he assured them, he would enter on the momentous duty, and exert every power he possessed in so great a cause. Five hundred dollars monthly had been voted for his pay and expenses; but being possessed of an ample fortune, he declined anything beyond the reimbursement of his actual outlay.

It was at this crisis—certainly not auspicious—that Lord North's conciliatory propositions arrived. The propositions, being communicated to Congress on the 30th of May, were ordered to lie on the table; and notwithstanding the dissatisfaction excited, were afterwards referred to a committee, composed of Franklin, Jefferson, Adams, and Lee; whose report, decidedly unfavourable, was adopted on the 31st of July.

Before Washington had reached New England, the tragic character of the great drama had been more fully developed. On the 25th of May, large reinforcements arrived from England, commanded by Generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, officers of high reputation, and chosen seemingly without any favour or political bias. General Gage, before commencing active operations, issued a proclamation calling upon the people to lay down their arms, and offering a free pardon to all, excepting Adams and Hancock. Far, however, from thinking to take advantage of this offer, they were busily planning the most active operations. A channel divides the peninsula of Boston from that of Charlestown, on which last rises Bunker's Hill, the fire from which in some degree commands the capital. On the evening of the 16th of June, General Prescott, with one thousand men, having crossed unperceived the isthmus or neck, took possession of that eminence; and such activity did the Americans employ during the night in intrenching it, that by morning they had completed a redoubt and breastwork, flanked by a small river, and forming a very strong position. At day-break they were discovered, and a cannonade immediately opened from the ships, but without producing much effect, or



even interrupting the prosecution of the works. Gage, considering it extremely inexpedient that they should be allowed to retain this position, immediately prepared a strong detachment to expel them. It was not ready till noon, when General Howe, being appointed to command, sailed across, but found the adverse party so strongly posted, that it appeared necessary to wait for a reinforcement; the Americans at the same time receiving one under Dr. Warren. Either from accident, or to secure the English position, the village of Charlestown was burned. Howe at length began to ascend the hill, while, from the heights around Boston, numerous spectators, agitated by intense and opposite emotions, witnessed the eventful scene. The provincials reserved their fire till the advancing party was within sixty or seventy yards, when they commenced a sudden and general discharge of musketry and rifles, which they used with peculiar skill. So deadly was the effect, that the British troops fell back in confusion; they were rallied, but a second time repulsed; and General Howe is said to have been left at one time almost alone, having every officer around him either killed or wounded. To have suffered a final repulse, however, would have been most disastrous. Clinton, seeing the exigency, hastened across with a fresh detachment; when the British, being led afresh to the charge, rushed upon the intrenchment, and carried it at the point of the bayonet, after a fierce struggle, the ammunition of the Americans being exhausted. The Americans slowly retreated, with little molestation except from a straggling fire by the vessels. The loss on the part of the English was most severe, being stated officially at two hundred and twenty-six killed, and eight hundred and twenty-eight wounded. The other party reported only one hundred and forty-five slain, with three hundred and four wounded; and though they had lost the field, almost all the glory and advantage was felt to be on their side. The vigorous stand made by their raw levies, and the severe loss inflicted on veteran troops, elevated their courage; while it appalled not a little the power which had undertaken to bring them into subjection.

The death of the gallant Warren, who was killed while striving to cover the retreat of the provincials, was a severe

BATTLE OF BREED'S HILL.









GENERAL JOSEPH WARREN.

loss to the patriots. His great zeal and splendid abilities had raised him very high in the general estimation.

Though the centre of the movement was in New England, it extended to other colonies. In Virginia, Lord Dunmore, the royal governor, was compelled to retire from the colony. In North Carolina, Governor Martin was involved in similar controversies with the provincial convention, which also led to his retirement on board a ship of war. Lord William Campbell, governor of South Carolina, was equally obliged to seek security on ship-board, and joined Martin in the vicinity of Cape Fear. Governor Tryon, also, at New York, betook himself to a similar refuge, but still retained command of the harbour, and preserved an intercourse with the numerous loyalists in that quarter. Governors Eden and Franklin, in Maryland and New Jersey, contrived to maintain their place, but not to exercise any jurisdiction.

The colonists had thus experienced an almost uninterrupted



SIEGE OF BOSTON.

career of success, and, with the exception of Boston, England had not a spot left in the whole range of their territory. Yet reflecting men easily saw, that they had prevailed only against an advanced guard and scattered detachments, and that the struggle had not yet commenced with the main force of the British empire. Washington, meantime, on proceeding to the army, was received in the most cordial manner, and without the smallest symptom of jealousy; the provincial Congress sending a committee to meet him at Springfield on the frontier, and escort him to Boston. He there found fourteen thousand five hundred men, able-bodied, zealous in the cause, and personally courageous, but destitute of almost every element of military organization. A great proportion wanted bayonets, and the alarming discovery was soon made, that they had not above nine rounds of gunpowder. There were no tents, and clothes extremely deficient; there was neither commissary nor quartermaster-general. No combination existed between the troops drawn from different colonies; and the officers, mostly chosen by the men, could exercise scarcely any authority. These evils were the more difficult to remedy, as the army, en-



listed only for a short period, would disband in a few months, and be replaced by one composed of raw recruits. In these circumstances, he anxiously desired to make an attack upon Boston, and dislodge the troops before the large expected reinforcements should arrive, when the prospects could not but become gloomy. Yet a council of officers decided, seemingly on good grounds, that such an attempt could have no chance of success; and he was obliged, very reluctantly, to await the turn which events might take.

The intelligence of these proceedings excited in England that spirit which former examples might lead us to expect. The ministry determined upon the most vigorous measures to put down a movement which had now assumed the character of open insurrection. The nation poured in addresses, which appear to have expressed decided assurances of public support. Penn, the hereditary governor of Pennsylvania, came over with the address from Congress to the king, and endeavoured to second it, declaring his positive belief that the sentiments expressed in it were sincere. It was rejected, however, as coming from an illegal body, and consisting only of a series of empty professions. The royal speech at the opening of parliament, on the 26th of October, 1775, lamented that a desperate faction, by gross misrepresentations, had inflamed the minds of the people, overawed the well-affected, and, amid protestations of loyalty and attachment to the parent state, openly raised the standard of rebellion. It was added that these persons now obviously aimed at total independence, and hence clemency, as well as prudence, called for decisive exertions speedily to put down such disorders; that those of the misled multitude, who should repent of their error, would experience the utmost lenity, and be received into favour, as if they had never revolted; and that individuals on the spot would be invested with discretionary power to grant immediate pardon and indemnity to any province or colony which should return to its allegiance. Offers of aid had been received from several foreign powers; and there was no reason to apprehend hostility or impediment in any quarter.

The determination being formed to employ force, the requisite means were to be provided. In the estimates, the number of



seamen was fixed at twenty-eight thousand, of land forces at fifty-five thousand; but the difficulty lay in making up this latter number. The troops at Boston, amounting to seven thousand four hundred, were manifestly inadequate; while in Britain there was merely the small peace establishment considered necessary for the security of the country. The levying of a new army by voluntary enlistment was difficult and tedious; while an additional time would be required for its training. In this exigency, ministers saw no expedient except that of having recourse to several German princes, who, on former occasions, had been induced, partly by alliance, but more by pecuniary motives, to hire out their soldiers for temporary service. In the beginning, therefore, of 1776, treaties were concluded with the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel for twelve thousand one hundred and four men, the Duke of Brunswick for four thousand and eighty-four, the Prince of Hesse for six hundred and sixty-eight, and the Prince of Waldeck for six hundred and seventy; in all, seventeen thousand five hundred and twenty-six. These rulers, keeping in view the extreme necessity of the British government, extorted very advantageous terms. The sum of £7. 4s. 4d., was to be paid for each man; and besides being relieved from the whole burden of their maintenance, they were to receive compensation for all extraordinary losses, in addition to certain stipends, amounting in all to about £135,000, not only during the whole period of their engagement, but considerably longer. Besides this heavy charge, the employment of foreign mercenaries, subjects of despotic princes, aggravated much the odium of the undertaking.

We must now return across the Atlantic, where the contest was actively carried on. In the autumn of 1775, the Americans formed a plan for invading Canada, knowing that country to be very slightly defended, and believing the inhabitants well affected to the popular cause. A force of about three thousand men, levied in Connecticut, was placed under the command, first of Schuyler, and then of Montgomery. The latter officer, proceeding along Lake Champlain, speedily reduced Fort Chambly, and after considerable difficulty, obliged that of St. John also to surrender. Colonel Ethan Allen had already attempted Montreal, but was defeated and taken prisoner.



GENERAL MONTGOMERY.

Montgomery, however, with his whole force, marched upon that city, and compelled Carleton to retreat precipitately upon Quebec. Meantime Arnold, a daring officer, had, at his own request, been despatched, with eleven hundred men, to penetrate to that capital by way of the Kennebec and the Chaudiere, hoping thus to take it by surprise. The route was then nearly desert, intersected by dense forests and swamps. The troops were compelled to endure the greatest hardships, and one portion of the army, under Colonel Enos, returned to Massachusetts. Arnold pressed on, and when his men were on the point of starvation, reached Canada, to the utter astonishment of the people of that province. On the 9th of November, he arrived at Point Levi, opposite Quebec. But want of conveyance detained him there several days, during which the active exertions of Colonel McLean placed the town in such a state of defence, that the American chief was obliged to await the arrival of Montgomery. This officer, who took the command on the 1st

of December, soon saw that a regular siege, amid the rigours of a Canadian winter, would involve such sufferings and privations as his raw levies could scarcely endure. He, therefore, determined on a night assault, which was made with the greatest intrepidity, but completely baffled. His troops were repulsed at every point, and he himself fell, deeply and generally lamented. Arnold, wounded in the assault, retreated up the river; and, though he stood his ground some time, was ultimately obliged to evacuate Canada. This first reverse sustained by the cause was severe, yet the signal displays of gallantry on the part of the provincial officers prevented its influence from being on the whole very depressing.

Washington, meantime, laboured under accumulated difficulties in prosecuting the blockade of Boston. The scarcity of ammunition, notwithstanding every effort of Congress, continued almost unabated; while the want of money, as well as of necessary equipments, was deeply felt on the advance of the rigorous season.

Meantime, General Gage remained inactive at Boston; a course generally condemned by historians as at once unaccountable and shameful. In the beginning of October he was recalled, without any expression of displeasure, yet probably under the impression of the disasters which the cause had sustained in his hands, and the hope that it might be more fortunate in those of another. The command then devolved upon Howe, who concurred with his predecessor as to the inexpediency of advancing into the interior of New England. He submitted to the cabinet another plan, by which Boston should be held only till the close of the winter, and the troops there, with all those expected from the mother-country, be then concentrated at New York, and the main attack made from that quarter. The inhabitants were more friendly, and by striking at the heart of the Union, he would separate the northern and southern states, and then, according to circumstances, carry on operations against either. This plan was approved by Lord Dartmouth.

Washington, meantime, was very slowly recruiting his army, which, at the beginning of February, did not reach quite nine thousand men. Being at that period permitted to offer a





LORD PERCY.

bounty, he had in a month collected above fourteen thousand, reinforced by six thousand Massachusetts militia. He considered this force sufficient to attack the city; but a council of officers decided, probably with reason, that such an attempt offered no chance of success. They proposed, rather, to seize and fortify the peninsular point, named Dorchester Neck, whence the harbour would be in a great degree commanded, and the place, it was hoped, rendered untenable. To this he consented, and the execution of the movement was intrusted to Ward. The British were amused two days by an incessant cannonade and bombardment; till at nightfall of the 4th of March, General Thomas, with a working body of twelve hundred, a covering force of eight hundred, and three hundred carts of materials, marched undiscovered, and took possession of the most elevated part of the heights. The Americans, being chiefly practical farmers, were extremely skilful in intrenching, and laboured with such diligence, that, in the morning, the English with astonishment beheld them in a strongly fortified position. The admiral then gave notice to Howe, that the harbour could not be deemed secure as long as this post was held by the Americans. Lord Percy, with three thousand men, was employed to dislodge them; but a violent storm rendered the operation impossible, and before it dispersed, the works were

considered beyond the reach of assault. Washington had prepared a select corps to attack the town, while its main force should be directed against the heights; but this project, never very feasible, was now of course given up. The British commander then prepared to evacuate the place, and indeed its maintenance was of little importance, since its early relinquishment formed part of the plan of the campaign; yet the triumph thus afforded to the opposite party was a circumstance which should have been vigilantly guarded against. Besides, as no arrangements were yet made for landing at New York, it became necessary to proceed first to Halifax, involving a great loss of time. About a fortnight was employed in preparing for the embarkation, a hazardous movement in the face of a superior army; but though Washington watched the opportunity of attacking, he found no means of attempting it with any advantage. On the 17th, the whole force was on board, and after remaining a few days in Nantasket roads, sailed towards Halifax. General Putnam immediately entered Boston, which was found strongly fortified, and quite uninjured. Washington entertained great apprehension that the city would be destroyed. Some cannon and stores, which could not be carried away, became available to him.

The American general had for some time suspected the intended direction of the invading force against New York. This was the more dreaded, as the feeling in favour of the royal cause was there very strong, especially in the city; while Captain Parker still commanded the harbour, and Queen's County, in Long Island, had refused to send deputies to the provincial convention. The Congress had ordered a party of troops to enter that district, and seize the arms of all the royalists; but this injunction was afterwards withdrawn, a step much disapproved by Washington. He thought proper to sanction the proposal of General Charles Lee, one of the most distinguished of the provincial leaders, who hastily raised a body of troops in Connecticut, advanced by forced marches upon New York, where there were many disaffected inhabitants, occupied the city, and began to erect fortifications on its different sides. After the evacuation of Boston, the commander-in-chief left it defended by a comparatively small



GENERAL CHARLES LEE.

force, under Ward, and proceeded with the main army to New York, where he arrived on the 13th of April.

As some months would still elapse before the British could assemble their troops and open the general campaign, they determined to send an expedition immediately against the southern states, where the climate would oppose no obstacle, and a decisive blow might be struck with a smaller army. A chimerical hope was cherished, that Clinton, the commander, might pursue a victorious career northwards, till he should join Howe at New York; at all events, he was instructed to be there before the opening of the campaign. After touching at New York, he joined Governor Martin, near Cape Fear; but the main force was to consist of seven regiments from England by Sir Peter Parker and Lord Cornwallis. Various contingencies delayed its arrival till the beginning of May; and June came before the expedition reached Charleston, its destination. Its movements, and an intercepted letter, had, by that time, betrayed the design. The most active preparations were made, the principal inhabitants labouring in concert with the lower classes, aided by a numerous body of slaves. The defences were greatly strengthened, and a new fort, named in honour of its commander, Moultrie, erected on Sullivan's Island, sepa-





SIR HENRY CLINTON.

rated by a narrow creek from a larger one named Long Island, commanded the entrance. Between five and six thousand men were assembled, nearly half of them regulars, and the chief command was taken by General Lee.

The expedition arrived on the 4th of June, and the troops were landed on Long Island; yet from various obstacles, the attack was not made till the 28th. The fleet comprised two ships of fifty guns, and six bearing from twenty to thirty; but three of the latter, through the unskilfulness of the pilot, were entangled in shoals, and could not be brought into action. The others, stationed before the fort, opened a tremendous fire, which was kept up with the greatest energy and spirit. The defenders maintained their post with equal firmness; and the walls, though low, were composed of a firm spongy palmetto wood, in which the balls sunk without shattering them. The garrison returned a cool, steady, and remarkably well-directed fire, which did terrible execution; the ships were rendered almost unmanageable, several of the chief officers fell, and the commodore was at one time left alone on his own deck. Clinton, from the land side, did not co-operate, having unexpectedly found the creek impassable. He offered, by conveying over

two battalions, to effect a diversion in favour of the naval commander ; but the latter, he complains, returned no answer, being too confident, and ambitious of doing the whole himself. The fleet finally moved off in a most shattered state, having lost about two hundred men, including Lord William Campbell and other officers of rank ; while the Americans had thirty-five killed and wounded. The whole affair was most fortunate, adding another to the series of successes gained by the new levies, and inspiring them with fresh courage.

During the course of this winter, a momentous design was in active progress, which had a very important issue. Several leading men, particularly in New England, had, from the beginning, extended their views to the entire dissolution of their connexion with Britain.

In spring, 1776, news was received that the petition of Congress had been rejected ; that they had been declared rebels ; that large armies were preparing to subdue them ; and that their whole commerce was utterly prohibited. Thenceforth a large majority of the leading men formed the determined purpose of asserting independence. The Union, it appeared to them, could never be then restored on any footing, but that of complete subjugation. A general desire, accordingly, was now felt to carry out this measure in a decided form, before the expected military force, or the conciliatory commission, should arrive from Great Britain. The essay named *Common Sense*, by Thomas Paine, from its rough and homely shrewdness, was considered to have produced a very powerful effect on the multitude. As a preparative, Congress authorized the immediate suppression of royal jurisdiction in all the colonies, and the formation of governments emanating from the people ; while they met the prohibition against their trade by throwing it open to the whole world except Britain.

On the 22d of April, the convention of North Carolina empowered their delegates to concur with the others in the establishment of independence. That of Virginia went farther, instructing theirs to propose it. Boston was now somewhat less forward, merely intimating, if Congress should think it necessary, their willing concurrence. Thus supported, Mr. Lee, a Virginia delegate, on the 7th of June, 1776, submitted a

resolution for dissolving all connexion with Great Britain, and constituting the united colonies free and independent states. It was warmly debated from the 8th to the 10th, when it was carried by a majority of one. As this was not a footing on which so mighty a change could be placed, the final decision was postponed till the 1st of July. On the 4th of July, votes from all the colonies were procured in favour of the measure.

The declaration of independence, which had been carefully prepared by Jefferson, Adams, and Franklin, was forthwith emitted. In this instrument Congress solemnly published and declared, that "these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, FREE and INDEPENDENT STATES," and entitled, as such, to carry on war, make peace, form alliances, regulate commerce, and discharge all other sovereign functions. This momentous deed was signed on the 2d of August, 1776, by all the members then present.

In the decisive posture which affairs had now assumed, Washington was actively endeavouring to organize the means of maintaining the hazardous contest upon which he had entered, as well as of resisting the attack that immediately impended. His most urgent representations to Congress upon the necessity of forming a permanent army had been disregarded; and he found himself at the head of a motley group, in which soldiers, enlisted only for a year half elapsed, were mixed with militia whose services were to be still more temporary. In these circumstances, the restraints of discipline extended little beyond the general orders. The different states, having hitherto been almost entirely separated, viewed each other with jealous and even hostile feelings, which were shared by their respective troops, who would, it is said, more cheerfully have fought with their neighbours than with the common enemy. Their leader was soon painfully convinced, that though bodies of people may be inspired with bursts of patriotism, self-interest soon becomes among them the ruling principle. Availing themselves of the possession of arms, they indulged in predatory practices of the most scandalous nature. The inferior officers were chosen by the men, who endeavoured in various ways to turn this privilege to account. A previous stipulation, it appears, was often made, that the surplus of the officers' pay above that of the privates





GENERAL HOWE.

should be thrown into a common stock, and equally shared. In general, however, they were willing to fight, and had shown themselves capable both of forming and defending intrenchments. Washington made it a rule never to spare the spade; many were well skilled in the desultory use of the rifle, yet ill fitted for a field campaign with a large body of regular troops. Even of these ineffective soldiers there were, at the beginning of July, 1776, only seventeen thousand; and though they were raised in a few weeks to twenty-seven thousand, it was mostly by militia, numbers of whom were soon on the sick list.

Meantime, General Howe was engaged in conveying his army to the scene of action. The abrupt departure from Boston had considerably deranged his plans, as all the supplies were directed toward that city, and some thus fell into the hands of the Americans. In June, however, the armament set sail; and he himself landed at Sandy Hook, a long promontory forming the northern extremity of New Jersey. He preferred, however, to land the troops on Staten, an island, south of Long Island, much smaller, and separated by a narrow channel. On the 3d of July, he disembarked there without opposition, being greeted with assurances of welcome and support from the adjacent territories. On the 12th, he was joined by his brother, Lord Howe, who had been appointed commander of the fleet, and

also joint commissioner to treat of pacification ; while the ships, with the large reinforcements from Britain, began arriving in successive detachments. As operations were delayed till the whole were assembled, his lordship circulated a proclamation, offering full pardon to all who should return to their duty, and to any port or colony so acting, peace, protection, and free trade. No concession being mentioned as to the original grounds of dispute, Congress considered it so unsatisfactory that they circulated it among the people, to many of whom, however, it seems to have been more acceptable than they expected. Lord Howe then attempted to open communication with Washington. He addressed several letters to the American commander-in-chief, without acknowledging his official character. Washington would not reply until properly addressed, and by this dignified course won much applause. Nothing of importance resulted from the communication between the two commanders.

The British designs had been well concealed, and the American commander remained long in anxious doubt whether the inroad was not to be made on the side of Canada. Considering New York, however, as the most probable and dangerous point, he had been diligently strengthening all its approaches. Having determined also to make a stand for the defence of Long Island, he formed strong lines at Brooklyn, nearly opposite to the city, stationing the flower of his troops along a range of strongly fortified heights in front of the British quarters on Staten Island. Howe, meantime, on pretty solid grounds, and with his characteristic caution, waited till his whole force was mustered, when he could follow up without interruption any success he might obtain. He complained particularly of a deficiency in camp equipage. About the middle of August, he had been joined by nearly all the reinforcements from Britain, and also by those from the south under Clinton and Cornwallis, which augmented his force to about thirty thousand men. He still, however, waited a few days on account of the intense heat, which, he dreaded, would injure the health of the troops.

At length, on the 22d of August, the British army crossed the channel, and, covered by the guns of the fleet, landed on Long Island, taking post opposite to the range of heights

occupied by the Americans. Washington, in the immediate view of this grand contest, issued repeated addresses, strenuously encouraging his men, and seeking to inspire confidence. Howe, on viewing the American's position, considered it too strong to be carried in front, but formed a plan for turning it. Before day on the 27th, General Grant, with the Hessian troops under De Heister, attacked the American right wing, which, being connected with Brooklyn, was considered the most important, and which the Americans directed all their efforts to reinforce. These officers, in conjunction with the fleet, kept up a brisk and continued fire, tending to confirm this impression, yet avoiding to make any material advance. Meantime, during the night, a strong detachment of the English army, under Clinton and Cornwallis, made a wide circuit through a pass in the hills round the extreme American left. This had been insufficiently guarded by a mere party of observation, which was surprised and captured; so that Clinton reached almost unresisted the level plain behind the American's position. About half-past eight, he appeared in their rear, while Grant and De Heister began pushing forward with their utmost vigour. No choice was then left but for the whole army to regain the intrenched camp at Brooklyn, in reaching which they fell into the utmost confusion, and were pursued on both flanks with dreadful slaughter. Lord Stirling attempted to cover the retreat by an attack with a chosen corps upon Lord Cornwallis, but was surrounded and taken prisoner with all his detachment. The entire loss is stated at upwards of three thousand, including eleven hundred prisoners, among whom was General Sullivan. That of the British was only three hundred and sixty-seven killed, wounded, and taken. Washington, from Brooklyn, witnessed with deep anguish the overthrow of his army, while Howe, from the other side, saw that his forces had gained a decided advantage over the patriots. The British commander had the fault of being over cautious. Instead of following up his advantage, and endeavouring to strike a fatal blow, for which he certainly possessed the means, he remained quiet. On the 29th, Washington, with a degree of military skill, which alone would establish his claim to be considered a great general, succeeded in conducting the retreat of his whole army,





RETREAT FROM LONG ISLAND.

with its artillery, to New York. This was achieved in the face of a greatly superior force.

The commissioners, who certainly showed an anxious desire for pacification, chose this occasion to send Sullivan, the captured general, to Congress, stating that they could not indeed as yet acknowledge its political character, but inviting some of its members to a conference. A deputation was sent, consisting of Adams, Franklin, and Rutledge,—strenuous votaries of independence. Lord Howe received them with great politeness; but his offers included merely, as usual, a general amnesty, and a promise to reconsider the obnoxious acts; while they declared a treaty inadmissible on any basis, except that of the states being acknowledged independent. On these terms there could not be the least approximation between the two parties.

General Howe now proceeded with measures for driving the patriots out of New York, which, as usual, he sought to effect rather by circuitous manoeuvre than by direct assault. He prepared expeditions to ascend the opposite branches of the Hudson, which enclose New York Island, and by landing above

the city, oblige the Americans either to evacuate or be completely shut up within it. Washington, viewing with alarm these movements, called a council of officers, and recommended the immediate withdrawal of the troops; but strong objections being expressed, it was determined rather to leave there five thousand men, while the main body occupied a strong post at Kingsbridge, connecting the northern point of the island with the continent. As the British operations advanced, the perils attending this detached position became evident, so that by general consent, the evacuation was determined upon, and the utmost activity employed in removing the artillery and stores. On the 15th of September, Clinton landed at Kipp's Bay, a position strongly fortified, and defended by eight regiments; but, dispirited by late disasters, they fled without attempting resistance, and Washington in vain strove to rally them. It was then necessary with the utmost haste to withdraw the troops, which was effected with the loss of only about three hundred prisoners; but they left behind them a large quantity of artillery, stores, and camp equipage, the want of which was most sensibly felt.

The British army now entered on the peaceable occupation of New York; yet it was disturbed by a distressing occurrence. On the night of the 20th or morning of the 21st of September, a fire broke out which continued to rage till a third of the city was consumed. Gordon says that, amid the rejoicings and revelry of the troops on their entry, the flames broke out in an obscure tavern, in the most crowded quarter; while from the same circumstances they for some time spread undiscovered, and were with the utmost difficulty extinguished.

Washington now took post on Harlem Heights, a range which crossed the island, and had been so carefully fortified, that Howe, with his wonted caution, did not venture an attack. His plan was to oblige the Americans to relinquish the post by landing on the eastern shore, thus threatening their rear and communication with New England. As a preliminary, three frigates were sent up the main stream of the Hudson; and, notwithstanding the resistance made by Forts Washington and Lee, and by chevaux-de-frize sunk in the channel, they passed without injury. Before pushing into the interior, the British



commander spent about three weeks, seemingly a needless waste of time, in fortifying New York. On the 12th of October, having placed the flower of his army in flat-bottomed boats, he proceeded up the eastern channel, and through the pass of Hellgate, to the point called Frog's Neck. Finding his advance here much obstructed, he re-embarked and landed higher up at Pell's Point, whence he advanced upon New Rochelle. The American commander, meantime, had called a council of war, which decided that the position on New York Island was no longer secure; and the troops accordingly crossed at Kingsbridge, taking up a position extending thence eastward towards White Plains, which was fortified as well as time would admit. Howe, on coming up and reconnoitring, determined to attack first a detached corps of sixteen hundred men under General M'Dougall, who, after a sharp, but short conflict, were dislodged; but the general position was judged so strong as to make it advisable to wait for some reinforcements. These arrived, and the attack was preparing; when, during the night of the 31st, Washington retired to a range of heights five miles in his rear, which he had been employed in strengthening. To the cautious view of the British commander, this post appeared so formidable, that he determined to change the seat of war to New Jersey, a less defensible territory, whither his antagonist would be obliged to follow him.

As a preliminary, he resolved to attack Fort Washington, a strong post still held by the Americans on New York Island. Howe, with an unusual boldness, determined to attempt the place by storm; and, on the 16th of November, the army, in four divisions, advanced to the assault. In a few hours they had carried all the outworks, in which the chief strength consisted; and Magaw, the governor, felt himself obliged to capitulate, though Washington sent word, that if he could hold out till evening, an attempt would be made to rescue him. The prisoners amounted to two thousand eight hundred and eighteen, rendering the loss nearly as heavy as at the battle on Long Island; while the royal army had eight hundred killed and wounded. Cornwallis immediately landed with a strong force on the Jersey shore, when the Americans found it necessary to evacuate Fort Lee, opposite to Fort Washington. The





RETREAT THROUGH NEW JERSEY.

garrison was saved, but the cannon, tents, and stores were left behind.

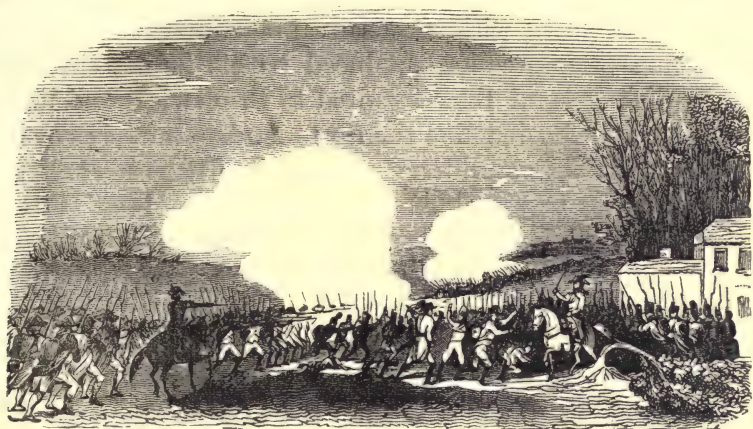
The American army was now pursued through New Jersey, a level country, which afforded no defensible position, and time was not allowed to fortify any. After a retreat of three weeks with the ghost of an army, Washington only secured himself by crossing to the opposite side of the Delaware. The critical period was again approaching, when the terms for which the troops had been enlisted would expire. Exhausted and dispirited, they eagerly availed themselves of the liberty thus afforded, and even anticipated it without any regard to the exigencies of the service. He had been urging in the strongest terms upon Congress the ruinous nature of the temporary system hitherto pursued, warning them that, without a permanent and well organized army, the cause was lost. Seconded by the disastrous state of affairs, he had been empowered to raise, first eighty-eight, and then sixteen more regular battalions; to give higher bounties and pay; and to act in other respects for six months as a military dictator. The men, however, were not yet raised, and present circumstances were little calculated to invite them into the service. In crossing the Delaware, he had with him only three thousand, independent of a detachment left at White Plains, under General Lee. That officer, while reluctantly obeying the order to join the main force, and suspected to be meditating some schemes of his own, was sur-

prised and made prisoner,—an event which threw additional gloom over the American prospects.

The course seemed now open before Howe to cross the Delaware with the utmost possible expedition, and advance on Philadelphia. Though probably not aware of the extreme weakness of his antagonist, he could not suppose him to have any force capable of arresting such a movement. The river was unfordable; but vigorous exertion could surely have provided the means of passing, which the ice at all events would soon have rendered easy. Washington entertained no doubt of this being his opponent's intention; and, though its accomplishment "would wound the heart of every virtuous American," declares himself wholly without the means of preventing it. Congress, in consequence, removed their sittings to Baltimore.

Still, though the American cause seemed reduced to the lowest ebb, Congress remained firm, announcing to their countrymen and to the powers of Europe, a determination to adhere immutably to the declaration of independence. Washington felt, with almost exaggerated force, the weight of the evils that pressed upon the cause; yet, with a firm and bold spirit, he watched every opportunity of retrieving it. He had collected about five or six thousand men, and prevailed upon some, whose service had expired, to remain for other six weeks. The English army, covering the Jerseys, was ranged along the Delaware, from Trenton to Burlington, on which line there was reason to believe that no very strict watch would be kept. The bold genius of Washington conceived a plan, which was eagerly adopted. The troops being formed into three detachments, he, with the strongest, amounting to two thousand four hundred, crossed the river on the night of the 25th of December, and from two opposite points attacked Trenton, then occupied by Colonel Rhalle with a strong body of Hessians. That officer, while hastily mustering his men, received a mortal wound; and the whole corps, surprised and surrounded, speedily surrendered. The two other detachments were arrested by severe cold and tempest, otherwise they might, it was hoped, have been equally successful, and a sweep made of the whole range of positions. Washington, however, had good reason to congratulate himself





BATTLE OF TRENTON.

on carrying off nearly one thousand prisoners, with only ten of his own men killed and wounded,—a most unexpected event, which wonderfully revived the sinking spirits of his countrymen.

Washington now crossed the Delaware, and, with five thousand men, took post at Trenton; but Cornwallis, mustering all his force, advanced upon him; and, on the 2d of January, 1777, the two armies were separated only by a creek. The American general easily saw that, by engaging here a superior army, he ran imminent hazard of being defeated, and driven over the Delaware with great disadvantage and loss. He formed a bold design; breaking up silently in the night, he moved round the British right, and advanced rapidly upon Brunswick, where their chief magazines were lodged. He might, seemingly, have succeeded, had he not encountered at Princeton three regiments coming up to join the main army. The Americans were at first repulsed, and General Mercer killed; but Washington, by extraordinary exertions, restored the action, separated his opponents, and obliged them to retreat in different directions. He then, however, saw advancing against him the van of Cornwallis, who, having received the alarm, hastened to frustrate his scheme; and as he could not hazard a battle without the certainty of defeat, with the risk of having his retreat cut off, he prudently fell back. In this skirmish, the loss on



both sides was nearly equal; but the having made another bold offensive movement without disadvantage, heightened greatly the favourable impression produced by his former enterprise. The English general then repaired to Brunswick, and limited himself to a defensive line thence to Amboy, merely covering New York. This, in a military sense, was perhaps most eligible; but with a view to moral effect, it would have been better to have resumed, almost at any cost, his former positions, and not allowed his weak and beaten enemy to re-occupy nearly the whole of the Jerseys.

It now behoved the British commander-in-chief to form plans for the approaching campaign; and the first which he communicated was in accordance with the general views we have observed him to entertain. A detachment being left to cover New Jersey, one expedition was to ascend the Hudson, another to land at Rhode Island, and endeavour thence to push on to Boston. This course seems liable to all the objections already stated, with the additional one of its dividing the active force into two entirely detached portions. It would also have required a reinforcement of fifteen thousand men, which, it appears, was not likely to be forthcoming. On further consideration, he decided in favour of an expedition against Philadelphia, which could be accomplished with a smaller force, and was favoured by the reported disposition of the inhabitants. This was approved by the ministry, and, for reasons above stated, seems the wisest course, though too tardily adopted. A detachment had already been sent, under Clinton, to occupy Rhode Island, —a measure justly censured by Botta, as weakening, for this very subordinate object, the main body, still scarcely adequate to its destination. Lord Howe considered it very important as a naval station; but he should have considered that it was by land operations only that the campaign was to be decided.

The remainder of the winter was employed by the British in making two expeditions for the destruction of stores collected by the Americans, at Peekskill and Danbury. The first was conducted by Colonel Bird, who landed with about 500 men at Peekskill, on the east side of Hudson river, nearly 50 miles from New York; but on his approach, General M'Dougal, with the few Americans stationed there as a guard, fired the principal

store-houses, and retired. The loss of provisions, forage, and other valuable articles, was considerable.

The second enterprise was conducted by Major General Tryon, who with a detachment of 2000 men embarked at New York, and passing through Long Island Sound, landed at Campo, between Fairfield and Norwalk; whence he advanced through the country, almost undisturbed, to Danbury. On his approach, Colonel Huntington, who had occupied the town with 100 militia and continental troops, retired to a neighbouring height, where he waited for reinforcements. The British destroyed 18 houses, 800 barrels of pork and beef, 800 barrels of flour, 2000 bushels of grain, and 1700 tents. Generals Wooster, Arnold, and Silliman, hastily collecting several hundred of the inhabitants, proceeded that night through a heavy rain to Bethel, about eight miles from Danbury. The next morning they divided their troops; and General Wooster with about 300 men fell on their rear, while Arnold with about 500, by a rapid movement, took post in their front at Ridgefield.

Wooster, coming up with them about eleven in the morning, attacked them with great gallantry. A sharp skirmish ensued, in which he was mortally wounded, and his troops were compelled to give way. The enemy proceeded to Ridgefield, where Arnold, who had barricaded the road, warmly disputed the passage; but, after a skirmish of nearly an hour, being compelled to give way, he retreated to Saugatuck, about three miles east of Norwalk. The British, having remained that night at Ridgefield, set fire to the place, and early next morning resumed their march. Arnold met them again about eleven, and a continued skirmishing was kept up until five in the afternoon, when, on their making a stand at a hill near their ships, the Americans charged them with intrepidity, but were repulsed and broken. The enemy immediately re-embarked for New York. Their killed, wounded, and missing, amounted to about 170; the loss of the Americans was not admitted to exceed 100.

This predatory excursion was not long after retaliated. A quantity of provisions had been deposited at Sagg Harbour, on the eastern end of Long Island, and confided to a schooner with 12 guns and a company of infantry. General Parsons, who commanded a few of the Connecticut recruits at New Haven,



conceiving it practicable to surprise this small post and some others not very distant from it, intrusted the execution of his plan to Lieutenant Colonel Meigs, a very enterprising and gallant officer, who had distinguished himself in the attempt on Quebec. On the 23d of May, he embarked at Guilford with about 170 men, on board 13 whale boats, and proceeded, under convoy of two armed sloops, across the Sound to the north division of the island near Southhold. A small foraging party, against which the expedition was in part directed, having left this place for New York, the boats were immediately conveyed across the land, about 15 miles, into a bay, by which the east end of Long Island is deeply intersected, where the troops re-embarked, and, crossing the bay, landed at two in the morning about four miles from Sagg Harbour. This place they completely surprised, and carried with charged bayonets. A division of the detachment at the same time burned 12 vessels, with the forage which had been collected for the supply of the British army. Six of the enemy were killed, and 90 captured. Colonel Meigs returned to Guilford with his prisoners, without the loss of a single man.

Washington, meantime, was actively employing those dictatorial powers for raising and organizing troops which the exigency of affairs had at length extorted from Congress. Levies, however, went on very slowly, through the discouraging state of the cause and the rigour of the season; so that, at the opening of the campaign, he had not mustered quite eight thousand men. These, however, were in an improved state of discipline, bearing somewhat the aspect and character of a regular army; and during the winter months, he had strongly intrenched them in a position covering the route to Philadelphia. Howe considered it inexpedient to open the campaign till the middle of June, when the forage was green on the ground,—a delay, the necessity of which has been doubted. He then assumed a position in front of the Americans, which he maintained six days; but, after having carefully reconnoitred their camp, considered it too strong for attack, and fell back to his original station. His next manœuvre was to commence an apparently precipitate retreat; by which Washington was so far deceived, that he engaged in a hasty pursuit, when the royal troops, as





WASHINGTON.

soon as the Americans were close upon them, wheeled round and made a brisk attack. Lord Cornwallis pursued a detachment under Lord Stirling to a considerable distance; but the American general, on seeing his error, exerted such activity in withdrawing his detachments, that they regained their intrenched position without very serious loss.

The British commander, having thus failed in his attempts to bring the Americans to action, conceived it impossible, in their face, to attempt the passage of so broad a river as the Delaware. There appeared no alternative but to embark his army, and, by a great circuit, land them at the head of the Chesapeake. In fact, the British force was not on board till the 5th of July, and did not reach its destination till the 24th of August, when it was landed without opposition.

Washington had been carefully watching its movements, and recruiting his own force, which he had raised to fourteen thousand, not the most numerous, but the most efficient of any



\* LORD CORNWALLIS.

he had hitherto commanded. He determined, therefore, to risk a battle in defence of Philadelphia, though conscious that its issue must be very doubtful; but otherwise the expectations of the country would be disappointed, and a discouragement ensue worse than defeat. The only considerable stream on the route was the Brandywine, along whose high banks he drew up his army, erecting batteries and intrenchments for the defence of the principal fords. Howe's advance to this point was obstructed only by the skirmishes with his advanced guard; yet proceeding with characteristic deliberation, he did not reach it till the 11th of September. Determining then upon an attack, he made his arrangements with skill and judgment. Knyp- hausen, with the Hessians, attacked the American front, driving them across the river, with apparently vigorous attempts to follow, yet avoiding any actual advance. Meantime, a strong division under Cornwallis, accompanied by Howe himself, made a circuit of seventeen miles to pass by the upper fords. Washington had received some intimation of this movement, but, distracted by opposite reports, did not sufficiently provide against it. Cornwallis reached the right of the American army before it had time to form, and, by a vigorous attack, he com-

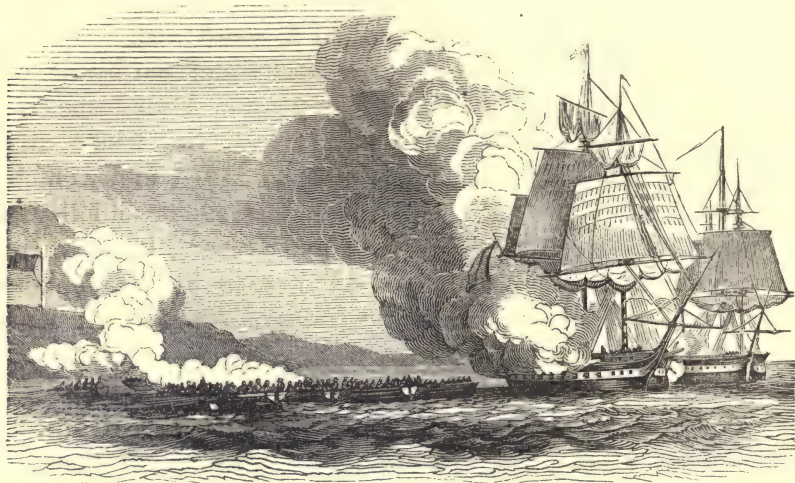


pletely broke and drove them before him. Knyphausen, as soon as he heard this firing, pushed forward with his whole force, when the American centre, already alarmed by the disaster of its right, gave way at every point. After some vain attempts by Greene to cover the retreat, the whole army retreated, losing more than one thousand killed and wounded and prisoners. Howe has been severely blamed for not following up this as other victories; while he and Cornwallis reply, that this was neither practicable nor safe in a country encumbered with immense woods, where the fugitive army easily found shelter, and could have harassed their pursuers with a desultory warfare. But this is not a sufficient justification.

The American general soon re-assembled his defeated army, and, though slowly retreating, did not give up all hopes of saving Philadelphia. He was even about again to engage the enemy, when a violent storm, continued during a whole day and night, prevented the conflict and rendered his ammunition useless. Still it was only by skilful manœuvres that his opponent succeeded in entering the capital, and obliging him to retreat beyond it. Congress, who had returned thither, removed first to Lancaster and then to Yorktown.

Thus established in Philadelphia, Howe pushed forward the main body of his force to Germantown. A large part, however, was employed in reducing a chain of forts and batteries, which the Americans had erected on the Lower Delaware, interrupting the direct communication with the sea, where Admiral Lord Howe, after landing the troops at the head of the Chesapeake, had brought round the fleet. Washington, having received some reinforcements, determined to take advantage of this divided state of the army by a sudden attack on the portion stationed at Germantown. At seven o'clock in the evening of the 3d of October, his troops advanced in four divisions, and, having marched fourteen miles, at daybreak took the British completely by surprise. For some time he carried all before him; but he was arrested by a large stone building, obstinately defended by six companies, and his troops became confused in a heavy fog. On the opposing force being fully drawn forth, he was repulsed at every point, with the loss of upwards of a thousand in killed, wounded, and prisoners. Notwithstanding





BATTLE OF RED BANK.

this unfortunate issue, a favourable impression of his resources was conveyed by his resuming the offensive so soon after the defeat at Brandywine.

The British troops were now employed in reducing the defences of the Delaware. In attacking the fort of Red Bank, commanded by Colonel Christopher Greene, a detachment under Count Donop, a gallant German officer, was repulsed, with the loss of about four hundred men, and the commander mortally wounded. It was afterwards relinquished on the approach of a superior force; but November had nearly closed before the passage for the fleet was completely cleared. Howe, then, on the 4th of December, marched out with the view of again bringing the American general to battle. The latter, having received four thousand additional troops from the north, had taken up a position at Whitemarsh, about fourteen miles from Philadelphia, which he considered so strong, that his letters express a desire of being there attacked; but the English general, upon a careful survey, declined the engagement, and, after some days' skirmishing, fell back upon the capital. The attention of the American commander was then anxiously directed to the choice of winter-quarters. After much hesitation, he fixed upon Valley Forge, on the Schuylkill, a very wild and bare spot, but well fitted for straitening the English

position, and overawing the inhabitants, who were generally disaffected. The troops laboured under a scarcity of provisions, and still more of clothes and shoes; so that their marches were marked by tracks of blood from their wounded feet. The country people were indisposed to supply goods, and set very little value on the paper certificates offered in return; but Washington on one occasion only would agree to a compulsory requisition. The encampment consisted of rude log-huts, erected by the soldiers, in one of which twelve were lodged. Their sufferings during the winter were most intense, and their endurance is highly honourable to their own patriotism, and the persuasive influence of their distinguished commander.

We have already noticed that the American expedition against Canada had been signally disastrous. After being severely repulsed at Quebec, they had, in the course of December, 1776, been compelled entirely to evacuate the province. The plan was then formed to send from that country a strong British force, which, penetrating across the back settlements of New York, might form a junction with Howe, and second his operations. The command was bestowed on Burgoyne, an officer of merit; but his superseding Carleton, who had highly distinguished himself in the defence of Canada, was by no means popular.

About the middle of June, 1777, Burgoyne began his march, with six thousand seven hundred British and Germans, to which he could only add two hundred and fifty Canadians, and four hundred Indians. His first movement was against Crown Point and Ticonderoga, considered the barriers of the Union on that frontier. These forts, which the Americans so fortunately acquired at the beginning of the contest, had been enlarged and strengthened, and were now garrisoned by above three thousand men. When, however, on the 5th of July, the works were nearly invested, General St. Clair called a council of officers, who decided that the force, being mostly militia, was insufficient for their defence. A retreat was therefore effected during the night, the baggage and stores being embarked upon Lake George. As soon as morning betrayed this movement, a vigorous pursuit was commenced, several detachments were cut off, and the flotilla on the lake destroyed; while the American



GENERAL SCHUYLER.

forces, greatly reduced in numbers, retreated to Fort Edward, on the Hudson.

This triumphant opening filled the British with exultation, while it created alarm among the patriots. The former, however, soon encountered great and unforeseen obstacles. The country, wholly intersected with creeks and marshes, required a constant alternation of land and water conveyance, which the Americans, under General Schuyler, rendered more difficult by felling large trees and laying them across the paths. It was necessary to construct forty bridges, one of them two miles in extent, while the bateaux had to be dragged from creek to creek by ten or twelve oxen. The interval between the 30th of July and 15th of August was thus spent in an advance of only eighteen miles. The inhabitants were animated with a strong spirit of independence, and eminently fitted for desultory warfare. The "Green Mountain boys," who roamed and hunted over that lofty branch of the Alleghany, poured down in large bodies, and with rifles all but unerring, proved as formidable in this wild region as the best trained regulars. The Indians





MURDER OF MISS M'CREA.

did not yield services equal to the odium which their employment excited. A party of them attacked a house, and captured two women, one of them a Miss M'Crea. The prisoners were taken in different directions towards the British camp, to avoid the pursuit of the Americans at Fort Edward. According to the story of the two red men who had Miss M'Crea in charge, they were fired upon, and she was wounded; whereupon they killed and scalped her. The British general had offered a reward for scalps, but a greater one for prisoners: and as it was therefore to the interest of the Indians to take their captive alive to the British camp, their story of her death may be believed. A more romantic version of the affair was given at the time, and a feeling of mingled horror and indignation was universal.

Burgoyne, being now hard pressed for provisions, and the means of transport, and learning that there was a large supply at Bennington, Vermont, despatched Colonel Baum, with 600 Germans and Indians, to seize them. The alarm was soon



GENERAL STARK.

sounded. The militia of Vermont and New Hampshire mustered strongly under General John Stark, an officer of experience and determination. Arriving at Walloon Creek, Baum heard of the approach of the Americans, and there halted and intrenched his force. An express was sent to Burgoyne for a reinforcement. Stark, having 1600 men under his command, resolved to attack the enemy. The battle was fought upon the 16th of August, 1777. Having sent Colonel Nichols, with 250 men, to the rear of the enemy's left wing, and Colonel Hendrick, with 300, to the rear of their right, and placed 300 to oppose their front and draw their attention, Stark sent Colonels Hubbard and Stickney with 200 to attack the right wing, and 100 more to reinforce Colonel Nichols. The attack began precisely at three o'clock in the afternoon. The several detachments seconded the onset, and General Stark advanced at the same time with the main body. The engagement lasted



BATTLE OF BENNINGTON.

two hours; but the German troops were at length obliged to abandon their breastworks, and retreat into the woods, leaving their commander mortally wounded on the field of battle. Lieutenant Colonel Breyman, whom Burgoyne had detached with 500 Germans to the assistance of Colonel Baum, coming up just in time to join the fugitives, was vigorously attacked by the Americans, and, after having made a very gallant resistance, and expended all his ammunition, was obliged to retreat. The loss of the British in these two engagements was about 600 men; 1000 stand of arms, and 900 swords, were taken by the Americans.

Another portion of Burgoyne's army was equally unfortunate. It consisted of one thousand five hundred regulars, Canadians, and Indians, under the command of Colonel St. Leger, and was destined to cross Lake Ontario, capture Fort Schuyler, and, ascending the Mohawk, reinforce the main body.





BENEDICT ARNOLD.

But Colonel Gansevoort defended Fort Schuyler with indomitable resolution. On the first approach of the royal army, General Herkimer, who commanded the militia of Tryon county, assembled them in considerable force for the relief of the garrison. St. Leger, receiving information of his approach, sent out a strong detachment of regulars and Indians, who lay in ambuscade on the road, by which he was to march. Into this ambuscade Herkimer fell, and his party was defeated with great slaughter. The loss was estimated at about 400 men. (August 6.)

General Arnold was now despatched with a brigade of troops to attack the besiegers; but their force being greatly superior to his own, recourse was had to stratagem. A man who was the proprietor of a handsome estate in the vicinity, having been taken up as a spy, was employed as a deceptive messenger to spread an alarm, and induce the enemy to retreat; on condition, if he succeeded, that he should be liberated, and his estate secured to him. The stratagem was successful. The Indians instantly determined to quit the ground; and St. Leger, finding himself deserted by 700 or 800 of these important auxiliaries, decamped in the greatest hurry and confusion, and returned to Montreal, leaving his tents, with most of his artillery and stores, in the field.

Burgoyne now felt the difficulties of his situation daily

thickening around him. Gates, a distinguished leader, had been sent to take the command of the Americans, bringing a body of regulars, who, with the numerous volunteers and militia, now formed an army of thirteen thousand men, with habits eminently fitted for this desultory warfare. Considerations purely military would have dictated a return into Canada, while yet possible; but the English general had to consider the dishonour of the British arms by a retreat before this undisciplined foe; the strict injunctions laid upon him to advance on Albany, where he was thought to expect that Howe would be waiting for his junction, while otherwise Gates might wheel round, and augment the force acting against that commander. He had therefore strong motives for his determination to advance at whatever cost. It was necessary, however, to give up his communication with Ticonderoga and the lakes, having no force adequate to maintain the necessary chain of posts. Resolving to push forward and cut his way through the American troops to Albany, he led his army briskly, in several columns, along the roads leading thither, disposing them so as to cover his artillery and baggage. The Americans determined upon resisting this movement by a general attack. They commenced it at Stillwater, about noon of the 19th of September, and maintained the contest very obstinately till dusk, when they retired within their lines. The energy, however, with which they had maintained their ground, and the loss of six hundred men sustained by the already reduced British force, gave it the character of a triumph; while it heightened the gloom which surrounded Burgoyne, who now determined to pause, and fortify himself in his present position. On the 3d of October, fifteen hundred men, sent out to forage and reconnoitre, rashly advanced within half a mile of the American intrenchments, when the daring Arnold instantly sallied out, attacked and drove them back to their camp. The whole American army then followed and commenced a most furious assault on the lines. From the British quarter they were repulsed; but the German intrenchments were carried, two hundred prisoners taken, and Breyman with several leading officers killed or wounded. After this disaster it was judged necessary to fall back upon Saratoga.

As already noticed, Burgoyne had been impelled forward by the belief that Howe with his whole army was waiting for him on the Hudson, and probably at Albany; and having been strangely kept ignorant of that commander's total change of destination, while his attempts at communication were interrupted, he remained still in the dark on this subject. A letter from him, however, reached New York, where Clinton had been left with a force barely sufficient to maintain that position, and without any instructions to co-operate with Burgoyne; so that the intelligence from that general, though so fully to be expected, seems to have fallen upon him like a thunderbolt. Being an energetic and active officer, he assembled three thousand men, and began a brisk movement up the Hudson. The forts of Clinton and Montgomery, which, on opposite banks, defended the navigation, were carried, sixty-seven cannon taken, two frigates, and two galleys burned. Tryon destroyed barracks fitted to accommodate fifteen hundred men; and Vaughan incurred reproach by reducing to ashes the town of Esopus, on the insufficient plea that the troops had been fired at from the houses, and that "it was a nursery for almost every villain (malcontent) in the country." Though Gates observed these movements, he wisely forbore to weaken his army by detachments against this corps, which failed in every attempt even to open a communication with the northern army.

Burgoyne now felt that his affairs had reached a fatal crisis. The Americans held and strongly guarded all the posts in the rear, and had destroyed the flotilla on Lake George; while in front they had an army double his own in number, and in such warfare not much less efficient. An attempted movement in either direction must therefore be followed by a series of incessant and harassing attacks, destroying his army in detail. A council of war was called, and the conclusion formed, that no option was left but the deeply afflicting one of opening a negotiation for surrender. Gates's first demand was, that the whole force should ground their arms and become prisoners of war; but the general, with all his officers, agreed in the determination to brave every extremity rather than submit to such terms. Gates, a prudent man, feeling the importance of time, agreed, after some discussion, to grant the honours of war, and





GENERAL BURGoyNE.

a free passage to Britain, on condition of their not serving again in North America during the present contest.

As Congress received no intimation that the British government sanctioned the proceedings of this convention, the captured army was not allowed to leave the country. Burgoyne, when complaining of the treatment which his men experienced at Boston, used the rash expression, that he considered the convention as thereby violated; whence it was inferred, that on returning home, he would represent his government as absolved from the engagement against their serving in America. The American authorities demanded lists of the men's names, which seems not very unreasonable, but was considered by Burgoyne as an impeachment on British honour.

This intelligence arrived in England November, 1777, while parliament were sitting; and the effect may be easily conceived. The opposition, justifying the conduct of the commanders, threw the whole blame upon ministers. Chatham declared the expedition a most wild, uncombined, mad project; and Fox said that ten thousand men had been destroyed by the wilful ignorance and incapacity of Lord Germaine. Ministers, on the other hand, contended that everything depending upon them had been done; large armies had been sent, and most amply



LORD NORTH.

supplied; and, before being condemned, they were entitled at least to a full inquiry. Lord North protested, as on former occasions, his willingness to lay down office if he could thereby hope to restore peace; but seeing no prospect of this, he considered himself bound to remain at the helm. Lord Chatham had moved for a cessation of hostilities, which was negatived; but committees were named in each house for an inquiry into the state of the nation, the result of which was to be taken into consideration in the beginning of February, 1778. Ministers proposed and carried, though with considerable opposition, an adjournment till the 20th of January. The warlike spirit of the nation had been gradually subsiding in consequence of the lengthened contest, and the little prospect of any decisive success; so that the first accounts of Burgoyne's catastrophe produced deep despondence, and a general call for peace. In the course of the recess, however, a very decided reaction took place, excited mainly, we imagine, by the prevailing belief, that France was about to join America; for David Hartley warned his friend, Dr. Franklin, that the English would "fight for a straw with their last shilling and their last man," rather than be dictated to by that power. Manchester, Liverpool, Edin-

burgh, and Glasgow, came forward to supply regiments; six battalions were raised in the Scottish Highlands; eleven companies in Wales. The voluntary levies thus effected before the meeting of parliament, amounted to fifteen thousand men. The opposition exclaimed against this raising of troops without consent or knowledge of parliament; but ministers had little dread of this charge, and boasted of the result as decisively expressing the national opinion in their favour. Mr. Fox and the Duke of Richmond made motions that no troops should be sent out of the kingdom, which were negatived, but not by the usual large majorities; the former only by two hundred and fifty-nine to one hundred and sixty-five; the last by ninety-one to thirty-four.

Soon after the meeting of parliament, however, Lord North brought forward a most extensive scheme of conciliation, embracing indeed every demand which had originally been made by the colonists. The right of taxation without their own consent was to be renounced; the violated constitutions were to be restored; every act since 1763 was to be abrogated, excepting such as were manifestly beneficial to the colonies. The intentions of ministers had, he said, been misunderstood; these were the measures they had waited to announce in a hoped-for moment of decisive success, but having been disappointed, there seemed no longer any room for delay. This proposal met with no serious opposition, though among the supporters of the war there were considerable murmurs at the renunciation of all its objects; while among its opponents, a serious schism was soon perceptible.

We must now look to the continent of Europe, where measures of the deepest importance had been secretly in agitation. Congress for some time made a boast of rigorously abstaining from any attempt to seek support by foreign alliances, when they might have done so with every prospect of success. France and Spain, it was well known, deeply humbled by the result of the war ended in 1763, and the extensive territories then wrested from them, were anxiously watching an opportunity to retrieve and avenge these losses. The latter power, indeed, might dread lest the same spirit should spread to her own settlements; but France upon this head had much less to



fear. In the spring of 1776, all the leading men in the colonies, having fixed their minds upon independence, became disposed to avail themselves of the advantages of foreign treaties. Franklin indeed states, as his first opinion, that America, "as a virgin state, should not go about suitoring alliances," but rather wait till she was courted; but he was overruled, and ultimately became the most active agent. On the 29th of November, 1775, a committee had been appointed to open a correspondence with the friends of America in Europe. The first person employed was Silas Deane, a member of Congress, who was instructed to visit Europe in the character of a merchant, and endeavour to open private channels, by which the cabinets might aid America, without openly committing themselves. He arrived about the 1st of July, 1776, and found the French court well disposed to favour his views. Turgot, a minister friendly to peace, had been replaced by Vergennes, who eagerly aspired to regain for France the ground lost in the late contest. A great dread, however, being felt lest the power and perseverance of America should fail, and France be left alone to maintain an unequal contest, the minister intimated that aid could not be openly given, but that no obstruction would be opposed to the shipment of warlike stores and supplies; if any occurred, it need only be stated to be speedily removed.

As soon as the declaration of independence had been fully matured, Congress applied itself openly and with increased vigour to the object of foreign alliances. On the 11th of June, a committee was appointed to prepare a plan, which was not however matured and approved till the 17th of September, when Dr. Franklin, Mr. Deane, and Mr. Lee, were appointed commissioners to proceed to France. The former, from his weight of character, sound judgment, and address, had almost the entire direction. On reaching Paris, however, in December, 1776, he found the cabinet by no means prepared openly to espouse the cause of the states, or even to acknowledge their independence. Friendly professions were made, and a continuance of private succours promised; but there was an evident determination against proceeding farther till it should appear whether they could resist the shock of the British armies, the pressure of which was then so severe. The disasters of the

campaign increased the anxiety of Congress upon the subject. They sent commissioners to the courts of Vienna, Spain, Prussia, and Tuscany; and in order to induce France to declare openly in their favour, offered large privileges for commerce and fishery, and even the possession of such West India islands as might be captured during the war. But the same distresses which impelled to these overtures, made the court cautious of accepting them, and continue to watch the train of events. The campaign of 1777, notwithstanding its misfortunes, was considered to afford prospects of making a permanent stand; but the French counsels evidently vacillated with every intelligence and even report which arrived from America. No change took place till the arrival, early in December, of the momentous tidings of Burgoyne's surrender, which at once gave a decisive turn to the views of the cabinet. On the 16th, M. Gerard intimated to the commissioners that, after long deliberation, the king had determined to acknowledge the independence of the United States, and also to afford them support, though thereby involving himself in an expensive war. On the 8th of January, 1778, Louis wrote a letter to his uncle, the king of Spain, referring to Britain as their common and inveterate enemy. During the pending contest, he had afforded to the colonies supplies of money and stores, at which England had taken deep umbrage, and would no doubt seize the first opportunity of avenging herself. The Americans had indeed shown that they were not to be subdued, but Britain might succeed in her present attempts to form a close and friendly alliance with them, and thus turn her arms undivided against her continental enemies; now, therefore, was the time to form such a connexion as might prevent any reunion between them and the mother country.

In pursuance of these views, there was concluded, on the 6th of February, a treaty of commerce, accompanied by one of defensive alliance in the well foreseen case of war being the result. The allies were to make common cause with the states, and to maintain their absolute independence. Whatever conquests should be made on the continent were to be secured to them, but those in the West Indies to the crown of France.

The treaty between France and America, though soon gene-

rally known, was for some time studiously concealed from the British minister. On the 13th of March, however, the French ambassador at London delivered a note, referring to the United States as already in full possession of independence, whence his majesty had concluded with them a treaty of friendship and commerce, and would take effectual measures to prevent its interruption. Professions were made of the king's anxiety to cultivate a good understanding with Britain, and his sincere disposition for peace, of which it was ironically said that new proofs would be found in this communication. On the 17th, this document was laid before Parliament, with a message from the crown, stating that the British ambassador had in consequence been ordered to withdraw from Paris, and expressing trust in the zealous and affectionate support of the people for repelling this unprovoked aggression combined with insult. An address echoing the message was moved in both houses; but the opposition reproached ministers with not having duly foreseen or prepared for this emergency; while a few repelled as now hopeless the idea of holding America under any kind of dependence. It was carried, however, by majorities, in the Commons of two hundred and sixty-three to two hundred and thirteen; in the Lords of sixty-eight to twenty-five. The message for calling out the militia was sanctioned without a division.

In Pennsylvania, meantime, the two armies continued viewing each other without any material warlike movement. The distress suffered by Washington at Valley Forge was extreme, Congress taking no efficient measures to supply the troops with clothes or even provisions. The officers had to complain, not only of irregularity in receiving their pay, but of obtaining no promise of half-pay at the end of the war; this last, however, through the remonstrances of Washington, was at length secured. That great man was further harassed by a combination formed against himself and shared by Gates, whose friends contrasted his brilliant success against Burgoyne with the tardy, and, in many cases, unsuccessful movements of the commander-in-chief. Their representations made for some time a considerable impression upon Congress, and even the public; but as the commander took no notice of this movement, and pursued





AMERICANS AT VALLEY FORGE.

the even and dignified tenor of his way, the cloud dispelled of itself. Although his force in spring was reduced very low, Howe did not venture to attack, but, according to the representations formerly made, considered himself strong enough only for partial and detached expeditions, several of which were undertaken with success. Not being, however, supplied with reinforcements sufficient for any important enterprise, he felt his situation painful, and solicited his recall. Ministers, who probably hoped that a more enterprising commander might achieve some decisive successes, granted it, and named Clinton his successor. His officers, however, manifested their opinion of his merits by a brilliant fete on the occasion of his departure.

In June, the commissioners arrived with new offers of conciliation. They consisted of Governor Johnstone, Lord Carlisle, and Mr. Eden, gentlemen who had hitherto advocated against ministers the cause of America. The terms were more than had been originally asked, amounting in fact to every degree of independence compatible with a union of force against foreign powers, all alliance with whom was expected to be renounced. Smaller concessions would once have saved the colonies; but Congress and the leading men had now taken a position whence they felt wholly disinclined to recede. They do not seem to have ever deliberated, merely appointing a committee to prepare an answer. Its tenor was, that notwithstanding all their wrongs, they were willing to conclude a treaty of peace and commerce, provided Britain should begin by an explicit acknow-



GENERAL GATES.

ledgment of their independence, or by withdrawing her fleets and armies. Indignation was expressed at the manner in which their great and good ally, the king of France, was mentioned, and a full determination intimated of adhering to the connexion. The commissioners wrote an explanatory paper, endeavouring to prove that every object of real importance was included in their offers; but as no new concession was made, it was determined to return no answer. Governor Johnstone had written letters to several members of Congress, in which, besides public motives, private advantages were held out in case of their aiding the cause of reconciliation. The receivers laid them before Congress, who immediately published them, with indignant comments, as attempts to gain their object by bribery.

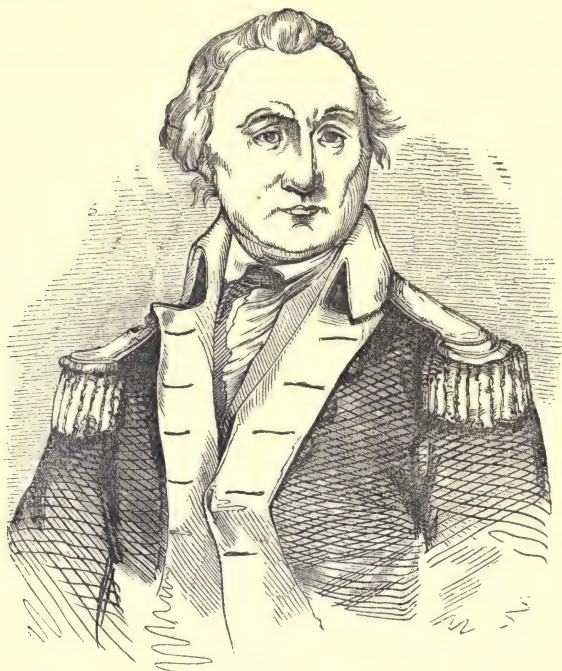
The commissioners, thus vehemently repulsed by Congress, determined to appeal to the particular states and to the nation at large. A manifesto and proclamation were drawn up, fully explaining all the advantages now offered, including the removal of every grievance hitherto complained of; reminding the

people that to these overtures Congress had refused even to listen, and asking if they were prepared to carry on a ruinous war, with no object but to throw themselves into the arms of a foreign power, so long their inveterate enemy. It was injudiciously added, that in such case warlike measures would be carried on with increased severity, so that if the country was to belong to France, its value might be diminished. Congress published this paper themselves, counteracted by ample comments.

Fearful for the safety of their army, the British ministers had sent orders to Howe to evacuate the city of Philadelphia and the river Delaware, without delay, lest the French fleet, which it was presumed would sail for America in the spring, might entrap him, and cause the loss of both fleet and army.

Accordingly, the royal army crossed the Delaware into New Jersey, on the 18th of June. Washington had previously detached Maxwell's brigade to aid the Jersey militia in checking their march, whilst he should fall on their rear himself with the main body. The Americans crossed the Delaware in pursuit of the British, while six hundred men were detached under Morgan, to reinforce Maxwell. The British marched to Allentown, and there chose the road to Sandy Hook, to avoid crossing the Raritan, which they must have done, if they had marched direct to Amboy. They encamped on the 27th of June, near Freehold Courthouse, in Monmouth county. Washington sent General Wayne, with one thousand men, to reinforce the troops already on their lines. Lafayette was sent to command this division, which amounted to four thousand men, and Lee soon after joined them, with two additional brigades, and took charge of the whole. Morgan hovered on the right flank of the British, with his corps, and Dickinson was on the left, with eight hundred Jersey militia. Washington was three miles in the rear, with the main body. He determined to make an attack upon the British before they should reach the strong grounds about Middletown. Lee was ordered to maintain his dispositions for an attack, and to keep his troops constantly on their arms, so as to take advantage of the first movement of the enemy. Knyphausen led the van, with the baggage; and the best troops were placed in the rear, under Cornwallis.





GENERAL MORGAN.

At break of day, on the 28th of June, the royal army began their march; but the rear waited until eight o'clock in the morning. Lee followed them into the plains; Clinton turned with his whole rear-division, to attack the Americans, and Lee began the engagement. Owing to some misunderstanding, part of the American forces began to retreat, and the rest soon followed in great disorder. Washington now came up, with the main body, and to his great astonishment and mortification, met the advanced division in full retreat, Lee intending to renew the battle on higher ground. Washington rode forward and addressed General Lee in warm terms of disapprobation; yet his indignation could not get the better of his self-command; and he immediately set himself to repair the error which had been committed. He ordered Lee to arrest the progress of the flying soldiers, whilst he brought up the main body to their assistance. Lee executed his orders with his characteristic courage and skill. A sharp conflict ensued, the

Americans were compelled to retreat, and were this time brought off by Lee in good order. The British advanced, and attacked the second line of the Americans, which was strongly posted and made such a vigorous resistance, that the enemy were compelled to give way; and at night Clinton withdrew his troops to a good position, where he remained till midnight, when he resumed his march, carrying most of his wounded along with him.

The Americans lost, in this battle, sixty-nine killed, and one hundred and forty wounded, whilst the British, after burying some of their dead in the night, left on the field of battle, two hundred and forty-seven killed, who were buried by the Americans. They left forty-four wounded, and took many others with them. Clinton continued his retreat unmolested, owing to the bad state of the roads; but on his march through Jersey, a large number of his men, who had married in Philadelphia, deserted, and returned to that city. The British lost Lieutenant-Colonel Monckton, and the Americans, Lieutenant-Colonel Bonner and Major Dickenson, all able officers. Washington moved towards the Hudson, and D'Estaing sailed up the Delaware with twelve ships of the line and three frigates, not ten days after Howe had quitted it; when, finding his enemy gone, he sailed for New York, and blockaded the British fleet in the harbour.

After the battle some embittered correspondence passed between Lee and Washington. Lee was thereupon brought before a court-martial, charged with having made a disorderly retreat, and shown disrespect to his commander. He was found guilty, and suspended from all command for a year, and in fact never again joined the army.

No sooner had France openly declared in favour of the States, than she fitted out and sent to their aid a fleet of twelve sail of the line, under Count D'Estaing; while Britain despatched Commodore Byron with one of equal strength. Both were delayed by contrary winds, and though the French admiral arrived first, he did not reach the Chesapeake till the British fleet and army had passed on the way to New York. Thither he followed, and reconnoitred the entrance of the harbour; but Lord Howe, though with only half his force,



D'ESTAING.

made such judicious dispositions, that D'Estaing judged it imprudent to attack. He was next invited to assist in operations against Rhode Island, still held by a considerable English force. General Sullivan, on the land side, was reinforced by New England militia, and by a detachment from the main army, under Lafayette, making in all ten thousand men. Howe hesitated not to approach; but a violent storm prevented the fleets from engaging, and allowed only a few conflicts between single ships, in which the British had the advantage. D'Estaing complained that his squadron was thus so severely shattered, as rendered it necessary to go and refit at Boston; which he did, without regard to the warmest remonstrances from Greene and Lafayette. Sullivan was thus left in a critical situation; a force came hastily from New York, sufficient to overwhelm him, and he was considered to have great merit in effecting a precipitate retreat, with only the dispersion of a part of his army. Byron soon after arrived, and reinforced Howe, when both fleets were placed under Admiral Gambier; and the English became completely superior at sea. The American press raised loud murmurs at the inefficient support afforded by their powerful ally, from whom so much had been expected. This was an additional trouble to Washington, who dreaded





GENERAL SULLIVAN.

umbrage between the two nations, and made apologies to the French officers for the rash language of his countrymen.

He did not attempt any further offensive movements this campaign; and Clinton took occasion to attack some of the principal privateering stations. On Acusknet River, in Buzzard's Bay, General Grey destroyed seventy sail of ships, and numerous store-houses; and from the island named Martha's Vineyard a large supply of sheep and cattle was drawn. At a noted rendezvous, however, named Egg Point, the success was imperfect, a great part of the shipping having escaped. On these occasions, plunder and outrage seem to have been practiced to an unjustifiable extent against known privateers. The Americans, through the report of the French alliance, had obtained the evacuation of Philadelphia; but in every other respect their hopes of this campaign had not been fulfilled. New hopes were excited, however, by the arrival, at Philadelphia, of the French ambassador, Gerard, a highly respected individual, by whose agency, chiefly, the treaty had been concluded.

In the course of this summer, the western country had been the scene of most distressing events; the feuds between the in-



RUINS OF WYOMING.

dependents and loyalists having raged with peculiar violence in this wild region. The latter complained, probably not without reason, that the rigorous laws enacted against them were enforced with severe aggravations, and many sought an asylum beyond the limits of the colonies. There they found themselves among the Indians, a race always bitterly hostile to the white borderers, and easily excited to the most daring enterprises. Unhappily, the passions of the refugees were worked up to such violence, that instead of urging a milder mode of warfare, they stimulated these allies to deeds of more than their wonted barbarity.

The flourishing settlement of Wyoming, upon the Upper Susquehanna, was suddenly attacked by about 1600 Tories and Indians, under Colonel John Butler and Brandt. The militia, under Colonel Zebulon Butler, was completely defeated; the forts captured, and the beautiful valley treated with all the horrors of savage devastation. The settlement at Cherry-Valley, in New York, was also attacked, but the Tories and savages were repulsed, after they had killed and captured a number of the inhabitants, and destroyed their dwellings. (October 1778.) From the lateness of the season, only a few partial attempts could be made to retaliate. Next spring, however, General Sullivan was despatched with four thousand men, and joined by General Clinton with another division from the Mohawk river. They entered the territory of the Indians, who, quite unable to resist so large a force, abandoned their homes and fled before them. The villages were then reduced

to ashes, every trace of cultivation obliterated, and the region rendered as much as possible uninhabitable. This rigour is said to have been authorized by Washington, and justified on the ground, that without interposing a desert between the States and this savage race, no security could be enjoyed on the frontier.

An expedition which was to have taken place under Henry Hamilton, lieutenant-governor of Detroit, fortunately for the Virginia back settlers, against whom it was principally directed, fell through, in consequence of the spirited conduct of Colonel Clarke. The object of the expedition was extensive, and many Indians were engaged in it. Hamilton took post at St. Vincennes, in the winter, to have all things in readiness, for invading the American settlements, as soon as the season of the year would permit. Clarke, on hearing that Hamilton had weakened himself, by sending away a considerable part of his Indians, against the frontier settlers, formed the resolution of attacking him, as the best expedient for preventing the mischiefs which were designed against his country. After surmounting many difficulties, he arrived with 130 men, unexpectedly, at St. Vincennes.

The inhabitants of the town immediately surrendered on the 23d February, 1779, to the Americans; and assisted them in taking the fort. The next day, Hamilton, with the garrison, were made prisoners of war, on articles of capitulation. Clarke, on hearing that a convoy of British goods and provisions was on its way from Detroit, detached a party of sixty men, which met them, and made prize of the whole. By this well-conducted and spirited attack on Hamilton, his intended expedition was nipped in the bud. Colonel Clarke transmitted to the Council of Virginia, letters and papers, relating to Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton, Philip de Jean, justice of peace for Detroit, and William Lamothe, captain of volunteers, whom he had made prisoners. The board reported, that Hamilton had incited the Indians to perpetrate their accustomed cruelties, on the defenceless inhabitants of the United States; had sent considerable detachments of Indians against the frontiers; had appointed a great council of them, to meet him and concert the operations of the ensuing campaign; had given standing rewards



for scalps; and had treated American prisoners with cruelty. They also reported, that De Jean was the willing and cordial instrument of Hamilton; and that Lamothe was captain of the volunteer scalping parties of Indians and tories, who went out, from time to time, under general orders to spare neither men, women, nor children. They therefore, considering them as fit objects, on whom to begin the work of retaliation, advised the governor to put them in irons; confine them in the dungeon of the public jail; debar them the use of pen, ink, and paper; and exclude them from all converse, except with their keeper.

Colonel Goose Van Shaick, with fifty-five men, marched from Fort Schuyler to the Onondago settlements, and on the 19th of April burned the whole, consisting of about fifty houses, together with a large quantity of provisions. Horses, and stock of every kind, were killed. The arms and ammunition of the Indians were either destroyed or brought off, and their settlements were laid waste. Twelve Indians were killed, and thirty-four made prisoners. This expedition was performed in less than six days, and without the loss of a single man. Another expedition under General Broadhead was equally successful.

The attention of Congress and of the commander was now called to plans for the campaign of 1779. The former, looking to their previous successes, and the powerful co-operation of France, cherished the most brilliant expectations, and had formed schemes truly magnificent. Concluding that the English would be speedily expelled, or would of their own accord depart from America, the chief object was to be the invasion of Canada, from three different points, the French being invited to co-operate. Washington, on learning this vast design, took the utmost pains to prove its futility. He disclosed to them the painful truths, that the English were still so powerful both by land and sea, as to afford no speedy prospect of their complete expulsion; while the exhausted state of the finances, the imperfect organization of the army, and the extreme destitution under which it laboured, furnished no means whatever for carrying on such mighty operations. A committee of Congress, on further consideration, recommended that the project should be deferred; yet the members still clung to it, fondly contem-

plating its execution some time before the season closed, and wishing communications to be opened on that subject with the French court. The general, considering the project, even thus modified, as still quite inadmissible, repaired to Philadelphia, where he urged strongly all his former arguments, and confidentially pointed out to the leading statesmen the danger of admitting France into a country where she had so long ruled, and whose people bore still decided traces of her relationship. It appears, indeed, that, probably from the dread of embarrassment in some future negotiation, that power by no means favoured schemes of American conquest. Washington at last succeeded in convincing Congress, that instead of these grand measures of invasion, they must limit themselves, during the present campaign, to a course strictly defensive.

In fact, both the civil and military strength of the Union was now at a lower ebb than at any time since the struggle commenced. The members of Congress had originally consisted of the ablest men in America, animated by the most ardent zeal, and implicitly obeyed by all the votaries of their cause. After the declaration of independence, however, a new modification of the government was considered necessary. A constitution was drawn up, and, after many delays and difficulties, brought into operation, early in 1779, under which the state legislatures were invested with all the most important powers, resigning only a few which were judged indispensable for united action. Congress still retained the direction of foreign affairs, of the war, and consequently of the naval and military force; but to furnish men and supplies for these services they had no resource, except requisitions addressed to the state legislatures. The latter had the complete option whether they should or should not comply, and had many motives which strongly inclined them to the latter alternative; indeed compliance could only be afforded by measures very unpopular, and which would have much disobliged their constituents. The demands of Congress were thus only partially and unequally fulfilled, and the levies never approached the amount at which they were nominally fixed.

The financial state of the country, too, was embarrassing in the extreme. The colonists, at the beginning of the war, had





at the beginning of 1779 had risen to above a hundred millions, and in the course of the year to double that amount, which they had pledged themselves not to exceed. The necessary consequence was a depreciation of the notes to about a fortieth of their nominal value, and hence a miserable derangement in all mercantile and money transactions. The evil was aggravated, too, by preposterous remedies. The paper at its nominal value was made a legal tender for all debts; and by this iniquitous measure, which Washington deeply regretted, many creditors, both public and private, were defrauded, but no permanent relief could be afforded. As the articles furnished to the army, like all others, rose to an enormous nominal value, they were so impolitic as to fix a maximum, above which they should not be received. The consequence was, that at this inadequate rate none could be got; and the army would have perished had not this regulation been rescinded.

In Europe, however, a transaction took place highly auspicious to the American cause. Spain, after long hesitation, determined to join the confederacy, and on the 12th of April, 1779, concluded for that purpose a secret treaty with France. She had for some time offered and even pressed herself as a mediator, having ultimately proposed a congress of all the contending powers at Madrid, and, during the negotiation, a general suspension of arms; but as it was made a condition that in the mean time the colonies were to remain actually independent, Britain, though without expressing any hostile feeling, declared such terms inadmissible. The other party, however, was not disposed to stop here. On the 16th of June, D'Almadovar, the Spanish ambassador, took his departure, after delivering a note, complaining not only of the rejection of his sovereign's friendly overtures, but of sundry violences committed on his subjects in the course of the war, and for which he was determined to seek redress. This was followed by a long manifesto, in which grievances were enumerated to the number of eighty-six, and the necessity stated of reducing the British maritime power. These documents were soon answered by letters of marque, followed by open war. The American patriots felt considerable exultation, imagining that Britain would never be able to cope with a union of so many powers. She

roused herself, however, mightily to resist this new aggression; voluntary aids were poured in both by individuals and public bodies; and she showed herself able, not only to contend with the united navies of the Bourbons, but even to threaten again the independence of the American States.

Their interior strength, as already observed, by no means corresponded with the splendour of their foreign relations; and Washington had clearly demonstrated to Congress the expediency of confining themselves to a defensive warfare. Clinton, on the other hand, did not attempt to penetrate far into the interior from New York; but engaged in some extensive expeditions for the destruction of stores and shipping. The most important was undertaken in May, by a squadron under Sir George Collier, upon whom the command of the naval force had now devolved, and having on board eighteen hundred men commanded by General Matthews. The object was the naval yard at Gosport on the Chesapeake, with the military stores and shipping at Portsmouth and Norfolk, the two chief seats of commerce in Virginia. The only defence was a fort with one hundred and fifty men, on Elizabeth river near Portsmouth; and this garrison, considering themselves too weak to resist, fled into a morass called the Dismal Swamp. The British took up their head-quarters there; and in the course of a few days made a complete sweep of everything that was to be found on this range of coast, destroying or taking one hundred and twenty-seven vessels, and other property valued at half a million sterling. Clinton, however, did not divide his army by any permanent establishment.

Immediately on their return to New York, the fleet and army were employed in an expedition on the Hudson. King's Ferry, about sixty miles up, and near the entrance of the Highlands, formed the most convenient communication across the river for Washington's army, whose wings occupied both banks. It was defended by two opposite forts, Stony Point and Verplank's Point, which were both attacked. The first, being unfinished, was at once evacuated; and the garrison of the other, after a vain attempt at resistance, was obliged to surrender. Clinton caused the two places to be put in a state of defence; but operations were not pushed farther in this direction.



PUTNAM'S ESCAPE.

The next enterprise was against the coast of Connecticut, which had been a very extensive and successful theatre of privateering operations; and on the 3d of July, two thousand six hundred men sailed under Sir George Collier and General Tryon, governor of New York. New Haven was soon captured, the militia making a vain attempt to resist. There is stated to have been an intention to burn the town, which was laudably changed into the mere seizure of the stores and vessels. At Fairfield and Norwalk, a greater resistance was encountered; and both these places were nearly reduced to ashes. In apology it is said, that the people had fired from the windows, and that they placed an undue confidence in the safety of their property through British forbearance, which it was proper to dispel; but these reasons are far from satisfactory.

About this time, General Putnam, who had been stationed with a respectable command at Reading, in Connecticut, when on a visit to his out-post, at Horse-Neck, was attacked by Governor Tryon, with about 1500 men. General Putnam had only a picquet of 1500 men, and two iron field pieces, without horses or drag-ropes. He, however, planted his cannon on the high ground, near the meeting-house, and by several fires, retarded the advancing enemy, and continued to make opposition, till he perceived the enemy's horse, supported by the infantry, were, about to charge. General Putnam, after ordering the picquet to provide for their safety, by retiring to a swamp inaccessible to horse, plunged down the precipice at the church. This is so steep as to have artificial stairs, composed of nearly one





CAPTURE OF STONY POINT.

hundred stone steps, for the accommodation of foot-passengers. The dragoons stopped short, without venturing down the abrupt declivity; and before they got round the brow of the hill, Putnam was far enough beyond their reach. Of the many balls that were fired at him, all missed except one, which went through his hat. He proceeded to Stamford, and, having strengthened his picquet with some militia, faced about, and pursued Governor Tryon on his return.

A proposed attack on New London was interrupted by a counter project of Washington, who was anxious to do something to efface the impression of so many losses. It being ascertained that the newly captured forts on the Hudson were little apprehensive of an attack, Washington conceived the design of taking Stony Point. The enterprise was committed to the brave and vigilant General Anthony Wayne. After a rapid, but silent march, Wayne reached the rear of the British post, undiscovered, about midnight, on the 15th of July, and after a short struggle with the surprised garrison, carried the works. The garrison, 543 in number, were made prisoners, and treated with a humanity but little expected, as, on several such occasions, the British had shown no mercy. The opposite

fort was also attempted, but without success. As Washington could not spare a number of men, sufficient to garrison Stony Point, the works were partially demolished and abandoned. Clinton, however, soon re-occupied and repaired the post.

An expedition was also sent in June, from Boston, against a station on the river Penobscot, formed by a detachment under Colonel Maclean from Nova Scotia. Above three thousand militia, under General Lovell, effected a landing on the peninsular point occupied by the English; but the works appeared to him too strong to be carried without the aid of regular troops, which were promised by General Gates. Before their arrival, however, Sir George Collier appeared in the river with a squadron from New York, when Lovell re-embarked his troops, and formed with his ships a crescent across the river, making a show of resistance, till, seeing his adversary bearing up with superior force, he took to flight, and having no retreat, his fleet of six frigates and nine smaller vessels was entirely destroyed. The men escaped on shore, but had to penetrate through a long extent of desert, in which many perished. This blow was slightly compensated by the surprise of Powles Hook, a fort immediately opposite to New York. Being far within the British lines, the commander yielded to a feeling of security; from which, about three in the morning of the 18th of August, he was roused by Major Lee, who entered the place without resistance, and made one hundred and fifty-nine prisoners. Circumstances did not allow the captor to retain it, and he found some difficulty in retreating.

More important military operations took place in the southern states, which had not hitherto become a theatre of war. Already, in the close of 1778, Clinton had despatched a force against Georgia, whose inhabitants were reported as favourable to the mother-country. Colonel Campbell, the commander, arrived at Savannah, the capital, about the end of December, and summoned the place. The Americans were commanded by General Howe, whose force had been weakened by an unsuccessful expedition into Florida; nevertheless he drew it up in a strong position, covered by a swamp in front, and with the town in his rear. The British officer, however, received intelligence of a private path unknown to the Americans, and

detached a column under Sir James Baird, which got unperceived into their rear. Being then attacked at once on all sides, they were completely routed, with the loss of their artillery, stores, and nearly five hundred prisoners. They precipitately retreated into South Carolina, leaving all Lower Georgia in the hands of the invaders. The inhabitants were found extremely well disposed; and, being treated in a conciliatory manner, readily formed themselves into corps for the defence of the country. General Prevost then entered from Florida, and without difficulty reduced Sunbury, the only fortress still held by the adverse party. Having assumed the command of the forces from New York, he despatched Campbell to Augusta, capital of the upper territory, the reduction of which completed that of the state.

Congress, meantime, even before this landing, had planned the reduction of East Florida, and hence had recalled Howe, supplying his place by Lincoln, an officer of much higher reputation, who had been second under Gates against Burgoyne. He found everything in the most unprepared state; and before being able to put any force in motion, learned the total defeat of his predecessor, and the conquest of Georgia. He could then aim only at covering South Carolina; and the river Savannah formed so strong a barrier, that the British general did not attempt to cross. Meantime, about seven hundred royalist refugees, who had left their homes and taken shelter among the Indians, attempted to rejoin the king's forces. Being attacked, however, by Colonel Pickens with a body of militia, Colonel Boyd, their commander, was killed, and only three hundred reached their destination. Several of the prisoners were tried and put to death.

Lincoln, encouraged by this success, and being daily reinforced, caused General Ashe with fourteen hundred men to cross the Savannah, and take post at its junction with Brier Creek, a stream unfordable for some miles up, and appearing completely to secure his front. It was thus hoped to exclude the English from Augusta and all the upper territories. Colonel Prevost, however, brother to the general, making a circuit of fifty miles, and crossing at fords fifteen miles above, came unexpectedly on the rear of this body, and totally routed them.





GENERAL LINCOLN.

the regular troops, after attempting resistance, being all either killed or taken. Notwithstanding this disaster, Lincoln, again reinforced, determined to proceed with his main body against Augusta. Prevost, instead of a long and harassing march in that direction, sought to recall him by a movement against Charleston; but intending only a feint, he proceeded with a leisure which he found reason to regret, as it appears had all practicable speed been employed, that capital would have fallen into his hands. The alarm, however, had been given, and such active preparations made, that he did not venture to attack, but distributed his troops in the neighbouring island of St. John. Lincoln, who had hastened down, made an attempt

to beat up his quarters, without success; and the midsummer heat causing a suspension of military operations, the British troops retired unmolested into Georgia.

This state of affairs in the southern colonies called imperiously for the attention of Congress, and Washington found it necessary to detach thither some part even of his reduced army. He solicited more powerful aid from D'Estaing, who then commanded in the West Indies an army sufficiently powerful to crush entirely the English in Georgia. The French admiral received this application just after having fought a hard battle against Commodore Byron without any decisive result, yet such as obliged the latter to go into port to refit. The former being thus for a time master of the sea, determined at once to comply with the request, took on board six thousand land-troops, and steered direct for Savannah, where, arriving quite unexpectedly, he captured by surprise a fifty-gun ship and three frigates. Prevost, too, was very unprepared, having his force broken up into detachments distributed along the frontier; but these being instantly ordered in, obeyed with such promptitude that before the French had landed and formed a junction with Lincoln, nearly all had arrived. On the 16th of September, D'Estaing appeared before the place and summoned it to surrender. Prevost, under pretext of negotiation, obtained a suspension for twenty-four hours, during which Colonel Maitland entered with the last and largest detachment, eluding the Americans by a route supposed impassable; and the full determination to resist was then announced. The allies, on reconnoitring the works, deemed it imprudent to attempt them by storm, and were obliged to wait a few days till the heavy ordnance and stores could be brought from the fleet. They broke ground on the 23d of September; but the defence was conducted with great vigour and skill, under the direction of Major Moncrieff, a very able engineer; so that notwithstanding some progress made by the 1st of October, an interval must still elapse before surrender could be expected. D'Estaing then refused to adventure his fleet longer on this insecure coast, in a tempestuous season, and while liable to attack from the British squadron refitted and reinforced; yet before departing, he offered to concur in an attempt to carry





DEATH OF PULASKI.

the place by storm. This was agreed to; and a hollow way being observed, by which troops could advance to within fifty yards of the wall, four thousand five hundred men, the flower of the combined army, undertook to penetrate it, while the rest amused the garrison by feigned attacks. This party pushed on with great vigour; they had even crossed the ditch, mounted the parapet, and planted their standards on the wall. Being here exposed, however, to a tremendous fire from the works well constructed and completely manned, they soon gave way; Count Pulaski was killed, and a brisk attack by Major Glaziers drove the whole back into the hollow. They then renounced the attack, having sustained the severe loss of seven hundred French and two hundred and thirty-four Americans killed and wounded; while that of the besieged was only fifty five. The French admiral no longer paused in embarking his troops and sailing for the West Indies; thus a second time disappointing sanguine expectations, and leaving the American cause in the same state as before.

Clinton, on learning this success, determined finally to begin operations on a great scale in the southern states. Recent information showed them to be more defenceless, and the inhabitants better inclined to the dominion of the parent state.



than those on the great northern theatre of war; while their reduction might facilitate that of the others, or at all events preserve for Britain an important portion of her American territory. He had recently obtained a reinforcement from home, and had withdrawn the force hitherto stationed with little advantage upon Rhode Island. On the 26th of December, 1779, leaving Knyphausen with troops sufficient to defend New York against the ill-organized army of Washington, he sailed with five thousand men for Savannah. The voyage was most tempestuous, and prolonged till the end of January; some of the vessels were wrecked, and nearly all the horses perished. He exerted himself actively to repair these losses; and by the middle of February had re-embarked and landed on St. John's Island near Charleston. Some time was spent in recruiting and reinforcing his troops and remounting his cavalry; while Lincoln was actively strengthening the garrison, and restoring the works, which, since the memorable attack in May, had fallen into almost complete decay. He succeeded in assembling above two thousand regulars, one thousand militia, and a great body of armed citizens; but the chief hope, which was soon proved to be fallacious, rested on preventing the British from crossing the bar, as the fleet, under a favourable wind and tide, passed with scarcely any opposition. Lincoln then seriously deliberated on evacuating the place and saving his army; but he dreaded popular reproach, and was buoyed up with promises of reinforcements that never arrived. On the 1st of April, Clinton crossed the Ashley, which, with Cooper River, encloses the peninsula of Charleston, and broke ground before the city. On the 9th, the first parallel was completed, and the maritime blockade rendered very close; yet the garrison still communicated with the country by their cavalry at Monk's Corner, about thirty miles up Cooper River. Colonel Tarleton, by a circuitous route, came upon this body so unexpectedly, that though they held their horses bridled and saddled, they were attacked before they had time to mount, routed, and completely dispersed. The British soon after received a reinforcement of three thousand; when Lincoln seriously proposed an attempt to extricate his army; but the principal inhabitants, entertaining a dread of ill treatment from the captors, prevailed

upon him only to offer a capitulation on condition of the garrison being still allowed to serve. This proposal was at once rejected; the siege was steadily pushed; all the outward posts successively fell; two detachments of cavalry which had rallied were by the active movements of Tarleton again dissipated and nearly destroyed; and the third parallel being completed, preparations were made for a general assault. Lincoln, then seeing his situation hopeless, submitted to the terms proffered by the victor, that all the military stores should be given up, the regular troops made prisoners of war, while the militia, on giving their parole, might return and remain unmolested at their homes. The prisoners taken were stated by Clinton at five thousand six hundred and eighteen, with one thousand seamen, and three hundred and eleven pieces of ordnance.

This was a very important triumph, and seemed to assure the reunion to Britain of at least a large portion of her revolted colonies. With very small exceptions, the whole of the military force stationed in the southern states, including all its means and implements of war, was at once captured. A number of the inhabitants now testified their satisfaction, and the rest were awed into silence. There was scarcely a soldier in Georgia and South Carolina who was not either a prisoner or in arms for Britain. North Carolina was well known as a decided seat of royalism, and Clinton had secret assurances, as soon as he should reach that province, of powerful support. He now published a proclamation, promising to the people a renewal of all their former privileges, with the addition of not being taxed unless by their own consent. Soon after, he issued another, absolving the militia from their paroles, and calling upon them to join with other citizens in aiding the British cause. This step was much complained of, and with reason, as involving a breach of faith; and the policy seems doubtful of not allowing the enemies of Britain to remain in a state of silent and passive submission.

On the 5th of June, Clinton set sail for New York, leaving Lord Cornwallis with four thousand men to secure, and, if he could, extend his conquests. Detachments had already been sent up the principal rivers, Savannah, Saluda, and Santee. On the last only, a party of four hundred, under Colonel Buford,





TARLETON'S QUARTERS.

was rapidly retreating. Though ten days in advance, they were overtaken by the rapid march of Tarleton, and at Waxhaw's completely routed and dispersed. Tarleton seldom gave quarter. The principal force was then advanced to Camden on the Wateree, near the frontier of North Carolina; but the intense heat, with the difficulty of provisioning the army till the corn was on the ground, rendered a delay necessary. The loyalists in that province were advised to remain quiet till a powerful support could be brought forward; but their ardent zeal could not be restrained, and broke out in several insurrections, which were suppressed and punished with a rigour tending to deter from similar attempts in future.

Extreme alarm was felt by the American government on receiving intelligence of these events; and amid the greatest obstacles, it was necessary to make vigorous efforts to retrieve their affairs. Washington made arrangements for the march of the troops in Maryland and Delaware, and for calling out the militia of Virginia and North Carolina. He placed them under the Baron de Kalb, a veteran German officer; but Congress soon after conferred the chief command on Gates, hoping that the conqueror of Burgoyne might again turn the tide of fortune. Notwithstanding the utmost despatch, the want of





BATTLE OF CAMDEN AND DEATH OF DE KALB.

money, military stores, and provisions, detained him so long, that though the expedition set out in March, it was the beginning of August before he could approach Camden, with about four thousand men, mostly militia. He advanced in the determination to push vigorously offensive operations, hoping to induce Lord Rawdon to fall back upon Charleston. That officer, however, had given notice to Cornwallis, who hastened to the spot, and though the troops, from disease and other causes, had been reduced to little more than two thousand, he resolved without hesitation to attack. He had set out in the night of the 15th, with a view to surprise the Americans, when, by a singular concurrence, he met Gates in full march with the same design against the British. The advanced guard of the British was driven in, when both parties thought it advisable to postpone the general action till daylight. In the American line, De Kalb, with most of the regulars, commanded on the right, while the militia of Carolina formed the centre, and that of Virginia the left. The conflict began with the last, who were attacked by the British infantry, under Colonel Webster, with such impetuosity, that they threw down their arms and

precipitately fled. The whole of the left and centre were very speedily off the field, few having fired a shot, and still fewer carrying away a musket. Gates was borne along by the torrent, and after vain attempts to rally his men, gave up all for lost, and never stopped till he reached Charlotte, eighty miles distant. Meantime, De Kalb, on the right, opposed to Lord Rawdon, long and firmly maintained his ground, gaining even some advantage; and it was not till the victorious divisions had wheeled round against him, that his corps was broken and dispersed. He himself, covered with wounds, became a captive, and, notwithstanding every care, expired in a few hours. About one thousand prisoners were taken, and the whole army was scattered. Gates seems manifestly to have erred in fighting a pitched battle with an army consisting chiefly of militia, and Tarleton particularly censures him for having composed of them so great a part of his regular line, instead of merely employing them to skirmish on his front and flanks; but, in fact, his veteran force seems to have scarcely sufficed for a duly extended order of battle.

There was still some resistance to overcome. The patriots in South Carolina, recovering from their first panic, had begun to rise at different points. The militia, complaining that the terms granted had not been duly observed, disregarded their engagements to remain passive, and prepared to take the field. A number, after joining the royal banner, went over to the Americans; one Colonel Lisle carried with him a whole battalion. Thus were assembled, under Colonel Sumpter, an active partisan, upwards of six hundred, raised, by a detachment from the main army, to about one thousand. He was repulsed in attacks upon the stations called Rocky Mount and Hanging Rock; but, on the evening before the battle of Camden, succeeded in carrying a strong redoubt on the Wateree, taking above one hundred prisoners. On learning the fatal issue of that day, he instantly began his retreat, and reached with such celerity the fords of the Catawba, that he considered himself safe, and allowed his men to repose during the heat of the day. But nothing could escape the indefatigable ardour of Tarleton, who had been sent in pursuit. His rapidity was such, that the greater part of his corps could



COLONEL SUMPTER.

not follow him from fatigue ; but with one hundred and sixty only he came up, and found the Americans completely unprepared, their videttes asleep, and the men lying apart from their arms. Roused from slumber by the attack of this active band, they scarcely attempted resistance ; and after a short struggle, about half were captured, the others dispersed. They lost one hundred and fifty killed and wounded, besides three hundred and ten prisoners ; all their stores were taken, and the British captives recovered. Cornwallis, having thus become master of a considerable number of prisoners, proceeded against them with vigour ; several, who had joined the British militia and then deserted from their ranks, were executed as traitors. The estates, too, of all those who joined the patriots were confiscated. This severity created enemies to Britain among those who before had been disposed to be loyal, and increased the ardour of the friends of freedom.

After a few weeks' delay on account of the heat, the British general advanced to Charlotte Town, in North Carolina. Meantime, a corps of about sixteen hundred loyal militia having been assembled, under Major Ferguson, an active partisan, he was directed to move westward, and clear the territory along the foot of the mountains. He was led farther in this direction by the movements of a hostile party which threatened Augusta.



where he approached and roused into action a class marked as terrible foes to the British cause. The borderers, who roved along the sides of the Alleghany, were, if possible, ruder and bolder than the boys of the Green Mountain. They rode on light fleet horses, carrying only their rifle, a blanket, and knapsack. Food was procured by the gun, or, on its occasional failure, from a small herd of cattle driven before them. At night, the earth was their bed, the sky their canopy. They thus moved with a swiftness which no ordinary troops could rival. Ferguson, having learned that about three thousand of these daring mountaineers had mustered against him, under the command of Colonels Campbell, Shelby, and Williams, began a rapid retreat upon the main body; but being informed that one thousand of the fleetest and boldest had been formed into a select band in chase of him, and seeing the hopelessness of escaping their almost preternatural swiftness, he took post on King's Mountain, and awaited their attack. They came up on the 7th of October, and began to ascend the mountain in three divisions. Ferguson charged the first, and drove it back with the bayonet; and wherever this weapon could be used, he was victorious; but the assailants clustered round on every side, and from beneath the covert of trees and steepes discharged their rifles with almost unerring aim. The British soon began to fall in great numbers, and when their commander himself received a mortal wound, the whole party were routed, three hundred killed and wounded, the rest completely dispersed. In retaliation of Cornwallis's proceedings at Camden, ten of the principal captives were hanged on the spot.

Cornwallis, meanwhile, had pushed on to Salisbury, approaching Virginia; and in expectation of his reaching that state, a reinforcement destined for him, under General Leslie, was ordered to enter the Chesapeake. Learning, however, this dreadful catastrophe, and fearing that so numerous a band might overrun and spread insurrection in South Carolina, he judged it necessary to fall back upon that colony; and Leslie was instructed to join by the circuitous route of Charleston. The alarm leading to this retrograde movement proved, in a great measure, unfounded. That tumultuary mass, roused by a local impulse, having accomplished their immediate object,



GENERAL MARION.

could not be prevented from dispersing, and the partisan warfare was continued by only two small bodies. Marion, though holding together only from fifty to two hundred men, severely harassed the British, keeping himself so well covered by woods and marshes, that even Tarleton could not hunt him down. Sumpter, too, after being entirely routed by that officer, had again assembled a considerable corps of mounted militia, and threatened some important posts. His former enemy not being at hand, Major Wemyss was employed, and soon came up with him; but being early wounded, and his troops vigorously attacked by the patriots, he suffered a severe repulse. It was then necessary to have recourse to Tarleton, and give him a considerable force. Using his accustomed despatch, he had nearly got in the rear of his adversary, who, as soon as he learned to whom he was opposed, hurried by rapid marches to the Tyger, whose rapid stream once passed, would secure his retreat. Tarleton, seeing that with his whole force he could not be in time to prevent this movement, adopted his former plan of pushing forward with two hundred and fifty cavalry and mounted infantry. He found his opponent strongly posted on the bank of the river, and with his wonted promptitude rushed



GENERAL GREENE.

forward to the attack. The conflict, however, was obstinate and bloody, and he was finally obliged, with considerable loss, to fall back on his infantry. Sumpter then crossed the river; but his men had been so severely handled, that they lost courage and dispersed; so that his opponent reaped all the fruits of victory.

Gates, meantime, used diligent exertions to collect and reorganize the remains of his defeated army; and Congress, amid every difficulty, forwarded to him reinforcements. He incurred, however, the reproach to which the unfortunate are usually exposed, Washington being called upon to institute an inquiry into his conduct, and to nominate another commander. Greene was named, with the assurance that a commander had been furnished, provided troops and means could be supplied. This announcement was amply fulfilled; yet Gates was considered hardly treated, especially as his first intimation was the arrival of his successor to take the command, who bore testimony that,



on this trying occasion, he behaved in a handsome and honourable manner.

When Greene arrived, on the 2d of December, the army had been raised to nearly two thousand men, of whom the larger number were regulars. Determining by some movements to support the cause in South Carolina, he detached Morgan, a very able partisan, to take post on the Broad River, and endeavour to cut off Cornwallis, then at Winnsborough, from the upper country. He had about six hundred men, with the expectation of assembling more in the district. On learning this movement, Tarleton was immediately despatched with one thousand men to resist the inroad. The American at first abandoned his camp, and began a rapid retreat; but finding this difficult, and his forces being nearly equal, he resolved to await the attack at Cowpens, a spot three miles from the boundary of the Carolinas. Avoiding the fault of Gates, he disposed his militia in front, keeping in reserve a chosen body, on whom he could fully depend. On the 17th of January, 1780, Tarleton came up, and immediately rushed to the charge. The first American line was soon broken, and hastily retreated into the rear of the second, which was then attacked, and thrown into some confusion, when Morgan ordered the men to fall back and unite with the reserve. This movement was mistaken for a flight by the assailants, who pushed on exultingly, in somewhat irregular order. Suddenly the Americans, having fully adjusted their line, halted, wheeled round, and commenced a destructive fire on their pursuers, who being seen to falter, a charge was made with the bayonet, and by the cavalry with their drawn swords. After a short contest, the lately victorious British were completely routed, and nearly the whole infantry surrounded and obliged to surrender. The cavalry escaped by flight; but upwards of one hundred were killed, and five hundred made prisoners. Tarleton declares himself quite unable to account for so total a rout. He appears in fact to have attacked in his usual impetuous manner, on the calculation of encountering mostly loose militia levies, whereas a part of the opposing force was veteran; two of the militia companies consisted of regulars recently discharged. The British army suffered thus most severely, having lost all its light infantry, a corps parti-



BATTLE OF THE COWPENS.

cularly useful in such warfare; nor was it a small injury that the fame of the commander as an almost invincible partisan officer was deeply tarnished.

Cornwallis, however, having just received the reinforcement of two thousand six hundred men under Leslie, determined to efface the impression of this disaster by a series of the most active offensive operations. Destroying all his superfluous baggage, he supplied the loss of his light infantry by converting the whole army nearly into a corps of that description. His first hope was to overtake Morgan, and recover all that was lost, which he had so nearly effected that his van reached the Catawba on the 29th of January, only two hours after the patriots had passed; when a torrent of rain swelled the waters and rendered it impossible for him to follow. Greene, who had hastened to take the command, hoped to defend the passage of this river, but it was forced on the 1st of February at a private ford defended by Colonel Davidson, who was defeated and killed. Tarleton then surprised and dispersed a body of militia assembled at a neighbouring inn. The American general, considering himself wholly unable to hazard a battle, retreated before his adversary, who presently began a chase, which was continued incessantly and rapidly across the whole of North



Carolina. On the night of the 2d of February, the two divisions of the American army having effected a junction, crossed the Yadkin, but so closely followed, that their rear skirmished with the van of the enemy, and part of their baggage was taken. By another favourable chance, heavy rain fell during the night, and in the morning rendered the river impassable; so that Cornwallis was obliged to make a circuit to its upper fords, while his opponent continued his retreat. He marched towards the Dan, the chief branch of the Roanoke, which flows nearly along the boundary of Carolina and Virginia. It was a broad unfordable stream, and Greene, if he reached the other side, would be in safety; but the pursuit was continued in the confident hope of his being unable to find vessels sufficient to transport over his troops. This was indeed the case at the ferry immediately before him; but by an able movement he led his army twenty miles downward to two others, sending a detachment to bring the boats from the upper one. He thus collected a sufficient number, and by extraordinary exertions had his army ferried over, his rear reaching the northern bank just as the English van appeared on the southern. This march, or rather hunt, was considered highly creditable to both parties. Greene gained great applause on account of his disadvantageous situation, fleeing before a superior enemy who pursued with such rapidity, yet placing in safety not only his army, but the greater part of his heavy baggage; still it must be owned that he was in several instances singularly favoured by fortune.

Cornwallis now gave up the pursuit, and repaired to Hillsborough, with the view of calling out and organizing the royalist force. His adherents, though here peculiarly strong, did not come forward to the extent expected. The larger portion, as elsewhere, regarded the cause with that passive and inert attachment which we have remarked to be generally prevalent; and even the more zealous, having suffered severely by former premature displays, dreaded lest the republican cause should regain the ascendancy. The view also of the distress and exhaustion of the British troops, after so long a march, was by no means alluring. Yet seven companies were formed, and detachments began to come in from different





MAJOR HENRY LEE.

quarters. On the other hand, Greene, having obtained a reinforcement of Virginia militia, repassed the Dan, and with his light troops endeavoured to annoy the British army and prevent recruiting. Major Lee surprised a detachment of royalists, who mistook him for Tarleton, and cut them nearly to pieces. On account of the exhausted state of the country at Hillsborough, Cornwallis withdrew to a position on the Allimance Creek, between Haw and Deep Rivers, where he could be better supplied, and support his friends, who were there numerous. Greene, however, by an active use of his cavalry and light troops, severely harassed his opponent; and by changing his own position every night, eluded the attempt to bring him to an engagement.

At length, the American general, having received reinforcements, which raised his army to above four thousand two hundred men, of whom about a third were regulars, determined to offer battle. This was what the other had eagerly sought; yet his own effective force being reduced to somewhat under two thousand, he felt now some hesitation, and probably would have acted more wisely in maintaining the defensive. Even the enterprising Tarleton observes, that in his circumstances defeat would have been total ruin, while any victory he might

expect to gain could yield little fruit. All the habits and views of Cornwallis, however, being directed to an active campaign, he formed his resolution, and on the 15th of March proceeded to the attack. Greene had drawn up his army very judiciously, near Guildford Court-house, mostly on a range of hills covered with trees and brushwood. Adopting still the system of making the militia bear the first brunt, he placed that of Carolina in the front, while the Virginia, considered somewhat better, formed the second line, and he remained in the third with the continental troops, in whom alone he placed full confidence. The British, proceeding with impetuosity, and having driven in the advanced guard of cavalry, attacked the Carolina line, who, scarcely discharging their muskets, fled precipitately after the first hostile fire, and many even before. This front having gone for nothing, the next movement was against the Virginians, who stood their ground with some firmness; but being unable to resist the bayonet, which was soon brought against them, they, too, were put to flight. The assailants then advanced against the third line; but the regiments, having experienced different degrees of resistance, came on impetuously, in an uneven line and some disorder. Greene then felt sanguine hopes that a steady charge from his chosen troops would turn the fortune of the day. He was dismayed to see the second Maryland regiment give way at once, after which he thought only of retiring; but Colonel Gunby, at the head of the first, gained a decided advantage over the corps under Colonel Stewart, and there followed an obstinate and somewhat desultory contest between the different corps, after which the Americans were compelled to a general retreat. Yet a strong body of riflemen, on the left flank, kept up a galling fire, till Tarleton, with the cavalry, drove them off the field. In this hard-fought battle, the Americans had three hundred and twenty-six killed and wounded. The militia dispersed, after having one hundred killed and wounded.

The English victory was dearly earned, the killed and wounded amounting to five hundred and thirty-two, including Colonels Stewart and Webster, two of their best officers, and reducing the effective force below fifteen hundred. This small corps, too, was in a very reduced and exhausted state. In short,

the English general formed the resolution to fall back upon Wilmington, near the mouth of Cape Fear River, which had been occupied by Major Craig, where he could recruit his troops and obtain supplies and reinforcements by sea.

Greene retreated about fifteen miles; taking post behind a small stream named Troublesome Creek, where he expected and determined to await an attack; but was soon agreeably surprised by learning that his antagonist was in full retreat, and had even left eighty wounded recommended to his care. He immediately set out in pursuit, and after overcoming various obstacles, arrived on the 28th of March at Ramsay's Mills, on Deep River, where, having learned the direction which the British were taking, he paused for a few days to recruit, and deliberate on his future plans. At Wilmington, the hostile army would be in communication with the sea, of which they were then masters; so that there no serious impression could be made upon them; and if they received reinforcements, serious danger might be incurred. He formed, therefore, the bold but able resolution of carrying the war into South Carolina, to which he was now nearer than his adversary, and where Lord Rawdon (afterwards Marquis of Hastings) had been left with only the force that appeared necessary to keep down insurrection. Directing his march immediately to this quarter, he had made some progress before the tidings reached Lord Cornwallis, by whom this movement appears to have been quite unexpected. He now, however, considered that it was impossible to reach the American army till the collision had taken place between it and Lord Rawdon; and if the latter should retreat upon Charleston, he himself could reach the scene of action only by a long and difficult march, crossing several broad rivers, and exposed to attack in disadvantageous positions. He resolved, in preference, to advance in the opposite direction upon Virginia, where, uniting himself to considerable forces already assembled, he might make the cause decidedly preponderant. He hoped thus to recall Greene; or, at all events, by conquering that great and important colony, to secure the ultimate subjugation of the southern states.

Greene, without regard to the movements of his opponent, pushed on to his destination. The militia having either deserted,





LORD RAWDON.

or their term of service being expired, his force was reduced to eighteen hundred men ; but those, in fact, included all on whom he could ever place much dependence. Approaching Camden, he found it occupied by Rawdon, with about eight hundred men, the other troops being employed upon the defence of detached posts ; yet his position was judged so strong as to afford no hope of success in a direct attack. The object aimed at was, by throwing out detachments which might capture the forts, and cut off the supplies in his rear, to compel him gradually to fall back. Lee, for this purpose, was sent with a strong party to co-operate with Marion and Sumpter. The English general, seeing the hostile troops thus reduced to about fifteen hundred, formed the bold resolution of attacking them. Making a large circuit round a swamp, he came upon their left flank quite unexpectedly, while the soldiers were busied in cooking and washing. This first surprise was never wholly recovered ; yet they quickly stood to their arms, and formed in order of battle. They had even gained some advantages, when the 1st Maryland regiment, considered the flower of the army, and which had highly distinguished itself both at Cowpens and Guildford, fell into confusion ; and when ordered to make a retrograde

movement, converted it into a complete retreat. The other corps, also, beginning to give ground, Greene thought it expedient to cause the whole to retire. The loss on each side was about two hundred and sixty killed and wounded; and the Americans carried off fifty prisoners.

Though compelled to retreat, the Americans reaped all the advantages of this victory. The triumph of the British was nearly as fatal as that of Pyrrhus. Greene could still maintain his position, and support the detachments operating in the rear of his adversary. Lee and Marion proceeded first against Fort Watson on the Santee, which commanded in a great measure the communication with Charleston. Having neither artillery nor besieging tools, they reared a tower above the level of the rampart, whence their rifle fire drove the defenders, and themselves then mounted and compelled the garrison to surrender. They could not, however, prevent Colonel Watson from leading five hundred men to reinforce Lord Rawdon, who then advanced with the intention of bringing Greene again to action, but found him fallen back upon so strong a position, as to afford no reasonable hope of success. His lordship, finding his convoys intercepted, and viewing the generally insecure state of his posts in the lower country, considered himself under at least the temporary necessity of retreating thither. He had first in view the relief of Motte's House on the Congaree; but before reaching it, had the mortification to find that, with the garrison of one hundred and sixty-five, it had fallen into the hands of Marion and Lee. He continued his march to Monk's Corner, where he covered Charleston and the surrounding country. The partisan chiefs rapidly seized this opportunity of attacking the interior posts, and reduced successively Orangeburg, Granby on the Congaree, and Augusta, the key of Upper Georgia. In these five forts they made eleven hundred prisoners. The most important one, however, was that named Ninety-six, on the Saluda, defended by a garrison of five hundred men. Orders had been sent to them to quit and retire downwards; but the messenger was intercepted; and Colonel Cruger, the commander, made the most active preparations for its defence. Greene considered the place of such importance, that he undertook the siege in person, with a thousand regulars. He broke ground

before it on the night of the 23d of May, and though much impeded by a successful sally on the following day, proceeded with such energy, that by the 3d of June, the second parallel was completed, and the garrison summoned, but in vain, to surrender. On the 8th, he was reinforced by Lee, from the capture of Augusta; and though he encountered a most gallant and effective resistance, trusted that the place must in due time fall. Three days after, however, he learned that Rawdon, having received a reinforcement from Ireland, was in full march to relieve it, and had baffled the attempts of Sumpter to impede his progress. The American leader, therefore, feeling himself unable to give battle, saw no prospect of carrying the fortress unless by storm. On the 18th, an attack against the two most commanding outworks was led by Lee and Campbell, the former of whom carried his point; but the latter, though he penetrated into the ditch, and maintained his party there for three-quarters of an hour, found them exposed to so destructive a fire as compelled a general retreat. The siege was immediately raised, and Lord Rawdon, on the 21st, entered the place in triumph. Being again master of the field, he pressed forward in the hope of bringing his antagonist to battle; but the latter rather chose to fall back towards the distant point of Charlotte in Virginia, while Rawdon did not attempt to pursue him beyond the Ennoree.

Notwithstanding this present superiority, his lordship, having failed in his hopes of a decisive victory, and viewing the general aspect of the country, considered it no longer possible to attempt more than covering the lower districts of South Carolina. He therefore fell back to Orangeburg on the Edisto; and though he attempted at first to maintain Cruger with a strong body at Ninety-six, was soon induced to recall him. Greene, being reinforced by one thousand men under Marion and Sumpter, reconnoitred his position, but judged it imprudent to attack; and both armies, exhausted by such a series of active movements, took an interval of repose during the heat of the season.

Lord Rawdon, being at this time obliged by ill health to return home, left the army under Colonel Stuart, who, to cover the lower country, occupied a position at the point where the



Congaree and Wateree unite in forming the Santee. Greene, having received reinforcements from the north, and collected all his partisan detachments, found himself strong enough to try the chance of battle. His approach with this evident view induced the other party to retire forty miles down the river, to the strong post of Eutaw, whither the American immediately followed by slow and easy marches. On the 8th of September, the latter determined to attack the British camp, placing as usual his militia in front, hoping that the English, in beating and pursuing them, would at least get into confusion; but from this very dread, the latter had been warned to keep their posts till ordered to move. The American front, however, maintained their ground better than usual, and the British, before beating them, became heated, and, forgetful of the warnings given, pushed forward irregularly. They were then charged by the veterans in the second line, and after a very severe struggle, driven off the field. There lay in their way, however, a large brick building and adjacent garden, where Stuart placed a strong corps, who could not be dislodged, and kept up a deadly fire, which checked the victors, enabling the retreating troops to be formed anew. At the same time, Colonel Washington attacked the British flank; but finding it strongly posted among woods, he was repulsed with loss, and himself taken prisoner. The American general, seeing no hope of making any further impression, retreated to his previous position. In this bloody and doubtful battle, both parties claim the victory, though the Americans with most reason, as the general result was greatly to their advantage. It was certainly far from decisive; and the British loss of eighty-five killed and six hundred and eight wounded, was much greater than that of the Americans, who carried off also above two hundred prisoners. The British commander, conceiving himself unable to maintain so advanced a position, began to move on the evening of the 9th, and proceeded down to Monk's Corner, where he merely covered Charleston and its vicinity. To this and to Savannah were now limited British authority, which had lately extended so widely over the southern states.

This great reverse was brought about not only by the resolution and military skill of General Greene, and his gallant sub-

ordinates, but also by the conduct of the British commanders towards the inhabitants of the country. Had they been properly treated, the successes of Greene would scarcely have secured so complete a triumph. But the persecution of many of the chief families, and the cruelty of Tarleton and the tory leaders, alienated the affections of the people, and induced them to render the American general every assistance in their power.

In the belief that it would be satisfactory to the reader to trace this eventful campaign in the south continuously, rather than in fragments intermingled with other subjects, we have thus been led to anticipate the order of time, and must now go back to trace the course of events in the more central parts of the theatre of war.

When Clinton sailed for the south, Knyphausen was left in command at New York, with instructions, while the main theatre of action continued elsewhere, to maintain a merely defensive position. An opportunity was thus afforded, which Washington eagerly desired to seize, and felt the more tempting, as during the intense cold of the succeeding winter all the waters around New York and its adjacent insular posts were frozen, and thus rendered accessible to a land force. He had the mortification to find that, reduced as the adverse force was, it still outnumbered his own, which was besides so destitute of food and clothing, that it was with difficulty kept together, and quite unfit for any laborious movement. The supplies still depended on the states, which furnished them as scantily and precariously as ever; while a new plan adopted of making the requisitions in goods rather than in money, proved still more cumbrous and inefficient. Changes were made in the commissariat, but injudiciously, and without any good effect. At one time, Washington only preserved his army from starving by a requisition on the people of New Jersey, rendered effective by the intimation that the articles, if not forthcoming, would be taken by force. One attack was made by Lord Stirling against a detached post on Staten Island; but he found it too well guarded.

The army for 1780 was fixed at thirty-five thousand two hundred and eleven men, instead of which the actual force



GENERAL WAYNE.

under arms in June, did not exceed five thousand five hundred. Their pay was five months in arrear, and even when received was scarcely of any value, through the depreciation of the currency. A pledge was given that the deficiency from this source should be made good at the end of the war; but the troops complained that this availed little when they were at present without the means of subsistence.

On the 1st of January, 1780, the troops of the Pennsylvania line paraded under arms, and declared their resolution to obtain relief or return home. General Wayne attempted to recall them to their duty, but he was threatened with death, and obliged to yield to the mutinous tide of feeling. A committee of Congress was appointed to confer with the troops, and at length they were induced to return to their camp at



Morristown. Some New England regiments attempted to follow this example of mutiny, but they were quieted by the determination and severity of General Robert Howe. Knyp-hausen was encouraged to make offers to the mutineers; but his agents were delivered over to the American authorities, and, on sending a strong force towards Morristown, he found the army ready to give him battle. His present policy being defensive, he returned to his former quarters.

On the 18th<sup>\*</sup> of June, Clinton arrived from South Carolina with about four thousand men,—an event which caused the greatest alarm to General Washington; and, in fact, he made another excursion in this quarter, but from similar motives did not advance farther than Springfield. He did not, indeed, notwithstanding the weakness of the American army, consider himself in a condition for any large offensive operation, stating his whole force at twelve thousand men, of whom nine thousand three hundred were fit for duty; and after garrisoning the posts in and round New York, there remained scarcely a moveable body of five thousand, wholly insufficient for penetrating to any depth in the interior. He now, therefore, demanded a reinforcement of ten thousand, before he could hold out any hope of reducing America by force of arms.

An event, moreover, had by this time been announced, which gave a new turn to the current of affairs. The Marquis de Lafayette had embraced, with the utmost ardour, the cause of the Americans, and on a visit to his native country, had urged it so strongly upon his court, as at length to obtain the promise of a strong fleet and army to co-operate with theirs. These tidings, brought out by himself, were received with the highest exultation by Congress, who, in the preceding January, had promised to the French minister to bring forward twenty-five thousand men and abundant supplies. They roused themselves indeed somewhat from the torpor into which they had sunk, and made urgent requisitions for the states to make good their quotas, representing the disgrace inevitably incurred if the army should be exhibited to their allies in its present reduced state, totally incapable of any effective co-operation. These remonstrances had an effect too similar to those which had preceded; but some individual spirit was kindled. A bank was

formed at Philadelphia, under the auspices of Robert Morris, and £315,000 subscribed, solely to supply provisions to the troops; the ladies in that city and elsewhere made liberal contributions; but these means did not go far in relieving the immense wants under which the army laboured.

On the 13th of July, intelligence was received that the French fleet had been seen off the capes of Virginia, and next day that, according to previous arrangements, they were standing into the harbour of Newport, on Rhode Island. About six thousand men, under the Count de Rochambeau, were escorted by a squadron under the Chevalier Ternay. A second division was at Brest, waiting for transports; but it was afterwards blockaded by an English fleet, and never reached America. This arrival, while it gratified, not a little embarrassed Washington. All the recent efforts had brought only a thousand recruits, and he laboured under extreme uncertainty as to when he might expect more. The whole combined force would not exceed that now strongly fortified in New York; yet he determined to propose a joint attack by sea and land. This arrangement, however, rested upon the naval superiority which Ternay at first possessed; but it was transferred to the other side by the arrival of six sail under Graves. Clinton was even encouraged to make an attempt upon the ships and troops at Newport; but delays in equipping his own vessels retarded the movement till the place was found too strongly secured. Hopes were meantime entertained that Admiral de Guichen, from the West Indies, would re-establish the French superiority; but instead of him, Rodney arrived with a squadron, which gave the enemy the advantage in these seas. Rhode Island, during the rest of the season, was kept closely blockaded.

An occurrence now happened which excited an intense interest throughout the union. General Arnold had been a most conspicuous military character of the Revolution. His campaign in Canada, notwithstanding its misfortunes, had elevated him to the highest reputation. Unluckily, his temper and manners, proud and overbearing, raised up numerous enemies, who became even a majority in Congress. Hence, when an extensive promotion was made, he was passed over, and five officers, junior in the service, and much inferior in reputation, were

placed over his head. Washington deeply deplored this injustice, and remonstrated, though vainly, against it. He did everything possible to soothe the wounded pride of his friend, whose exploits as a volunteer, during several attacks on the coast of New England, were so very splendid, that Congress granted the promotion he so ardently sought. The commander-in-chief then procured for him an appointment in the army sent against Burgoyne, where he greatly augmented his reputation, and being disabled by severe wounds for field service, obtained from the same authority the honourable station of commandant in Philadelphia. Here, however, his haughty bearing brought him into collision with the members of Congress and the provincial council of that city. He made a claim for reimbursement of advances during the Canadian campaign, which was alleged by his enemies to be exorbitant, and even fraudulent. Its amount or nature being nowhere stated, it is difficult to judge; but there is reason to believe that Arnold had, at least, laid himself open to the suspicion of the really patriotic. Congress, alleging the intricacy of the account, delayed the settlement from time to time, and no part was ever actually paid. This was the more harassing, as an extravagant mode of living had involved him in embarrassments, which he sought to relieve by privateering and commercial speculation, not certainly dishonest, yet considered unsuitable to his rank and situation; and being unfortunate, they aggravated his distress. From the observation of these circumstances, his enemies inferred the likelihood of his abusing, for corrupt purposes, the powers attached to his command. Eagerly scanning with this view every particular, the city council presented a series of charges to Congress; but a committee of that body reported that nothing criminal had been proved. Among its members, however, then violently rent by faction, the party hostile to him preponderated. The report of their own committee was rejected, and a new one named, composed partly of the accusing council; yet, as even this was not found to work well, the affair was finally referred to a court-martial. The great difficulty found in making up a plausible accusation, with some military operations, caused a delay of more than a year. At length, on the 26th of



January, 1780, the court pronounced its sentence, finding him guilty of two charges,—that, when at Valley Forge, he had granted protection to a vessel sailing from Philadelphia, when it was somewhat irregular to do so; and that he had once employed public wagons in the conveyance of private property, though paying all the expenses. Neither act, in the opinion of the court, implied any criminal intention; yet, upon these nugatory grounds, he was sentenced to be publicly reprimanded by the commander-in-chief. That great man could not escape the unwelcome task, but executed it in the most delicate possible manner, rendering it, indeed, rather a panegyric than a censure. He recalled Arnold's great actions, and promised fresh opportunities for distinction; but nothing probably could soothe Arnold's wounded feelings at not obtaining that full acquittal to which he thought himself entitled.

Arnold now finally determined to go over to the British cause. The purpose was carried out in a manner which fully justifies the Americans in branding him with the name of traitor. He made, perhaps, too large personal stipulations for himself, especially if they included a sum of money; which, there is reason to believe, was the case. He carried on a long correspondence, and gave information to the British, while he held office, and professed zeal in the American interest; lastly, he took steps now to be narrated, by which no man of honour would seek to support even the best of causes.

His object was to obtain possession of some important post, by delivering over which he might gain high credit with his new employers; and this design was facilitated by the great value set on his talents by the commander-in-chief. He accordingly solicited the command at West Point, the key of all the positions on the Hudson, and by which the two wings of the army mainly communicated. This choice surprised Washington, who had destined him for leader of one of the wings of the army, as likely to be both the most useful and most agreeable to his ardent temper; however, he consented. Arnold could then arrange that, while the place appeared perfectly secure, there might be left an unguarded point by which an enemy could enter. Of this he apprised Major André, with



CAPTURE OF ANDRE.

whom he had all along corresponded, at the same time soliciting and pointing out means for a meeting within the American lines. This was effected after some difficulty, and all the necessary arrangements were then made. Circumstances obliged the English officer to return by a circuitous route; but, with an escort and Arnold's passport, he succeeded in passing safely all the hostile guards, and had reached a sort of neutral ground, where he appeared quite safe. Suddenly three men rushed out from a wood, stopped his horse, and one presented a pistol to his breast; when, erroneously supposing them to be British, he rashly betrayed his own character. They then searched his person, and found papers containing all the particulars of the plot, which, along with the prisoner, were carried to Colonel Jameson, the nearest commandant, who, bewildered and unable to see the bearings of the affair, sent expresses at once to Washington and to Arnold himself. The latter received his while at breakfast, and waiting a visit of inspection from the commander. He suppressed his emotion, and having taken a hurried and agonizing leave of his wife, ran down to the river, threw himself into a boat, and by urgency and promises, induced the men to row him down with the utmost rapidity till he got on board a British vessel. Washington was not a little surprised on arriving not to find Arnold, of whom nothing could



MAJOR ANDRÉ.

be learned during the whole forenoon. At four he received Jameson's despatch, when he is said to have displayed the utmost self-possession, only saying to Lafayette, "Whom can we trust now?"

André, thus placed in the power of his enemies, was considered the most rising young officer in the British army. After a few years' service, Clinton had appointed him adjutant-general, and he had every prospect of rising to the highest commands. His brilliant accomplishments, amiable temper, and engaging manners, rendered him the idol of his brother officers. With a noble, though imprudent frankness, he wrote to Washington a statement of all the circumstances, not seemingly dreading that he would be treated otherwise than as a prisoner of war. That commander, however, submitted the case to a council of fourteen general officers, who decided that he ought to be considered as a spy, and as such to suffer death. The justice of the sentence seems indubitable, since the only plea offered, that he came at the desire and under the flag of an American general, appears futile when the well known purpose is considered. Clinton lavished offers of exchange, and Arnold wrote a violent letter, threatening bloody reprisals; but this rather injured the cause. The only overture made was



to take the latter himself in exchange, to which, of course, Clinton would never listen. The captive met his doom with a gentle and heroic fortitude, admired even by those who condemned him.

During the winter, Washington was indefatigable in urging Congress and the states to take measures for rendering the army somewhat efficient. His remonstrances, with the shame of a palpable failure before their great ally, roused them to a certain degree of activity. But their finances were in a more desperate state than ever. Their paper had ceased to bear any value; their credit was entirely exhausted; the taxes which could be levied on the people were of small amount, slow and uncertain in collection. There remained no possible resource unless from foreign courts, to whom they had already made application. Mr. Jay, nevertheless, was sent to Spain, which, having recently joined the confederacy, and professed great friendship for the new republic, was expected to grant some assistance. That gentleman, however, soon warned his employers that the favour of this, as of other courts, rested solely upon interest, or even the whim or caprice of statesmen. Congress, in this extremity, sent over on a special mission to France, Colonel Laurens, who, by presenting, contrary to etiquette, a memorial in person to the king, and even hinting to the minister that America might otherwise be obliged to join Britain, obtained a subsidy of six million livres, with a further sum by way of loan, and guarantee for a Dutch loan of five million guilders. This was intimated to be the very last pecuniary aid that could be granted; but it relieved the present urgency.

Washington had also the satisfaction of prevailing upon Congress to promise half-pay to the officers at the end of the war, and to enlist troops only for its whole duration. The states were also urged to make up the army to the number of thirty-seven thousand by the 1st of January, 1781, and the commander hoped that something approaching to the half of that number might have been assembled. By the 1st of June, whoever, the whole fell short of eight thousand; yet he determined, with the aid of the French, to press forward offensive operations, considering it, in the present state of the Union, of the very last importance that the contest should be brought to



ROCHAMBEAU.

a speedy period. Having, in the beginning of July, been joined by the French army under Rochambeau, he projected an attempt to surprise the posts defending the northern part of New York Island. The approach was made on two different points; but want of concert, and the prepared state of the British, rendered the attempt abortive. The American commander, then, learning that a reinforcement of three thousand Hessians had arrived in New York, gave up all hopes of carrying that capital, and turned his views in another direction.

Virginia had insensibly, as it were, become a principal theatre of war. Leslie, as already observed, had been sent thither to reinforce Cornwallis, who, it was hoped, might penetrate through the Carolinas; but after Ferguson's disaster, he was ordered to go round by Charleston. With the view, however, of creating a diversion in favour of the southern army, Clinton, in December, 1780, sent Arnold with sixteen hundred men to the Chesapeake. That officer, displaying all his wonted activity, overran a great extent of country, and captured Rich-

mond, the capital, destroying great quantities of stores. Washington, most anxious to strike a blow against him, prevailed upon Destouches, the French admiral, to proceed thither with a land-force; but the latter was overtaken by Arbuthnot, and endured a hard battle, which, though not admitted to be a defeat, obliged him to return. Clinton, still with the same view, sent another force of two thousand men, under General Phillips, which arrived in the Chesapeake on the 26th of March. This officer, being complete master of the field, overran the country between the James and York rivers, seized the large town of Petersburg, as also Chesterfield courthouse, the militia rendezvous, and other stations, destroying great quantities of shipping and stores, with all the warehoused tobacco. Lafayette being sent against him, added to his force about two thousand militia, and succeeded by good dispositions in securing Richmond. Operations seemed at a stand, when intelligence was received of Cornwallis's march into this territory; and, in spite of every effort of the French general, he, in the end of May, joined Phillips at Petersburg, taking the command of the whole army. Being then decidedly superior, he took possession of Richmond, and began a hot pursuit of Lafayette, who retreated into the upper country so rapidly and so skilfully, that he could not be overtaken. The English general then turned back, and sent a detachment under Colonel Simcoe, who destroyed the chief magazine at the junction of the two branches of James River. Tarleton pushed his cavalry so swiftly upon Charlottesville, where the state assembly was met, that seven members were taken, and the rest very narrowly escaped. Lafayette, however, now returned with a considerable force, and, by his manœuvres, induced the British commander to retire to Williamsburg. He afterwards continued his retreat to Portsmouth, in the course of which the former made an attack, but was repulsed, without, however, sustaining a severe loss.

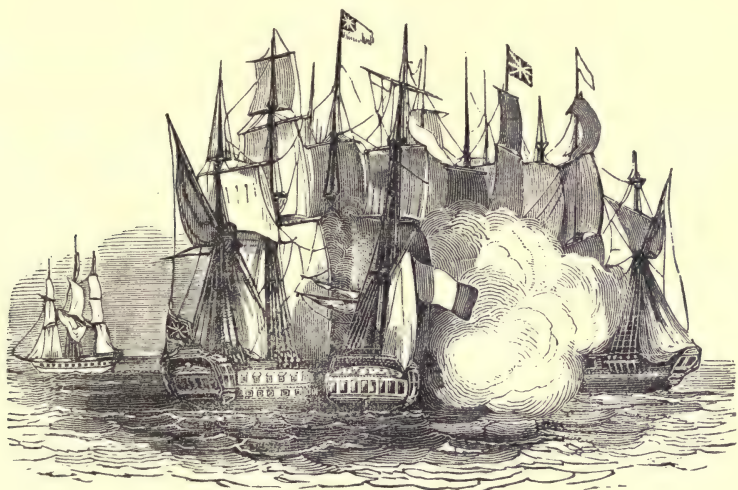
Under the apprehension inspired by the threatening movements of Washington and the French army against New York, Clinton had ordered a considerable reinforcement from Virginia, but countermanded it on receiving new instructions, along with an additional body of troops. He had formed apparently a



favourite plan. It is nowhere distinctly developed in his letters; but by a passage in one, very active operations were proposed at the head of the Chesapeake, to be combined probably with a movement from New York, and comprehending Philadelphia and Baltimore. Aware that this plan required the maritime command of that great inlet, he inquired if ministers would insure its maintenance; and they made this engagement without duly considering its difficulties. Under these views, he directed Cornwallis to occupy and fortify a naval position at the entrance of the bay, specially recommending Old Point Comfort, at the mouth of James River. This measure did not harmonize with Cornwallis's views: however, he obeyed; but the above position being declared by the engineers indefensible, he recommended, in preference, Yorktown, on the river of that name; which was agreed to, and operations actively commenced.

Washington, meantime, had been meditating movements in Virginia, and had solicited De Grasse, then in the West Indies, to secure for him at least a temporary command of the Chesapeake. After the failure of his efforts and hopes in regard to New York, this became his main object. With the highest satisfaction he received the intimation, that, on the 3d of August, the French admiral, with above twenty-five ships of the line and three thousand two hundred troops, would sail for the Chesapeake, and remain there till the middle of October. No hesitation was then made in commencing a movement upon Virginia with the whole French army and a strong detachment of the American. It was impossible that so great a movement could be concealed; but the utmost pains were taken to lead Clinton into the belief that its object was New York. This was the less difficult, as the American commander's aims and efforts had long been really turned in that direction, and his opponent had felt extremely sensitive on that subject. The crossing of the Hudson, and the march down its right bank, might have been undertaken with either design. Letters were written, and contrived to be intercepted, tending to confirm the deception. It was not till the 31st of August, that the allied force took their direct route to the Chesapeake: they had then an easy march to the head of that estuary, down

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BATTLE BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH FLEETS.

which they would be conveyed in transports to Lord Cornwallis's position, which could be reached from New York only amid the uncertainties of a maritime voyage, and the access, it was hoped, blocked up by a superior fleet. In fact, De Grasse, with twenty-eight sail of the line, had entered it in the end of August. Rodney had been opposed to him in the West Indies ; but, imagining that a great part of the French fleet must have been sent to protect a convoy going to Europe, he himself took that direction, and sent only fourteen sail, under Admiral Hood, to New York. That officer there came under the command of his senior, Admiral Graves, who, having nineteen vessels, hesitated not to sail for the Chesapeake, to attack the superior force of De Grasse. He found it ranged across the entrance, and an obstinate contest ensued, with various and on the whole indecisive results. Then, however, Barras from Newport brought a reinforcement, which rendered the French force so decidedly superior, that Graves was obliged to return.

Amid all these movements, it was not till the 6th of September that Clinton became fully aware of Washington's destination, and of the extreme danger to which Cornwallis would thus be exposed. He then wrote to that nobleman, pointing out the circumstances, and proposing, as the only mode of re-

lieving him, that he himself should sail from New York, and join him with a reinforcement of four thousand troops. This course implied that the Virginia army should meantime remain on the defensive in its present position.

Cornwallis continued, therefore, in his position at Yorktown, while perils thickened around him. Washington, dreading chiefly the march southward, directed Lafayette to take post at Williamsburg, where he himself arrived on the 14th of September. Colonel Tarleton urged an attack upon this force while still inferior to the British; but this was declined; and indeed it should seem that such able commanders would easily have avoided fighting in a disadvantageous position by retreating behind the broad estuary of James River. The successive divisions, descending the Chesapeake, continued to arrive at Williamsburg, where, on the 25th of September, the last of them landed, raising the army to seven thousand French, five thousand five hundred American regulars, and three thousand five hundred militia. On the 28th, this force broke up and moved towards York, which the British commander had been diligently fortifying, while a smaller post was maintained at Gloucester, on the opposite side of the river. He had formed an outer circuit of intrenched lines; but these, during the evening of the 29th, he abandoned, retiring within the body of the fort. This movement surprised Washington, and is also disapproved by Tarleton, who thinks he might have gained time by maintaining this exterior position. He had just, however, received a letter from Clinton, intimating a full expectation of sailing on the 5th of October, or at most, two or three days later; and judging the works fully sufficient to hold out till his arrival, dreaded loss and peril from encountering, even within lines, so superior an enemy.

The operations of the besieging army were confined to a strict blockade till the 6th of October, when the artillery and military stores arrived in the camp. On the evening of that day the first parallel was begun in silence and caution, and before morning was so far advanced as in a great measure to cover the troops. All being felt to depend upon rapidity, operations were pushed with the utmost ardour, and the two nations were incited to deeds of valour. By the 10th, the fire had become





COLONEL JOHN LAURENS.

most formidable; a number of the batteries were silenced, and a frigate and three transports in the harbour set on fire and consumed. On the night of the 11th, the second parallel was commenced, and had the same success as the first, of being undiscovered till morning. Three days were devoted to its completion; but the British, having with great labour opened several new batteries, then poured in a most destructive fire. That in particular from two redoubts was so terrible, that without carrying them, the siege could not be prosecuted. This grand operation was fixed for the night of the 14th, when one fort was undertaken by the French, under the Baron de Viomenil, the other by the Americans under Lafayette, aided by Colonels Hamilton and Laurens. The latter rushed on with such impetuosity, that, without firing a gun, they soon carried the post, making twenty prisoners, though losing forty killed and wounded. The French encountered a stronger resistance, and suffered the loss of about a hundred, but finally carried their redoubt also.

Cornwallis now perceived that a fatal crisis was rapidly approaching. He endeavoured to retard it by a sally, on the morning of the 16th, of three hundred and fifty men under



SURRENDER OF CORNWALLIS.

Colonel Abercrombie, who carried the two most advanced batteries, but could not retain them for a sufficient time to complete their destruction. On the following night, it was determined to cross to the northern bank, and endeavour to force a way by land to New York. The boats were collected with the greatest secrecy, the embarkation completed, and even the landing commenced, when a violent tempest of wind and rain interrupted the movement, and obliged the troops to employ all their efforts in regaining the fortress. On the following day, all the batteries of the second parallel were finished, and began to play with such tremendous effect, that, in the opinion of the officers and engineers, the place was no longer tenable. Cornwallis therefore opened a negotiation for surrender, on the basis of the garrison being sent to Europe and remaining on parole until released or exchanged; but Washington would admit only of unconditional surrender. It was agreed, however, that the officers should be allowed the honours of war, with their arms and baggage; and that the Bonetta sloop of war should be per-

mitted to go unsearched, with the understood view of placing in security those civil officers who had rendered themselves obnoxious to the United States government. On these conditions, the capitulation was signed on the morning of the 19th. The prisoners surrendered were seven thousand and seventy-three, of whom, however, only four thousand and seventeen were fit for duty.

Clinton, meantime, had not been forgetful of his promises; but the fleet had been so much shattered in the late engagement, that some preparation was necessary to fit it for sailing. It was, however, resolved, at a general meeting both of the military and naval commanders, that the 5th of October should be fixed as the period for this movement; and he had therefore a reasonable expectation of fulfilling his promise. On the 28th of September, he addressed a letter to Admiral Graves on this important point, who replied that the fleet could not sail till the 8th; terms which did not indeed imply a positive pledge for that day, yet gave reason to hope that it would not be much exceeded. It did not, however, depart till the 19th, the very day on which the capitulation was signed.

This catastrophe, like that of Burgoyne, was felt less from the actual amount of loss sustained, than from the impression which it made upon the public mind of Europe. In Britain, the popular feeling had been raised above former disasters by indignation against the league of the continental powers, and by the brilliant promises which the successes in the southern colonies seemed to afford. During the session of 1780-1781, indeed, Mr. Fox, who now figured as leader of opposition, predicted that these would be very ephemeral, and repelled any expectation of finally recovering the lost colonies. Ministers, however, were still confident, and generally supported by the nation. In the course of the year 1781, however, the horizon of Europe assumed a different aspect. A commercial treaty and other connexions formed by Holland with the colonies led to a declaration of war against her, involving a consequent collision with almost the whole naval power of the continent. The Empress of Russia, taking advantage of the state of affairs, placed herself at the head of what was termed the armed neutrality, having in view to limit the right of search hitherto





CHARLES JAMES FOX.

exercised by Great Britain; and though this did not lead to any actual hostility, it rendered the situation of the country still more critical.

When, to the severe pressure thus caused, was added the disastrous intelligence from the new continent, there arose in the nation a cry for peace and for the recognition of American independence, as vehement as formerly for war and supremacy.

After a short struggle against the popular current, Lord North resigned. A new ministry was formed under the premiership of the Marquis of Rockingham. Russia having offered her mediation, the United States Congress sent Jay, Laurens, and Jefferson, to co-operate with Adams and Franklin in negotiations for peace. They were instructed not to treat, except in conjunction with the French officials, and upon no other basis than the absolute recognition of the independence of the United States. The negotiations were carried on at Paris. Mr. Oswald represented the British government. On the 30th of November, 1782, a treaty was signed by the American commissioners, independent of the French minister, and the joyful news of peace was sent to both the mother country and the states. On the 20th of January, 1783, the preliminary treaty was signed between France, Spain, and Great Britain, and on the 3d of September, the definitive treaties of all the



GENERAL CARLETON.

powers were signed together. That of America was ratified by Congress on the 14th of January, 1784.

Sir Guy Carleton, who had succeeded Sir Henry Clinton in the chief command of the British forces, then superintended the evacuation of the country, by his troops. The American army was disbanded, Washington retired to private life, with true greatness of spirit, and the independence of the States was achieved. The cause for which the patriots had so nobly struggled was triumphant. A new nation had asserted its power to maintain the freedom of its firesides, and now commenced a career of glory.

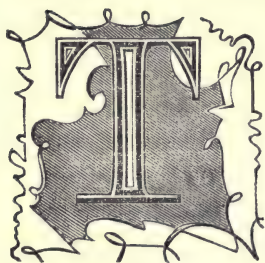




A WESTERN HUNTER.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### INDIAN WARS OF THE WEST.



THE causes of the long and bloody wars between the pioneers of the West and the Indians have been variously stated. Hostility to the advance of a people, who deprived the savage tribes of their fair and extensive hunting grounds was, doubtless, the most influential of the motives to take up the hatchet; but the representations and the pay of those who claimed to be civilized, but who were willing to use any means of injuring the republican settlers, were impulses nearly as powerful. It may be true, as is asserted, that the lands of the west were not fairly bought from the Indians, that





CAPTURE OF BOONE.



they were always compelled to sell, and then did not receive any approach to a consideration; and if this be so, they were surely justified in fighting for the regions where reposed the bones of their ancestors and relatives; such conduct has always been admired by the civilized portion of mankind. In many cases, however, the Indians fought for land they had never occupied, and to which, consequently, they could have no claim. The instigations of renegade white men, and the outrages committed by some of the more reckless borderers, may be added to the causes of Indian hostility in the West.

The early French adventurers in the West may have visited the borders of Kentucky; but we have no evidence of their attempting to explore that wild region. Perhaps the first Englishman who reached it, was Colonel James Smith, who was made prisoner by the Indians. In 1767, John Finley visited Kentucky, and engaged in a trade with the red men. At that time, this region was known as the "Bloody Ground." The forests swarmed with the finest game, and the northern and southern tribes came to hunt here. Fierce contests were frequent, and hence the name of the country. On Finley's return to North Carolina, he represented Kentucky as another Eden. His account of his expedition fired Daniel Boone and others, who resolved to set off for the beautiful wilderness. With five companions, Boone started on the 1st of May, 1769. On the 7th of June, they reached the point to which Finley had journeyed two years before, and there they encamped and engaged in hunting and exploration. At that time, Boone was in the prime of life, possessed of great bodily strength and activity, and skilled in woodcraft.

On the 22d of December, Boone and his friend Stuart were captured by a large party of Indians. They remained in captivity a week, and then contrived to escape. Their four companions had in the mean time returned home. In a short time, Boone's brother and another man joined the adventurers. But the confidence inspired by increased numbers did not continue long. The Indians displayed unquenchable hostility. Stuart was killed by them. The man who had accompanied Squire Boone returned to North Carolina, and the brothers were left alone in the wilderness. When their stock of ammu-



nition was reduced, Squire Boone returned to the settlements for a new supply, and Daniel spent three months alone in Kentucky. In March, 1771, these daring brothers went to North Carolina, and made up a party for a settlement in the wilderness.

The pioneers started from the Yadkin on the 25th of September, 1773. There were six families. At Powell's Valley, forty men joined them. Full of hope and spirit, they pressed on towards the last great mountain barrier; but just as they approached it, on the 10th of October, they were attacked in the rear by a party of Indians, who killed six of the emigrants and wounded a seventh. Among the slain was Boone's son. The Indians were repulsed, but the attack considerably depressed the spirits of the whites, and caused them to retrace their steps, and not to stop until they had placed a double mountain range between them and the western wilds. In the mean time, other parties, under Colonel James Knox and Captain Bullitt, had visited Kentucky, and explored some portions of the country. The Indians acted in a friendly manner towards these adventurers. For a time, the settlement of Kentucky was delayed; for though James Harrod, in the spring of 1774, penetrated the wilderness, and built his cabin where Harrodsburg now stands, he could not long stay there. The Dunmore War forced him to return to the frontier settlements, and aid against the Indians. By the treaty made after the battle of Point Pleasant, the Shawnees agreed not to hunt south of the Ohio nor molest emigrants. Boone, Harrod, and other adventurers then returned to Kentucky. Various settlements were soon formed, Boonesborough, Harrodsburg, and Logan's Station, being the principal.

On the breaking out of the war of independence, British agents were active in enlisting the Indians of the Northwestern territory in their cause. Rewards were offered for scalps. In the summer of 1776, straggling parties of red men so filled the woods of Kentucky, that there was no safety for the settlers outside of their forts. Several skirmishes occurred, in which, however, the whites had the advantage. Colonel George Rogers Clarke, who deserves to be considered the founder of Kentucky, and who ever exerted his great abilities for the benefit of the pioneers, went to Virginia, and procured a large supply of am-



THE KENTUCKY PIONEERS.

munition for the stations, which were all attacked at various times by the Indians, and reduced to extremities. A number of the settlers were surprised by lurking savages and killed. The horses and cattle were driven away; the fields remained uncultivated. The number of the whites became fewer and fewer, and from the older settlements little or no aid was sent until August 1777, when Colonel Bowman came from Virginia with one hundred men. At the close of this year, the three

stations, Logan's, Boone's, and Harrod's, contained all the settlers of Kentucky; their efficient military force being one hundred and ten men.

In defending the stations, many acts of real heroism were performed, worthy of immortal recollection. Benjamin Logan particularly distinguished himself. In May, 1777, the fort at which Logan lived, was surrounded by Indians, more than a hundred in number; and so silently had they made their approach, that the first notice which the garrison had of their presence was a discharge of firearms upon some men who were guarding the women as they milked the cows outside the station. One was killed, a second mortally wounded, and a third, named Harrison, disabled. This poor man, unable to aid himself, lay in sight of the fort, where his wife, who saw his condition, was begging some one to go to his relief. But to attempt such a thing seemed madness; for whoever ventured from either side into the open ground, where Harrison lay writhing and groaning, would instantly become a target for all the sharpshooters of the opposite party. For some moments Logan stood it pretty well; he tried to persuade himself and the poor woman who was pleading to him, that his duty required him to remain within the walls and let the savages complete their bloody work. But such a heart as his was too warm to be long restrained by arguments and judicious expediency; and suddenly turning to his men, he cried, "Come, boys, who's the man to help me in with Harrison?" There were brave men there, but to run into certain death in order to save a man whom, after all, they could not save,—it was asking too much; and all shook their heads, and shrunk back from the mad proposal. "Not one! not one of you help a poor fellow to save his scalp?" "Why, what's the good, Captain? to let the red rascals kill us won't help Harrison?" At last, one, half inspired by Logan's impetuous courage, agreed to go; he could die but once, he said, and was about as ready, then, as he should ever be. The gate was slightly opened, and the two doomed men stepped out; instantly a tempest of rifle balls opened upon them, and Logan's companion, rapidly reasoning himself into the belief that he was not so ready to die as he had believed, bolted back into the station. Not so his noble-



hearted leader. Alone, through that tempest, he sprang forward to where the wounded man lay, and while his hat, hunting-shirt, and hair were cut and torn by the ceaseless shower, he lifted his comrade like a child in his arms, and regained the fort without a scratch.

But this rescue of a fellow-being, though worthy of record in immortal verse, was nothing compared with what this same Benjamin Logan did soon after. The Indians continued their siege; still they made no impression, but the garrison were running short of powder and ball, and none could be procured except by crossing the mountains. To do this, the neighbouring forest must be passed, thronging with Indians, and a journey of some hundred miles accomplished along a path every portion of which might be waylaid, and at last the fort must be re-entered with the articles so much needed. Surely, if ever an enterprise seemed hopeless, it was this one, and yet the thing must be tried. Logan pondered the matter carefully; he calculated the distance, not less than four hundred miles in and back; he estimated the aid from other quarters; and in the silence of night asked wisdom and guidance from God. Nor did he ask in vain; wisdom was given him. At night, with two picked companions, he stole from the station, every breath hushed. The summer leaves were thick above them, and with the profoundest care and skill, Logan guided his followers from tree to tree, from run to run, unseen by the savages, who dreamed not, probably, of so dangerous an undertaking. Quickly but most cautiously pushing eastward, walking forty or fifty miles a day, the three woodsmen passed onward till the Cumberland range was in sight; then, avoiding the Gap, which they supposed would be watched by Indians, over those rugged hills, where man had never climbed before, they forced their way with untiring energy and a rapidity to us, degenerate as we are, inconceivable. The mountains crossed, and the valley of the Holston reached, Logan procured his ammunition, and then turned alone on his homeward track, leaving his two companions, with full directions, to follow him more slowly with the lead and powder. He returned before them, because he wished to revive the hopes of his little garrison in the wilderness, numbering as it did, in his absence, only ten men, and

they without the means of defence. He feared they would yield, if he delayed an hour; so, back, like a chamois, he sped, over those broken and precipitous ranges, and actually reached and re-entered his fort in ten days from the time he left it, safe and full of hope. Such a spirit would have made even women dare and do everything, and by his influence the siege was still resisted till the ammunition came safe to hand. From May till September that little band was thus beset; then Colonel Bowman relieved them.

Throughout the spring and summer of 1777, the settlements in the vicinity of Wheeling were beset by the savages. On the evening of September 26th, 1777, smoke was seen by those near Wheeling, down the river, and was supposed to proceed from the burning of the block-house at Grave Creek. The people of the vicinity, taking the alarm, fled to the fort. Within its walls were forty-two fighting men, of various ages and gifts: these were well supplied with guns, both rifles and muskets, but had only a scant supply of gunpowder, as the event proved. The night of the 26th passed without alarm, but when, very early upon the 27th, two men, who were sent out for horses, in order to alarm the settlements near by, had proceeded some distance from the fort, they met a party of six savages, by whom one of them was shot. The commandant of the post, Colonel Shepherd, learning from the survivor that there were but six of the assailants, sent a party of fifteen men to see to them. These were suffered to march after the six, who seem to have been meant merely for a decoy, until they were within the Indian lines, when, suddenly, in front, behind, and on every side, the painted warriors showed themselves. The little band fought bravely against incalculable odds, but of the fifteen three only escaped, and they by means of the brush and logs, which were in the corn field where the skirmish took place. As soon as the position of the first band was seen at the fort, thirteen others rushed to their assistance, and shared their fate. Then, and it was not yet sunrise, the whole body of Indians, disposed in somewhat martial order, appeared regularly to invest the devoted fort. There were nearly four hundred of them, and of the defenders but twelve men and boys; unless indeed we count women, than whom, as we shall

see, none were braver or calmer within the walls of that little fortress.

The Indians were led by Simon Girty, who was acting as an agent for the British in the attempt to secure the aid of a part, at any rate, of the frontier men, in the revolutionary struggle.

Fort Henry stood immediately upon the bank of the Ohio, about a quarter of a mile above the mouth of Wheeling Creek; between it and the steep river hill which every traveller in the west is acquainted with, were twenty or thirty log huts. When Girty then, as we have said, led his red troops against the fort, he at once took possession of the houses of the village as a safe and ready-made line of attack, and from the window of one of the cabins called upon the little garrison to surrender to King George, and promised absolution to all who would do so. Colonel Shepherd answered at once that they would neither desert nor yield; and when Girty recommenced his eloquence, a shot from some impatient listener suddenly stopped his mouth. Then commenced the siege. It was just sunrise in the quiet valley, through which the quiet autumnal river flowed as peacefully as if war was never known. A calm, warm, bright September day—one of those days most lovely among the many pleasant ones of a year in the Ohio valley—and from sunrise till noon, and from noon till night of that day, the hundreds of besiegers and units of besieged about and within Fort Henry, ceased not to load and discharge musket or rifle till it was too hot to hold. About noon the fire of the attackers slackened, and then as powder was scarce in the fort, and it was remembered that a keg was concealed in the house of Ebenezer Zane, some sixty yards distant,—it was determined to make an effort to obtain it. When the question, “Who will go?” was proposed, however, so many competitors appeared that time was wasted in adjusting claims to what was almost sure death. The rest of the story we must let Mr. Geo. S. McKiernan, from whom we take our whole account nearly,—tell in his own words.

At this crisis, a young lady, the sister of Ebenezer and Silas Zane, came forward and desired that she might be permitted to execute the service. This proposition seemed so extravagant

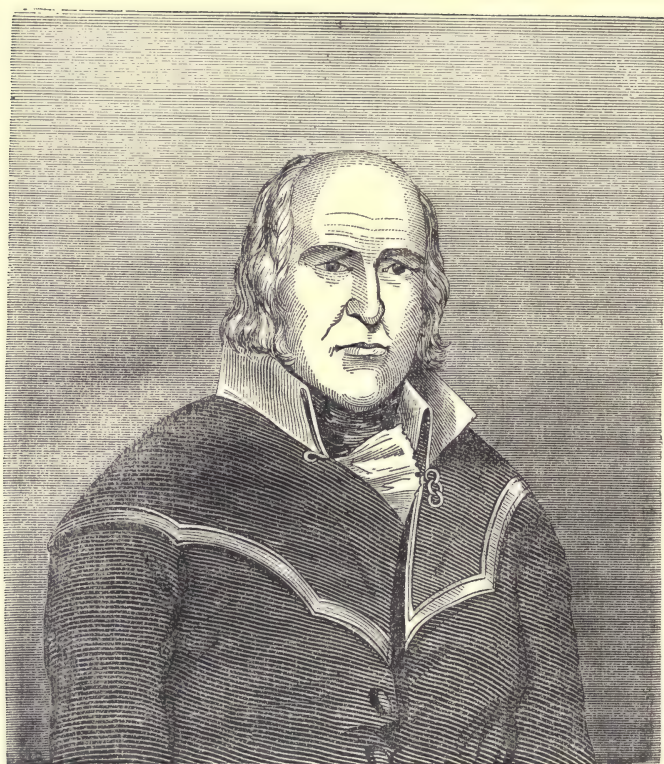


that it met with a peremptory refusal; but she instantly renewed her petition in terms of redoubled earnestness, and all the remonstrances of the Colonel and her relatives failed to dissuade her from her heroic purpose. It was finally represented to her that either of the young men, on account of his superior fleetness and familiarity with scenes of danger, would be more likely than herself to do the work successfully. She replied, that the danger which would attend the enterprise was the identical reason that induced her to offer her services, for, as the garrison was very weak, no soldier's life should be placed in needless jeopardy, and that, if she were to fall, the loss would not be felt. Her petition was ultimately granted, and the gate opened for her to pass out. The opening of the gate arrested the attention of several Indians who were straggling through the village. It was noticed that their eyes were upon her as she crossed the open space to reach her brother's house; but seized, perhaps, with a sudden freak of clemency, or believing that a woman's life was not worth a load of gunpowder, or influenced by some other unexplained motive, they permitted her to pass without molestation. When she reappeared with the powder in her arms, the Indians, suspecting, no doubt, the character of her burden, elevated their firelocks and discharged a volley at her as she swiftly glided towards the gate; but the balls all flew wide of the mark, and the fearless girl reached the fort in safety with her prize.

The allies of Britain, finding rifles powerless when used against well-built block-houses and pickets, determined upon trying an extemporary cannon, and having bound a hollow maple with chains, having bored a touch hole, and plugged up one end, they loaded it liberally and levelled it at the gate of the impregnable castle. It was now evening, and the disappointed Wyandots gathered about their artillery, longing to see its loading of stones open to them the door of the American citadel. The match was applied; bursting into a thousand pieces, the cannon of Girty tore, maimed, and killed his copper-coloured kinsfolk, but hurt none else.

During that night many of the assailants withdrew disheartened. On the morning of the 28th, fifteen men came from Cross creek to the aid of Fort Henry, and forty-one from





GEORGE ROGERS CLARKE.



Short creek. Of these all entered the fort except Major McColloch, the leader of the Short creek volunteers.

McColloch possessed a great reputation as a borderer, and the Indians were anxious to take him alive. They drove him towards the summit of a steep hill overlooking the site of the present town of Wheeling, where the daring Major made a terrific leap. The Indians thought that he would be dashed to pieces; but he escaped unharmed. McColloch's Leap is a noted event in border history, and certainly was a wonderful exploit. The precipice down which the Major plunged, has a descent, nearly perpendicular, of one hundred and fifty feet.

Finding all attempts to take the fort fruitless, the Indians killed all the stock, including more than three hundred cattle, burned houses and fences, and destroyed every article of furniture. Of the forty-two men who had been in the fort, twenty-five were killed, all outside of the walls. Of the savages one hundred are supposed to have perished.

The next year, Colonel George Rogers Clarke undertook the famous expedition against Kaskaskia and Vincennes. He was completely successful in overcoming difficulties that would have daunted most men, and capturing the British posts, from which the Indians had been supplied with arms. The whole merit of the conception and execution of this enterprise belongs to Colonel Clarke. His daring genius supplied what was wanting in numbers and equipment. He held a council with the Indians at Cahokia, addressed them in a manly and eloquent strain, explaining the causes of the quarrel between Great Britain and the colonies, and succeeded in getting their assent to a treaty of peace. In this council, Clarke displayed more knowledge of the Indian character than had ever before been shown by a white negotiator. The colonel was certainly the greatest character who figured in the early history of the west, and, on another field, might have won a splendid reputation.

While Clarke was fortunate in the far west, misfortune lowered upon other Kentuckians. Daniel Boone and 27 others, while making salt at the Blue Licks, were captured by the Indians, and carried to Detroit. On the way, the Shawnees became very much attached to Boone, and instead of giving him up to Governor Hamilton, with the other prisoners, insisted



CANADIANS AND INDIANS ENCAMPED BEFORE BOONE'S STATION.

upon taking him home with them. Boone was forced to comply. On arriving at Chilicothe, he found a large army of Indians collected for an expedition against the settlements of Kentucky. He then resolved to escape, and succeeded in the attempt. Reaching his station, he found it totally unprepared for defence. The alarm was given, and all the men set to work to repair the fortifications. The escape of Boone delayed the starting of the Indian expedition. The red men had calculated on surprising the settlements, and they now saw their plans frustrated. About the 1st of August, Boone, with nineteen men, set out to reconnoitre, and, if possible, to strike an anticipating blow. After crossing the Ohio, the party suddenly met the advancing army, and was forced to take a circuitous route to get back to Boonesborough in safety.

On the 8th of August, the enemy, five hundred in number,

with British and French flags flying, and led by Captain Duquesne, surrounded Boonesborough. On being summoned to surrender, Boone requested two days for consideration, and these were granted. At the end of that period, he announced his determination to fight. Captain Duquesne then desired to treat. Boone consented, with singular inprudence, which might have proved fatal. The conference was held outside of the fort, but within rifle reach of the garrison. A treaty was concluded; but symptoms of treachery appearing, Boone and his friends fled to the fort, and thus broke off negotiation. Captain Duquesne then opened a fire upon the fort, which was continued for ten days without effect. On the 20th of August, the enemy was forced to retire, having lost 37 men, and wasted a vast amount of ammunition. The capture of Governor Hamilton by Clarke and the expeditions of Sullivan and Brodhead then mitigated the hostility of the Indians for a time, and the frontiers were saved from entire desolation. The failure of an expedition under Colonel Bowman to the Little Miami, however, brought the Indians south of the Ohio again in 1779, and they unexpectedly won a victory over the whites of no slight importance. As Colonel Rogers with a body of riflemen was proceeding along the Ohio, near the Licking, he discovered a few Indians. Supposing himself to be far superior, he ordered seventy of his men to land, intending to surround the savages. In a few moments, however, he was himself surrounded, and after a hard-fought battle, only twenty of the whites escaped. Captain Benham, and another Kentuckian, had a singular escape. Benham was shot through both hips, so as to be powerless in the lower limbs, but contrived to conceal himself till the Indians had retired. His companion had both arms broken, and also concealed himself till the savages had gone. These two men then rendered each other such assistance as they could, lived in this way for six weeks, and were then rescued.

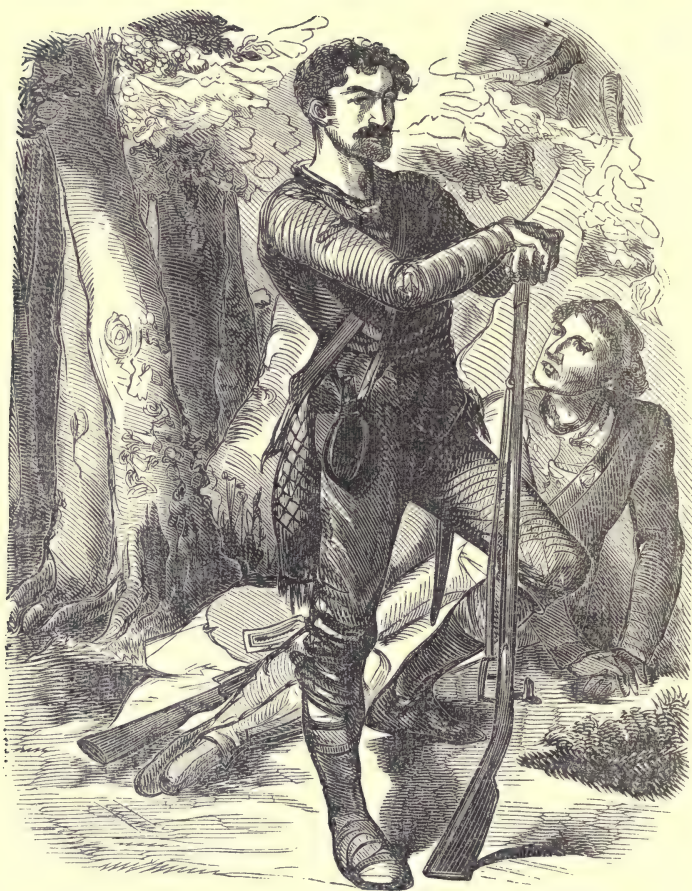
In the summer of 1780, Kentucky was invaded by a more formidable force than had yet been seen on her soil during the existence of the settlements. A body of six hundred men, Canadians and Indians, commanded by Colonel Byrd, a British officer, and accompanied by either two or six cannon, marched



up the valley of the Licking. It first appeared, on the 22d of June, before Riddle's station on the south fork of that river, and required instant surrender. The demand could not be resisted, as the Kentucky stockades were powerless against cannon. Martin's station on the same stream was next taken; and then, from some unexplained cause, the whole body of invaders,—whose number was double that of all the fighting men east of the Kentucky river,—turned right about face, and hurried out of the country with all speed. The only reasonable explanation of the matter is that the British commander, horror-stricken and terrified at the excesses and cruelties of his savage allies, dared not go forward in the task—by no means a hopeless one—of depopulating the woods of Kentucky.

This incursion by Byrd and his red friends, little as it had effected, was enough to cause Clarke, who had just returned from his labours on Fort Jefferson, and who found at the Falls a letter from the Governor of Virginia, recommending an attack upon the Indian villages north of the Ohio,—to take immediate steps for the chastisement of the savages, and especially for the destruction of the store which furnished goods to the natives. This was situated where the post destroyed by the French in 1752 had been, and was known in latter days as Loramie's store. When, however, in accordance with his determination, Clarke, in July, went to Harrodsburg to enlist recruits, he found the whole population crazy about land entries, Mr. May, the Surveyor, having opened his office but two months previous. The General proposed to him to shut up for a time while the Indians were attended to; the Surveyor in reply expressed a perfect willingness to do so in case General Clarke would order it, but said that otherwise he had no authority to take such a step. The order was accordingly given and public notice spread abroad, accompanied by a full statement of the reasons for the proceeding. The result proved, as usual, Clarke's sagacity; volunteers flocked to his standard, and soon with a thousand men he was at the mouth of the Licking. Silently and swiftly from that point he proceeded to attack the town known as Chilicothe, on the Little Miami, and then the Pikaway towns on Mad river. In both attacks he succeeded; destroying the towns, burning the crops, and above all annihi-





HUNTING SCOUTS, OR RANGERS.



lating the British store above referred to, with its contents. This expedition, the first efficient one ever undertaken against the Miami nests of enemies, for a time relieved Kentucky from the attack of any body of Indians sufficiently numerous to produce serious alarm.

The Indians converted by Heckewelder and other Moravian missionaries to Christianity, resided upon the Muskingum. They were peaceful and industrious; but both parties were jealous of them, and entertained suspicion of their secret action. These poor Indians were thus exposed to attack from whites and savages.

In the spring of 1781, Colonel Brodhead led a body of troops against some of the hostile Delawares upon the Muskingum. This, a portion of his followers thought, would be an excellent opportunity to destroy the Moravian towns, and it was with difficulty he could withhold them. He sent word to Heckewelder, and tried to prevent any attack upon the members of his flock. In this attempt he appears to have succeeded; but he did not, perhaps could not, prevent the slaughter of the troops taken from the hostile Delawares. First, sixteen were killed, and then nearly twenty. A chief, who came under assurances of safety to Brodhead's camp, was also murdered by a noted partisan, named Martin Wetzel. From that time, the Virginians rested until autumn, when the frontier men, led by Colonel David Williamson, marched out expressly against the towns of the Christian Delawares; but they found that the Hurons had preceded them, and the huts and fields of the friends of peace were deserted.

In the course of this year, the Indians were very active on the frontier, and their outrages so exasperated the borderers, that they were disposed to slay all who had Indian blood in their veins. The details of all the skirmishes and attacks would be monotonous, and we therefore omit them. During the year, the Kentuckians made a more effectual organization of their forces. Clarke was commissioned a brigadier-general; and Boone, Todd, Trigg, Floyd, Logan, and Pope were invested with subordinate commands.

The year 1782 was the most eventful in the early history of Kentucky. The very extraordinary affair known as Estill's

Defeat, and the Battle of the Blue Licks, will ever make it memorable. The first conflict was memorable for a display of military skill on the part of the Indian commander, unparalleled in the warfare of his people.

In the month of May, a party of about twenty-five Wyandots, invested Estill's Station, on the south of the Kentucky river, killed one white man, took a negro prisoner, and, after destroying the cattle, retreated. Soon after the Indians disappeared, Captain Estill raised a company of twenty-five men. With these he pursued the Indians; and on Hinkston's Fork of Licking, two miles below the Little Mountain, came within gunshot of them. They had just crossed the creek, which in that part is small; and were ascending one side, as Estill's party descended the other, of two approaching hills, of moderate elevation. The water-course which lay between, had produced an opening in the timber, and brush, conducing to mutual discovery; while both hills were well set with trees, interspersed with saplings and bushes. Instantly, after discovering the Indians, some of Captain Estill's men fired at them; at first they seemed alarmed, and made a movement like flight: but their chief, although wounded, gave them orders to stand and fight—on which they promptly prepared for battle, by each man taking a tree, and facing his enemy, as nearly in a line as practicable.

In the mean time, Captain Estill, with due attention to what was passing on the opposite site, checked the progress of his men at about sixty yards' distance from the foe, and gave orders to extend their line in front of the Indians, to cover themselves by the means of the trees, and to fire, as the object should be seen, with a sure aim. This order, perfectly adapted to the occasion, was executed with alacrity, as far as circumstances would admit, and the desultory mode of Indian fighting was thought to require. So that both sides were preparing, and ready, at the same time, for the bloody conflict which ensued, and which proved to be singularly obstinate.

The numbers were equal: some have said exactly twenty-five on each side; others have mentioned, that Captain Estill, upon seeing the Indians form for battle, despatched one or two of his men upon the back trail, to hasten forward a small

reinforcement which he expected was following him; and if so, it gave the Indians the superiority of numbers, without producing the desired assistance—for the reinforcement never arrived.

Now were the hostile lines within rifle-shot, and the action became warm and general. Never was battle more like single combat; each man sought his man, and fired only when he saw his mark. Wounds and death were inflicted on either side, neither advancing nor retreating. The firing was deliberate; with caution they looked, but look they would, for the foe; although life itself was often the forfeit. And thus, both sides firmly stood, or bravely fell, for more than one hour; upwards of one-fourth of the combatants had fallen, never more to rise, on either side, and several others were wounded. Never, probably, was the native bravery or collected fortitude of men put to a test more severe. Never was manoeuvring more necessary, or less practicable. Captain Estill had not a man to spare from his line, and deemed unsafe any movement in front, with a view to force the enemy from their ground; because in such a movement he must expose his men, and some of them would inevitably fall before they could reach the adversary. This would increase the relative superiority of the enemy, while they would receive the survivors with the tomahawk in hand; in the use of which they were practised and expert. He clearly perceived that no advantage was to be obtained over the Indians, while the action was continued in their own mode of warfare. For although his men were probably the best *shooters*, the Indians were undoubtedly the most expert *hidors*; so that victory itself, could it have been purchased with the loss of his last man, would afford but a melancholy consolation for the loss of friends and comrades; but even of victory, without some manœuvre, he could not assure himself. He determined to detach six of his men, by a valley, to gain the flank or rear of the enemy; while himself, with the residue, maintained his position in front.

The detachment was accordingly made under the command of Lieutenant Miller, to whom the route was shown, and the order given, conformably to the above-mentioned determination; unfortunately, however, it was not executed. The



lieutenant, either mistaking his way, or intentionally betraying his duty, his honour, and his captain, did not proceed with the requisite despatch ; and the Indians, attentive to occurrences, finding out the weakened condition of their adversaries, rushed upon them, and compelled a retreat, after Captain Estill and eight of his men were killed. Four others were badly wounded, who, notwithstanding, made their escape ; so that only nine fell into the hands of the savages, who scalped and stripped them, of course. It was believed by the survivors of this action, that one half of the Indians were killed ; and this idea was corroborated by reports from their towns. There is also a tradition, that Miller, with his detachment, crossed the creek, fell in with the enemy, lost one or two of his men, and had a third or fourth wounded, before he retreated.

In reviewing the incidents of this battle, the conduct of the Indians cannot fail of commanding attention. Their determined bravery ; their obstinate perseverance ; the promptitude with which they seized on the absence of the detachment, to advance on their enemy ; and thus, by a step not less bold than judicious, to insure to themselves a victory of immortal renown : conduct alike bespeaking the possession of skill in war, and a training to command, which could but render them formidable, and even victorious.

The Shawnees, Delawares, and Wyandots, in particular, were terrifying to the exposed stations, as their depredations were frequent. It was thought that they fought with more than usual obstinacy, and were even likely to derive an increased audacity from repeated success. A party of twenty or more, without a formal attack, showed itself at Hoy's Station, and took several persons belonging to it ; with these they made off, and were soon afterwards pursued by Captain Holder and seventeen men, for twenty miles or more. The ensuing day the Indians were overtaken, near the upper Blue Licks ; a battle ensued ; but the captain thinking his force too unequal, retreated, with the loss of four men killed or wounded. The loss on the side of the Indians was not known.

The time now approached, when, in consequence of former arrangements, the several Indian nations surrounding the country were to meet at Old Chilicothe, and thence to proceed

on the great expedition which was to exterminate the Long Knife from Kentucky, and to give the country once more to the red men, its rightful owners.

Even the scouts and patrols were withdrawn to the rendezvous at Chilicothe, and the popular perturbation was succeeded by a calm. The suspense was but short in its continuance. At Chilicothe, the assemblage of Indians was reinforced by a detachment from Detroit, as the quota of his Britannic Majesty. When the whole grand army, consisting of parties from the Cherokees, Wyandots, Atawas, Pottowatomies, Delawares, and several other nations bordering on the Mississippi or the lakes, including the Canadians and the Shawnees, who were considered the principals, were convened, they amounted to about five hundred men, painted and trimmed for war.

Of this formidable armament the people of Kentucky had no certain intelligence at the time. The country was soon alarmed by advanced parties, so disposed as rather to divert the attention from, than direct it to, the object of designed attack, while the inhabitants even flattered themselves that nothing more terrible was yet to come. So prone are husbandmen, who cultivate the soil, to indulge their hope of safety, and their love of peace, even in war.

Hasty was the march of the Indians, nor was there any scout or spy on their route to collect and bring an account of their approach. So remarkably alike appears the conduct of both sides, that each suffers surprise after surprise, without changing its habits of policy. Perhaps, their conditions equally forbid an attempt, which would be rendered on either side ineffectual, for want of means.

Two years before, a similar army had surprised and taken Ruddle's Station—Martin's shared the like fate—and that of Grant had been abandoned. Bryant's Station was thence the frontier on that quarter, approaching nearest to the enemy. It consisted of about thirty or forty cabins, and from forty to fifty men. It had a bastion at either end, composed of strong logs, built in the block-house form, with necessary loop-holes. The cabins were ranged in two or three rows parallel to each other, and connected by strong palisades, where they did not

otherwise join. It had no supply of water within, but a very fine spring ran from the foot of the point, on which it stood, near to the bank of Elkhorn, at that place but a small creek.

On the 15th of August, some few of the men being absent, and others in the adjacent corn-field, but the greater part of them about the station, the Indians suddenly appeared before the place, and without any summons commenced an attack with small arms. Fortunately, they had no cannon; and it was recollected that no station had been taken without. Their numbers were not known, as they were dispersed among the growing corn, or concealed by the fences and the weeds.

The fort gates were immediately manned, and kept, for the reception of those who were out and should desire to enter; others of the garrison ran to the bastions and loop-holes, from which they fired and kept off the assailants. Some of the men belonging to the fort entered from without; others, thinking the attempt too hazardous, or else that it was proper to alarm their neighbours, repaired to Lexington and other places with the news, and a call for help. To render this, the utmost alacrity was everywhere shown. Some volunteers from Lexington, with great speed and gallantry, threw themselves into the place that evening; the next day it was reinforced by detachments from Boone's and Strode's Stations, ten or twelve miles distant. These parties rode through a lane, which led to the place besieged, and were fired on by the Indians, lying behind the fences, without injury.

The Indians had made their camps on both sides of the creek, then in wood above the station, and so near the spring as to render it useless to the garrison, without incurring the most imminent danger in attempting to get the water by day, or even by night, notwithstanding which it was however obtained. The place was closely invested for the two succeeding days, during which time the Indians kept up almost a constant fire, on the one side or the other, from fences, trees, or stumps, whereby they killed four men and wounded three others. They made several attempts to fire the cabins, and for that purpose shot lighted arrows on the roofs, and even approached the walls with torches; but from these they were repulsed, nor had their ignited arrows the desired effect. The



besiegers killed a great number of cattle, some of which they eat, and after killing some, they took away other horses. But having exposed themselves considerably in their various attempts, some of which were bold, and after suffering, as it was believed, the loss of about thirty warriors killed, and many others wounded, they raised the siege the morning of the fourth day. This experiment had proved that they were not likely to take the place in any short time, while they could but apprehend, that if they continued before it, the country would be raised in arms and brought upon their backs. They therefore, after remaining the third night in their camp, about sunrise the next morning left their fires burning, some bits of meat on their roasting sticks, and deliberately took the road made by buffaloes and hunters to the lower Blue Licks, by the way of Ruddle's Station, for the purpose, as it was surmised, of alleviating their present mortification, by viewing in ruins the scene of former triumph. For it was neither the shortest, plainest, nor smoothest way to the Licks. That they could not expect and did not desire to conceal their route, will appear in the sequel.

In the mean time, however, Colonel John Todd, who resided in Lexington, despatched intelligence to Lieutenant Colonel Trigg, living at Harrodsburgh, of the attack on Bryant's Station, leaving it to the latter to give the intelligence to his superior, Colonel Benjamin Logan. Neither Colonel Trigg nor Colonel Boone, who had also been called on, lost any time in collecting the men in their respective neighbourhoods, but with singular promptitude, on the 18th of the month, but after the Indians had left the ground, repaired to Bryant's Station under the command of Todd, as the superior officer from Lexington, where they had rendezvoused their men under their appropriate officers. The majors were M'Gary and Harland, from near Harrodsburgh, and Levi Todd of Lexington.

The enemy having retreated, a council was held in which it was promptly decided to pursue the Indians, without waiting for the arrival of Colonel Logan, who was known to be collecting a strong party, and to be expected on the ground in a few days; but when arrived, would as the superior officer have the command. A circumstance, which it was suspected, both Todd

and Trigg desired to avoid—thinking themselves equal to the command and sanguine of success—as they were emulous of praise, and possessed an idea of mental superiority.

In consequence of the determination of the council, the march was immediately ordered and forthwith commenced, under the command of Colonel Todd, and next to him, Colonel Trigg, on the route of the enemy: whose numbers, as yet, though considerable, were not known. They had not proceeded very far, before Boone and some others, experienced in the manners of the Indians, discovered signs of ostentation and of tardiness on their trail, indicative of their willingness to be pursued, and calculated to point out their route, while apparent caution had been taken to conceal their numbers. The one was effected by chopping the trees on the way, the other by treading in single file a narrow tract; contracting their camp, and using but few fires, where they stopped to eat. No Indian was seen, although it was apparent they were at no great distance in advance, until the pursuers reached the southern bank of Licking at the Licks. The van of the party then discovered a few of them on the opposite side of the river, traversing the hill side, and who, apparently without alarm and leisurely, retired over the hill from their sight. A halt was called, the principal officers being assembled, the information then given, and the question asked: "What shall be done? Whether is it best immediately to cross the river and continue the march, or stand here until the country round about can be reconnoitred by proper parties, and measures ultimately taken according to circumstances, either to attack if the enemy were near, or wait the arrival of Colonel Logan?"

Neither of the superior officers were much skilled in the manner or custom of Indian warfare; they were however willing to be informed, and had actually called upon Colonel Boone for his opinion of the case, and how they should act. This he was detailing with his usual candour and circumspection, by adverting to his own observations on the different appearances on the road, and the fact of the Indians showing themselves on the next hill. As to the number of the enemy, his conjectures varied from three to five hundred, owing to the ambiguous nature of the sign they had made on the road. From the care-

less manner in which the Indians who had been seen conducted themselves, he was of the opinion that the main body was near and prepared for action. He was particularly well acquainted with the situation of the ground about the Licks, and the manner in which the river winds into an irregular ellipsis, embracing the great buffalo road and ridge from the Licks, towards Limestone, as its longest line of bisection, and which is terminated by two ravines heading near together a mile from the Licks, and extending in opposite directions to the river. He had suggested the probability of the Indians having here formed an ambuscade, the advantages to them and the disadvantages to the party of Colonels Todd and Trigg, should this conjecture be realized and the march continued. He proposed that the party should divide; the one half march up Licking on the south side to the mouth of a small creek, now called Elk creek, and there crossing over, proceed on the ridge to the outside of the ravines, while the other half should advance to the high ground on the north of the Licks, and place itself in a situation to co-operate on the enemy in case of attack. He showed that the whole advantage of position might be thus turned against the enemy. And he insisted, as the very least that should be done, if his superiors were determined not to wait for Colonel Logan, was to have the country explored round about, before they marched the main body over the river; for they were yet ignorant whether the Indians had crossed or not; and in either event, if they were near, they meant to take advantage of the measure, which their superiority of number would render decisive. Already had Boone nearly gained the entire approbation of his superiors and of those who heard his counsel—for in fact they only hesitated between his propositions—when Major M'Gary, impatient of delay, rushed his horse forward to the water's edge, and raised the war whoop, next cried out with a loud voice: "Those who are not cowards, follow me, I will show them where the Indians are," spurred his horse into the river. One followed and then another in quick succession, until a motion and agitation was communicated to the whole; the council was broken up; the officers who might have been otherwise inclined were forced along in the crowd and tumult; nothing had been concerted; no distinct



orders were given, or if given not observed; they crossed the river and pursued the road, as the general guide kept by M'Gary in front. On either side of which parties flanked off, as the unevenness and irregularity of the ground would permit; all moving forward with the utmost disorder and precipitation over a surface covered with rocks, laid bare by the trampling of the buffalo and the washing of the rains, for ages past. When the van approached the ridge next within the ravines, which have been mentioned, to the left an Indian or two were observed on it at a distance; these appeared to retreat along the ridge, which led to the point between the ravine and river. One moment of cool reflection might have suggested the idea of decoy, and the next would have shown the propriety of caution. It appears, however, that the determination to find the enemy so engrossed the party, that prudence was, like fear, completely excluded. The party therefore pressed on toward the end of the ridge, where it was covered by a forest of oak trees of middling size, and the ravines with small saplings or brush wood, while the whole extent of the ellipsis had been stripped of all herbage by the herds of buffalo, which were in the habit of resorting to the Licks. Some scattering trees here and there appeared on a pavement of rock, as rude as it was singular, throughout the whole extent of the field. Both Todd and Trigg had deviated from the main road, and, probably with a view of taking their position on the right of the troops, were far from the front, which moved rapidly and rather obliquely, headed by M'Gary, Harland, and M'Bride, and followed by the rest without regular order; the whole, with a few exceptions, being armed with rifles and mounted on horses, formed a broken line corresponding with the ridge and nearly parallel to the ravines, which were filled with Indians.

No sooner had M'Gary entered the forest, than he discovered the enemy waiting for him; here the action immediately began, and soon became warm and bloody; on either side the rifle was pointed, on either side the warrior fell. It was discovered, that the ravines extending the whole length of the line of Kentuckians had concealed the savages who fired, and rushed upon their foes, not half their equal in point of numbers. Todd and Trigg, who were on the right when the





BATTLE OF THE BLUE LICKS.



line fronted the ravines, were thrown into the rear when its flank was changed, and it moved to the left when the battle began. Already had those fallen; already were the Indians turning the right or rear of this line; already had twenty or more of those brave men who first engaged breathed their last; already was the line everywhere assailed, when a retreat commenced under the uplifted tomahawk. At the beginning of the battle many of the men dismounted, while others did not; in the retreat, some recovered their horses, others fled on foot, over the rocky field already described, which was environed by high and rugged cliffs on either hand, until it declined into a flat, as it approached the salt spring. The ford was narrow, and the water, though shallow on it, was deep, both above and below. Some of the fugitives were overtaken on the way to the river, and fell beneath the stroke of the Indian spear or hatchet, but at the water was a greater havoc—some were slain in the water, some on either shore. Here it was, that a singular phenomenon was exhibited: a man by the name of Netherland, well mounted and among the foremost in the flight, having crossing Licking and gained the farthest bank, thinking himself out of danger, checks his horse, takes a back view, sees the savages preparing to rush into the water, and there to extinguish the remains of many lives, almost exhausted by wounds and the fatigue of flight, cries out with a shrill and commanding voice to those who had made the shore next to him: "Halt! fire on the Indians, and protect the men in the river!" The call had the desired effect on ten or a dozen, who immediately halt, fire on the enemy and check their pursuit, probably by so doing as many lives were saved. This resistance, however, proves but momentary; the Indians gather rapidly on the shore; numbers of them are seen crossing the river, and personal safety suggests a speedy flight.

The fugitives were pursued for miles; nor did they find a place of safety short of Bryant's Station, thirty-six miles from the scene of action. Here, many of those on horseback arrived within six, and others on foot within eight hours, after the battle.

Never had Kentucky experienced so fatal a blow as that at the Blue Licks; of the one hundred and sixty-six brave men,

who repaired to the assistance of Bryant's station, one half, or more, were from Harrodsburgh, and its vicinity. The whole loss on the side of Kentucky, was sixty killed, and seven made prisoners. Of the wounded, but few escaped. The Indians, it was said, lost sixty-four killed, besides a number wounded. Such were the reports from their towns afterwards; and that they massacred four of their prisoners to make the loss equal. The equal loss is doubted.

In the midst of these disastrous events, there was yet one consolation; the party with Colonel Logan was considerable, in full march, and unbroken, as undismayed. The van of Logan's command had passed Bryant's Station, on its way to the Blue Licks, when it was met by the fugitives from the field of recent battle; it then returned to Bryant's, where the colonel halted, on receipt of the intelligence, until the rear came up, which was one day, and then, late in the evening, resumed his march, which was continued the greater part of the night, and again, at sunrise next morning, for the Licks; to engage the enemy if there, and if not, to bury the dead. About noon, the *battle ground* was approached, and the dead bodies seen strewed along the field. Some were mangled by savages, some by vultures, some by wild beasts; they were swollen, and rendered quite yellow, by the scorching rays of the sun, upon their naked skins. Each man who had lost a particular friend, or relative, sought for him, that if found, he might receive the solemn rites of burial; if not found, that the hope of his being a prisoner, and that he would return at some future day, might be indulged, to cheer the melancholy impression of the scene. But even this imperfect consolation was denied; for none knew the remains of his friend, when found, so much were the visages of the dead disfigured. No Indian carcase was seen: nor was it known how the enemy had disposed of their killed, for no grave appeared; nor many trails of blood.

The party with Logan, having performed the last solemn duties of the field, and no *fresh sign* of the Indians being seen, it was marched back to Bryant's, and dismissed, to the number of four hundred and fifty men. A force, which it is believed, under the direction of Logan, had it come up before the battle,

or been waited for by Colonel Todd and his party, would have certainly been successful.

The Indian army consisting, as has been observed, of detachments from different nations, determined, after so great a victory, to return home with the scalps. Those from the north, being the greater portion, gave no further molestation; but the western bands, taking their route through the settlements in Jefferson county, could not forego the temptation which was offered them of increasing their number of scalps and prisoners. Their sign was however seen, before they struck the intended blow. Intelligence of which being promptly conveyed to Colonel Floyd, he forthwith ordered out a party of militia, to scour the country on Salt river, where the savages were suspected to be lurking. Some of this party were from Kincheloe's Station, consisting of six or seven families on Simpson's creek. In their absence, no accident occurred; but on the first of September, the party finding no Indians, dispersed, and those belonging to Kincheloe's returned home in the evening. Thinking all well, and being much fatigued, they resigned themselves and families to sleep, when in the night the enemy fell upon the place by surprise, and were in the houses before the people of them were awake. Thus circumstanced, they killed several persons, men, women, or children, and were proceeding to destroy or capture the rest, when the darkness of the night favoured the escape of a few.

General Clarke, then resident at the falls of Ohio, impressed with the liveliest feelings of sympathy for the distress of the sufferers, and convinced of the necessity of rousing the country from its anguish and despondence, proposed an expedition against the Indians, and invited the superior officers to meet him in council. This invitation was complied with, and the means of calling out the men, and of furnishing them, concerted. A draft was to take place where there was a deficiency of volunteers, and impressments of horses and other supplies might be resorted to, where voluntary contributions failed. Much reliance was nevertheless had on the patriotism and personal exertions of the people generally. Nor was this confidence of the officers in the least disappointed. The intended expedition being announced, and the adopted regulations pro-



claimed, with a call for assistance, soon was seen the utmost activity of preparation. Both officers and men volunteered; and beeves, packhorses, and other supplies offered by those who could not leave their home. But in every case where property was offered or impressed, it was valued, and a certificate given to the former owner, as evidence of his claim to future compensation, should the government make provision for payment, which at the time was uncertain.

Bryant's Station was appointed the place of rendezvous for the upper part of the country, the falls of Ohio for the lower, and the mouth of Licking for the point of union. There, General Clarke was to take the command: previous to which, the two divisions were commanded by Logan and Floyd respectively. In the last of September, an army of about one thousand mounted militia, armed with rifles, assembled on the bank of the Ohio, and was put in motion by the general for the Indian towns on the Miami and Scioto.

This expedition was conducted with the despatch essential to the quality and equipments of the troops, and for which the commander-in-chief had on former occasions obtained celebrity. He had proceeded without being discovered into the neighbourhood of the first town, and within half a mile of a camp of the rear of the party that had been in Kentucky, when a straggler discovered his approach, and gave the alarm of "a mighty army on its march." The camp was immediately evacuated with precipitation, and the frightful intelligence being spread through the different villages, everywhere produced similar effects, dismay and flight. Empty cabins and deserted fields were only to be found, or here and there a scouting party of savages were seen, who sometimes fired, sometimes not, but always fled.

This scene was repeated in the course of a march of several days through the different Chilicothes, Pickawa, and Willstown. These were severally reduced to ashes, and the fields of corn entirely cut up and destroyed, leaving only ruin and desolation in the country. Among the few prisoners taken—seven in all—there was an old man of distinction in his tribe, who was murdered by Major M'Gary; and although highly disapproved by the general, it was not deemed prudent to cause the subject

to be investigated. There were two other Indians killed, according to the laws of war, which place running and fighting upon an equal footing of offence. The loss of two men killed by the enemy, and an equal number by accident, closes the account of losses on this excursion. And although its success was but a scanty compensation for the defeats of the year, it had nevertheless the good effect of proving both to the Indians and the people of Kentucky that the latter were superior, and that there was no danger of the former ever overrunning the country.

From this time, no formidable party of Indians ever invaded Kentucky, nor was the country for the residue of the year molested by their scouts or marauders. Consequences attributable to the recent expedition, the progress of negotiations for a general peace, the conviction of inadequate force, and the season of the year, for the winter was near, and all the other considerations pressed upon them.

In the mean time, the Moravian Indians were treated with unparalleled barbarity. In the spring of 1782, some of them, who had been almost starved to death during the winter, returned to their old places of abode, to gather what they could of the remainder of their property. About the time they returned for that purpose, parties of Wyandots came down upon the settlements, and slew many. This excited the frontier-men, and believing a connexion to exist between the acts of the Wyandots and the late movement of the Moravians, it was determined to attack and exterminate the latter, or at least to waste their lands and destroy their towns. Eighty or ninety men met for the purpose of effecting the objects just named, and marched in silence and swiftness upon the devoted villages. They reached them; by threats and lies got hold of the gleaners scattered among them, and bound their prisoners, while they deliberated upon their fate. Williamson, the commander of the party, put the question: Shall these men, women, and children be taken to Pittsburgh, or be killed? Of the eighty or ninety men present, sixteen or eighteen only were for granting their lives; and the prisoners were told to prepare for death. They prepared for death, and soon were dead; slaughtered, some say in one way, and some in another;

but thus much is certain, that eighty or ninety American men murdered, in cold blood, about forty men, twenty women, and thirty-four children,—all defenceless and innocent fellow Christians.

It was in March of 1782, that this great murder was committed. And as the tiger, having once tasted blood, longs for blood, so it was with the frontier-men; and another expedition was at once organized, to make a dash at the towns of the Moravian Delawares and Wyandots upon the Sandusky. No Indian was to be spared; friend or foe, every red man was to die. The commander of the expedition was Colonel William Crawford, Washington's old agent in the West. He did not want to go, but found it could not be avoided. The troops, numbering nearly five hundred men, marched in June to the Sandusky uninterrupted. There they found the towns deserted, and the savages on the alert. A battle ensued, and the whites were forced to retreat. In their retreat many left the main body; and nearly all who did so perished. Crawford was captured and burned at the stake, after being subjected to horrible tortures.

The peace between Great Britain and the United States, concluded in 1783, did not lead at once to the cessation of Indian hostilities. The British government determined not to surrender the posts in the northwestern territory until certain claims were adjusted, and there is every reason to believe that British agents were actively employed among the Indians, to render them inimical to the States. Still, the commissioners of the west contrived to get the assent of a number of the tribes to advantageous treaties. The indefinite claim of the Six Nations to the northwestern territory was extinguished by a treaty concluded at Fort Stanwix on the 22d of October, 1783. Arthur Lee, Richard Butler, and Colonel Clark, on the 21st of January, 1785, held a conference with the Wyandots, Delawares, Chippeways, and Ottawas, at Fort M'Intosh, and obtained the grant of a large portion of the northwestern territory, for the settlement of which a company was immediately formed in New England. On the 31st of January, 1786, another treaty was concluded at the mouth of the Miami, between Clark, Butler, and Parsons, and representatives of the



Delawares, Wyandots, and Shawnees. The Wabash Indians refused to attend this council, and evinced a growing hostility. The treaty was only brought to an advantageous conclusion by the politic bearing of Clarke, who, by showing the red men that he was indifferent whether they accepted peace or war, daunted them, and was enabled to dictate terms. Still, in spite of treaties, the Indians continued to make predatory incursions along the frontier.

Upon the 16th of May the Governor of Virginia was forced to write upon the subject to Congress, which at once sent two companies down the Ohio to the Falls, and upon the 30th of June authorized the raising of militia in Kentucky, and the invasion of the country of the mischief-makers, under the command of the leading United States officer. We do not learn that it was nominally under this resolution that General Clarke's expedition of the ensuing fall was undertaken; but at any rate this act on the part of Congress justified offensive measures on the part of the Kentuckians when they became necessary; and it being thought necessary to act upon the Wabash before winter, a body of a thousand men or more gathered at the Falls, and marched thence towards Vincennes, which place they reached some time in September, 1786. Here the army remained inactive during nine days, waiting the arrival of their provisions and ammunition, which had been sent down to the mouth of the Wabash in boats, and were delayed by the low water. This stay, so different from Clarke's old mode of proceeding, was in opposition to his advice, and proved fatal to the expedition. The soldiers became restive, and their confidence in the General being destroyed, by discovering the fact that his clear mind was too commonly confused and darkened by the influence of ardent spirits, they at last refused obedience; a body of three hundred turned their faces homeward, and the rest soon followed in their track. Another expedition conducted by Colonel Logan against the Shawnees, who had resumed hostilities, terminated very differently from that under the conqueror of Illinois; their towns were burned and their crops wasted.

Various attempts were now made to bring the Indians to a definitive treaty of peace, in order to secure the Ohio settlers from



GENERAL ST. CLAIR.

hostile incursions. These efforts were not successful, until January, 1789, when a council was held at Fort Harmar, on the Ohio, opposite the mouth of the Muskingum. In the summer of the same year, Marietta, the first settlement in Ohio, was founded under cheering auspices, and other settlements were made soon afterwards. The Indians, however, respected no treaties, and continued their depredations along the frontier. The Wabash tribes threatened to destroy all settlements made north of the Ohio, and west of Pittsburgh. Fort Washington was begun in June of this year, on the site of Cincinnati. The garrison consisted of 140 men, under the command of Major Doughty. Upon the 29th of December, General Harmar, with three hundred additional troops, arrived. General St. Clair was appointed Governor of the territory, north of the Ohio. Soon after, news arrived that the Wabash Indians and other tribes, protesting against the treaty of Fort Harmar as made by unauthorized persons, had taken up arms and had burned an American.

St. Clair and Harmar then concerted a plan for a campaign into the Indian country. Authorized by acts of Congress, St. Clair called upon Virginia for 1000, and upon Pennsylvania for 500 militia. Of these, 300 were to meet at Fort Steuben, to

aid the troops from Fort Knox against the Weas and Kickapoos, of the Wabash; 700 were to gather at Fort Washington, and 500 just below Wheeling; the two latter bodies being intended to march with the regulars from Fort Washington under General Harmar, against the towns at the junction of the St. Mary and the St. Joseph. The Kentucky militia began to come in at Fort Washington about the middle of September, 1790. They were badly equipped, and averse to subordination and camp discipline. On the 20th of September, the various troops designed for the expedition rendezvoused at Fort Washington, and on the following day commenced their march to the Miami villages. The country was rough, swampy, and in many places almost impassable, so that seventeen days were consumed before the main body could come within striking distance of the enemy. In the mean time, the great scarcity of provisions rendered it necessary for the general to sweep the forest with numerous small detachments, and as the woods swarmed with roving bands of Indians, most of these parties were cut off.

At length, the main body, considerably reduced by this petty warfare, came within a few miles of their towns. Here the general ordered Captain Armstrong, at the head of thirty regulars, and Colonel Hardin of Kentucky, with one hundred and fifty militia, to advance and reconnoitre. In the execution of this order they suddenly found themselves in the presence of a superior number of Indians, who suddenly arose from the bushes and opened a heavy fire upon them. The militia instantly gave way, while the regulars, accustomed to more orderly movements, attempted a regular retreat. The enemy rushed upon them tomahawk in hand, and completely surrounded them. The regulars attempted to open a passage with the bayonet, but in vain; they were all destroyed, with the exception of their captain and one lieutenant.

Captain Armstrong was remarkably stout and active, and succeeded in breaking through the enemy's line, although not without receiving several severe wounds. Finding himself hard pressed, he plunged into a deep and miry swamp, where he lay concealed during the whole night within two hundred yards of the Indian camp, and witnessed the dances and joyous



festivity with which they celebrated their victory. The lieutenant (Haitshorn), escaped by accidentally stumbling over a log, and falling into a pit, where he lay concealed by the rank grass which grew around him. The loss of the militia was very trifling. Notwithstanding this severe check, Harmar advanced with the main body upon their villages, which he found deserted and in flames, the Indians having fired them with their own hands. Here he found several hundred acres of corn, which was completely destroyed. He then advanced upon the adjoining villages, which he found deserted and burned as the first had been. Having destroyed all the corn which he found, the army commenced its retreat from the Indian country, supposing the enemy sufficiently intimidated.

After marching about ten miles on the homeward route, General Harmar received information which induced him to suppose that a body of Indians had returned and taken possession of the village which he had just left. He detached, therefore, eighty regular troops under the orders of Major Wyllys, and nearly the whole of his militia under Colonel Hardin, with orders to return to the village and destroy such of the enemy as presented themselves. The detachment accordingly counter-marched and proceeded with all possible despatch to the appointed spot, fearful only that the enemy might hear of their movement and escape before they could come up. The militia in loose order took the advance; the regulars moving in a hollow square brought up the rear. Upon the plain in front of the town, a number of Indians were seen, between whom and the militia a sharp action commenced. After a few rounds, with considerable effect upon both sides, the savages fled in disorder, and were eagerly and impetuously pursued by the militia, who in the ardour of the chase were drawn into the woods to a considerable distance from the regulars.

Suddenly from the opposite quarter several hundred Indians appeared, rushing with loud yells upon the unsupported regulars. Major Wyllys, who was a brave and experienced officer, formed his men in a square, and endeavoured to gain a more favourable spot of ground, but was prevented by the desperate impetuosity with which the enemy assailed him. Unchecked by the murderous fire which was poured upon them

from the different sides of the square, they rushed in masses up to the points of the bayonets, hurled their tomahawks with fatal accuracy, and putting aside the bayonets with their hands, or clogging them with their bodies, they were quickly mingled with the troops, and handled their long knives with destructive effect. In two minutes the bloody struggle was over. Major Wylls fell, together with seventy-three privates and one lieutenant. One captain, one ensign, and seven privates, three of whom were wounded, were the sole survivors of this short but desperate encounter.

The Indian loss was nearly equal, as they sustained several heavy fires which the closeness of their masses rendered very destructive, and as they rushed upon the bayonets of the troops with the most astonishing disregard to their own safety. Their object was to overwhelm the regulars before the militia could return to their support, and it was as boldly executed as it had been finely conceived. In a short time the militia returned from the pursuit of the flying party which had decoyed them to a distance; but it was now too late to retrieve the fortune of the day. After some sharp skirmishing, they effected their retreat to the main body, with the loss of one hundred and eight killed and twenty-eight wounded. This dreadful slaughter so reduced the strength and spirits of Harmar's army, that he was happy in being permitted to retreat unmolested, having totally failed in accomplishing the objects of the expedition, and by obstinately persevering in the ruinous plan of acting in detachments, having thrown away the lives of more than half of his regular force. This abortive expedition served only to encourage the enemy, and to give additional rancour to their incursions.

The inhabitants of Kentucky now petitioned Congress for permission to fight the Indians in their own way, and upon the 9th of March, 1791, orders were issued to Brigadier General Scott, authorizing him, in conjunction with Harry Innis, John Brown, Benjamin Logan, and Isaac Shelby, to organize an expedition of mounted volunteers against the nations upon the Wabash. On the 23d of May, the detachment took up its line of march from the Ohio. Colonel John Hardin, who burned to retrieve his fame, led the van and directed the scouts



SHELBY.

and rangers. On the 1st of June, the towns of the enemy were discovered. We give General Scott's account of the movements that followed.

"I immediately detached Colonel John Hardin," says he, "with sixty mounted infantry, and a troop of light-horse under Captain M'Coy, to attack the villages to the left, and moved on briskly with my main body in order of battle, towards the town, the smoke of which was discernible. My guides were deceived with respect to the situation of the town: for, instead of standing at the edge of the plain through which I marched, I found it on the low ground bordering on the Wabash: on turning the point of woods, one house presented in my front. Captain Price was ordered to assault that with forty men. He executed the command with great gallantry, and killed two warriors.

"When I gained the summit of the eminence which overlooks the villages on the banks of the Wabash, I discovered the enemy in great confusion, endeavouring to make their escape over the river in canoes. I instantly ordered Lieutenant Colonel-commandant Wilkinson to rush forward with the first battalion. The order was executed with promptitude, and this detachment gained the bank of the river just as the rear



of the enemy had embarked ; and, regardless of a brisk fire kept up from a Kickapoo town on the opposite bank, they in a few minutes, by a well directed fire from their rifles, destroyed all the savages with which five canoes were crowded. To my great mortification the Wabash was many feet beyond fording at this place : I therefore detached Colonel Wilkinson to a ford two miles above, which my guides informed me was more practicable. Wilkinson moved the first battalion up to the fording place, found the river impassable, and returned to Ouiatenon.

“The enemy still kept possession of the Kickapoo town: I determined to dislodge them; and for that purpose ordered Captain King’s and Logsdon’s companies to march down the river below the town, and cross, under the conduct of Major Barboe. Several of the men swam the river, and others passed in a small canoe. This movement was unobserved; and my men had taken post on the bank before they were discovered by the enemy, who immediately abandoned the village. About this time word was brought to me that Colonel Hardin was encumbered with prisoners, and had discovered a stronger village further to my left than those I had observed, which he was proceeding to attack. I immediately detached Captain Brown, with his company, to support the Colonel: but the distance being six miles, before the Captain arrived the business was done, and Colonel Hardin joined me a little before sunset, having killed six warriors, and taken fifty-two prisoners. Captain Bull, the warrior who discovered me in the morning, had gained the main town, and given the alarm, a short time before me; but the villages to my left were uninformed of my approach, and had no retreat.

“The next morning I determined to detach my Lieutenant Colonel-commandant, with five hundred men, to destroy the important town of Keth-tip-e-ca-nunk, eighteen miles from my camp, on the west side of the Wabash; but on examination, I discovered my men and horses to be so crippled and worn down by a long laborious march, and the active exertions of the preceding day, that three hundred and sixty men only could be found in a capacity to undertake the enterprise, and they prepared to march on foot. Colonel

Wilkinson marched with this detachment at half after five in the evening, and returned to my camp the next day at one o'clock, having marched thirty-six miles in twelve hours, and destroyed the most important settlement of the enemy in that quarter of the federal territory.

"Many of the inhabitants of the village (Ouiatenon) were French, and lived in a state of civilization. By the books, letters, and other documents, found there, it is evident that place was in close connexion with, and dependent on, Detroit. A large quantity of corn, a variety of household goods, peltry, and other articles were burned with this village, which consisted of about seventy houses, many of them well finished."

As the expedition under Scott, although successful, had not reached the higher towns upon the Wabash, Governor St. Clair thought it best to send another (the Secretary of War having authorized such a step), against the villages on Eel river; and Wilkinson was appointed to command. He marched from near Fort Washington, upon the first of August, and on the 7th reached the Wabash just above the mouth of the river he was in search of. While reconnoitring, however, in the hope of surprising the natives, word was brought him that they were alarmed and flying; a general charge was instantly ordered.

"The men," says Wilkinson, "forcing their way over every obstacle, plunged through the river with vast intrepidity. The enemy was unable to make the smallest resistance. Six warriors, and (in the hurry and confusion of the charge) two squaws and a child, were killed, thirty-four prisoners were taken, and an unfortunate captive released, with the loss of two men killed and one wounded.

"I found this town scattered along Eel river for full three miles, on an uneven, scrubby oak barren, intersected alternately by bogs almost impassable, and impervious thickets of plum, hazle, and black jacks. Notwithstanding these difficulties, if I may credit the report of the prisoners, very few who were in town escaped. Expecting a second expedition, their goods were generally packed up and buried. Sixty warriors had crossed the Wabash to watch the paths leading from the Ohio. The head chief, with all the prisoners, and a number of families,

were out digging a root which they substitute in the place of the potato; and about one hour before my arrival, all the warriors, except eight, had mounted their horses, and rode up the river to a French store to purchase ammunition. This ammunition had arrived from the Miami village that very day, and the squaws informed me was stored about two miles from the town. I detached Major Caldwell in quest of it; but he failed to make any discovery, although he scoured the country for seven or eight miles up the river.

"I encamped in the town that night, and the next morning I cut up the corn, scarcely in the milk, burnt the cabins, mounted the young warriors, squaws, and children, in the best manner in my power, and leaving two infirm squaws and a child, with a short talk, I commenced my march for the Kickapoo town in the prairie."

The Kickapoo prairie metropolis was not reached; the horses were too sore, and the bogs too deep; but various cornfields were destroyed, "and a respectable" Kickapoo town given to the flames; for which the General was duly thanked by his country.

In the mean time, preparations were making for an expedition on a greater scale, under the command of General St. Clair. Cincinnati, as usual, was the place of rendezvous. In September, 1791, an army was assembled at that place, greatly superior, in numbers, officers, and equipments, to any which had yet appeared in the west. The regular force was composed of three complete regiments of infantry, two companies of artillery, and one of cavalry. The militia who joined St. Clair at Fort Washington, amounted to upwards of six hundred men, most of whom had long been accustomed to Indian warfare. The General commenced his march from Cincinnati on the 17th of September, and following the route of Harmar, arrived at Fort Jefferson without material loss, although not without having sustained much inconvenience from scarcity of provisions. The Kentucky rangers, amounting to upwards of two hundred men, had encountered several small parties of Indians, but no serious affair had as yet taken place. Shortly after leaving Fort Jefferson, one of the militia regiments, with their usual disregard to discipline, determined that it was inexpedient



to proceed farther, and detaching themselves from the main body, returned rapidly to the fort on their way home. This ill-timed mutiny not only discouraged the remainder, but compelled the General to detach the first regiment in pursuit of them, if not to bring them back, at least to prevent them from injuring the stores, collected at the fort for the use of the army. With the remainder of the troops, amounting in all to about twelve hundred men, he continued his march to the great Miami villages.

On the evening of the 3d of November, he encamped upon a very commanding piece of ground, upon the bank of one of the tributaries of the Wabash, where he determined to throw up some slight works for the purpose of protecting their knapsacks and baggage, having to move upon the Miami villages, supposed to be within twelve miles, as soon as the first regiment should rejoin them. The remainder of the evening was employed in concerting the plan of the proposed work with Major Ferguson of the engineers, and when the centries were posted at night, everything was as quiet as could have been desired. The troops were encamped in two lines, with an interval of seventy yards between them, which was all that the nature of the ground would permit. The battalions of Majors Butler, Clarke, and Patterson, composed the front line, the whole under the orders of Major-General Butler, an officer of high and merited reputation. The front of the line was covered by a creek, its right flank by the river, and its left by a strong corps of infantry. The second line was composed of the battalions of Majors Gaither and Bedinger, and the second regiment under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Darke. This line, like the other, was secured upon one flank by the river, and upon the other by the cavalry and pickets. The night passed away without alarm. The sentinels were vigilant, and the officers upon the alert.

A few hours before day, St. Clair caused the reveille to be beaten, and the troops to be paraded under arms, under the expectation that an attack would probably be made. In this situation, they continued until daylight, when they were dismissed to their tents. Some were endeavouring to snatch a few minutes' sleep, others were preparing for the expected

march, when suddenly the report of a rifle was heard from the militia a few hundred yards in front, which was quickly followed by a sharp irregular volley in the same direction. The drums instantly beat to arms, the officers flew in every direction, and in two minutes the troops were formed in order of battle. Presently the militia rushed into the camp, in the utmost disorder, closely pursued by swarms of Indians, who, in many places, were mingled with them, and were cutting them down with their tomahawks.

Major Butler's battalion received the first shock, and was thrown into disorder by the tumultuous flight of the militia, who, in their eagerness to escape, bore down everything before them. Here Major-General Butler had stationed himself, and here St. Clair directed his attention, in order to remedy the confusion which began to spread rapidly through the whole line. The Indians pressed forward with great audacity, and many of them were mingled with the troops, before their progress could be checked. Major-General Butler was wounded at the first fire, and before his wound could be dressed, an Indian who had penetrated the ranks of the regiment, ran up to the spot where he lay, and tomahawked him before his attendants could interpose. The desperate savage was instantly killed. By great exertions, Butler's battalion was restored to order, and the heavy and sustained fire of the first line compelled the enemy to pause and shelter themselves.

This interval, however, endured but for a moment. An invisible but tremendous fire quickly opened upon the whole front of the encampment, which rapidly extended to the rear, and encompassed the troops on both sides. St. Clair, who at that time was worn down by a fever, and unable to mount his horse, nevertheless, as is universally admitted, exerted himself with a courage and presence of mind worthy of a better fate. He instantly directed his litter to the right of the rear line, where the great weight of fire fell, and where the slaughter, particularly of the officers, was terrible. Here Darke commanded, an officer who had been trained to hard service, during the revolutionary war, and who was now gallantly exerting himself to check the consternation which was evidently beginning to prevail. St. Clair ordered him to make a rapid

charge with the bayonet, and rouse the enemy from their covert.

The order was instantly obeyed, and, at first, apparently with great effect. Swarms of dusky bodies arose from the high grass, and fled before the regiment with every mark of consternation; but as the troops were unable to overtake them, they quickly recovered their courage, and kept up so fatal a retreating fire, that the exhausted regulars were compelled, in their turn, to give way. This charge, however, relieved that particular point for some time; but the weight of the fire was transferred to the centre of the first line, where it threatened to annihilate everything within its range. There, in turn, the unfortunate General was borne by his attendants, and ordered a second appeal to the bayonet. This second charge was made with the same impetuosity as at first, and with the same momentary success. But the attack was instantly shifted to another point, where the same charge was made and the same result followed. The Indians would retire before them, still keeping up a most fatal fire, and the continentals were uniformly compelled to retire in turn. St. Clair brought up the artillery in order to sweep the bushes with grape, but the horses and artillerymen were destroyed by the terrible fire of the enemy, before any effect could be produced. They were instantly manned afresh from the infantry, and again swept of defenders.

The slaughter had now become prodigious. Four-fifths of the officers and one-half of the men were either killed or wounded. The ground was covered with bodies, and the little ravine which led to the river was running with blood. The fire of the enemy had not in the least slackened, and the troops were falling in heaps before it in every part of the camp. To have attempted to maintain his position longer, could only have led to the total destruction of his force, without the possibility of annoying the enemy, who never showed themselves, unless when charged, and whose numbers (to judge from the weight and extent of the fire) must have greatly exceeded his own. The men were evidently much disheartened, but the officers, who were chiefly veterans of the revolution, still maintained a firm countenance, and exerted themselves with un-



availing heroism to the last. Under these circumstances, St. Clair determined to save the lives of the survivors if possible, and for that purpose collected the remnants of several battalions into one corps, at the head of which he ordered Lieutenant Colonel Darke to make an impetuous charge upon the enemy, in order to open a passage for the remainder of the army. Darke executed his orders with great spirit, and drove the Indians before him to the distance of a quarter of a mile. The remainder of the army instantly rushed through the opening, in order to gain the road; Major Clarke, with the remnant of his battalion, bringing up the rear, and endeavouring to keep the Indians in check.

The retreat soon degenerated into a total rout. Officers who strove to arrest the panic, only sacrificed themselves. Clarke, the leader of the rear guard, soon fell in this dangerous service, and his corps were totally disorganized. Officers and soldiers were now mingled without the slightest regard to discipline, and "devil take the hindmost," was the order of the day. The pursuit, at first, was keen; but the temptation afforded by the plunder of the camp soon brought them back, and the wearied, wounded, and disheartened fugitives were permitted to retire from the field unmolested. The rout continued as far as Fort Jefferson, twenty-nine miles from the scene of action. The action lasted more than three hours, during the whole of which time the fire was heavy and incessant.

The loss, in proportion to the number engaged, was enormous, and is unparalleled, except in the affair of Braddock. Sixty-eight officers were killed upon the spot, and twenty-eight wounded. Out of nine hundred privates who went into action, five hundred and fifty were left dead upon the field, and many of the survivors were wounded. General St. Clair was untouched, although eight balls passed through his hat and clothes, and several horses were killed under him. The Indian loss was reported by themselves at fifty-eight killed and wounded, which was probably not underrated, as they were never visible after the first attack, until charged with the bayonet. At Fort Jefferson, the fugitives were joined by the first regiment, who, as noticed above, had been detached in pursuit of the deserters. Here a council of war was called,

which terminated in the unanimous opinion, that the junction with the first regiment did not justify an attempt upon the enemy in the present condition of affairs, and that the army should return to Fort Washington without delay. This was accordingly done, and thus closed the second campaign against the Indians.

The unfortunate General was, as usual, assailed from one end of the country to the other, but particularly in Kentucky, with one loud and merciless outcry of abuse, and even detestation. All the misfortunes of his life (and they were many and bitter) were brought up in array against him. He was reproached with cowardice, treason, imbecility, and a disposition to prolong the war, in order to preserve that authority which it gave him. He was charged with sacrificing the lives of his men and the interests of his country, to his own private ambition. Men, who had never fired a rifle, and never beheld an Indian, criticised severely the plan of his encampment and the order of his battle; and, in short, all the bitter ingredients which compose the cup of the unsuccessful general, were drained to the dregs.

The leader of the Indian army in this bloody engagement was a chief of the Missassago tribe, known by the name of the "Little Turtle." Notwithstanding his name, he was at least six feet high, strong, muscular, and remarkably dignified in his appearance. He was forty years of age, had seen much service, and had accompanied Burgoyne in his disastrous invasion. His aspect was harsh, sour, and forbidding, and his person during the action was arrayed in the very extremity of Indian foppery, having at least twenty dollars' worth of silver depending from his nose and ears. The plan of attack was conceived by him alone, in opposition to the opinion of almost every other chief. Notwithstanding his ability, however, he was said to have been unpopular among the Indians, probably in consequence of those very abilities.

Many veteran officers of inferior rank, who had served with distinction throughout the revolutionary war, were destined to perish in this unhappy action. Among them was the gallant and unrewarded Captain Kirkwood, of the old Delaware line, so often and so honourably mentioned in Lee's Memoirs. The state of Delaware having had but one regiment on the continental

establishment, and that regiment having been reduced to a company at Camden, it was impossible for Kirkwood to be promoted without a violation of the ordinary rules, by which commissions were regulated. He accordingly had the mortification of beholding junior officers daily mounting above him in the scale of rank, while he himself, however meritorious, was compelled to remain in his present condition, on account of the small force which his native state could bring into the field.

Notwithstanding this constant source of mortification, he fought with distinguished gallantry, throughout the war, and was personally engaged in the battles of Camden, Guilford, Hobkirks, Ninety-six, and Eutaw, the hottest and bloodiest which occurred during the revolution. At the peace of 1783, he returned with a broken fortune, but a high reputation for courage, honour, and probity, and upon the re-appearance of war in the north-west, he hastened once more to the scene of action, and submitted, without reluctance, to the command of officers who had been boys while he was fighting those severe battles in the south. He fell in a brave attempt to repel the enemy with the bayonet, and thus closed a career as honourable as it was unrewarded.

Lieutenant-Colonel Darke's escape was almost miraculous. Possessed of a tall, striking figure, in full uniform, and superbly mounted, he headed three desperate charges against the enemy, in each of which he was a conspicuous mark. His clothes were cut in many places, but he escaped with only a slight flesh wound. In the last charge, Ensign Wilson, a youth of seventeen, was shot through the heart, and fell a few paces in the rear of the regiment, which was then rather rapidly returning to their original position. An Indian, attracted by his rich uniform, sprung up from the grass, and rushed forward to scalp him. Darke, who was at that time in the rear of his regiment, suddenly faced about, dashed at the Indian on horseback, and cleft his skull with his broadsword, drawing upon himself by the act a rapid discharge of more than a dozen rifles. He rejoined his regiment, however, in safety, being compelled to leave the body of young Wilson to the enemy. On the evening of the 8th of November, the broken remains of the army arrived at Fort Washington, and were placed in winter quarters.



Washington now informed the unfortunate St. Clair, that he could neither grant him a court of inquiry, nor allow him to retain his position. More vigorous operations to secure peace to the northwestern frontier were determined upon; but, in the mean time, commissioners were sent into the Indian country to see if it was possible to bring about negotiations. Of course, under the circumstances, these attempts to conclude a peace were not successful. After their great triumph, the red men ever cherished hopes of driving the whites beyond the Ohio.

It being determined to raise a more efficient army, Washington began to look about for a general to take the command. Generals Morgan, Scott, Wayne, Lee, and Colonel Darke, were proposed. Washington selected the energetic Wayne—surnamed, for his furious courage in battle, “Mad Anthony.” Wayne immediately repaired to Pittsburgh, and proceeded to organize the army. Every exertion was made to fit the men for the peculiar warfare in which they were about to engage. In the mean time, commissioners, under the direction of the general government, continued their fruitless exertions to quiet the Indians without the use of force. Wayne’s “Legion” passed the winter of 1792–93 at Legionville, and there remained until the last of April, 1793, when it was taken down the river to Cincinnati, and encamped near Fort Washington. There it continued till October, engaged merely in preparations, the Commander-in-chief having been directed by the executive to issue a proclamation, forbidding all hostile movements north of the Ohio, until the northern commissioners should be heard from. This proclamation was issued, and the country remained tranquil, although preparations were made for action, in case it should finally become needful.

On the 16th of August, 1793, the final messages took place between the American commissioners and the Indians, at the mouth of Detroit river; on the 23d reached Fort Erie, near Niagara; upon the same day they sent three letters to General Wayne, by three distinct channels, advising him of the issue of the negotiation. Wayne, encamped at his “Hobson’s choice,” and contending with the unwillingness of Kentuckians to volunteer in connexion with regular troops,—with fever, influenza, and desertion,—was struggling hard to bring his army

to such form and consistency as would enable him to meet the enemy with confidence. On the 5th of October, he writes that he cannot hope to have, deducting the sick and those left in garrison, more than 2600 regular troops, 360 mounted volunteers, and 36 guides and spies to go with him beyond Fort Jefferson.

On the 7th the legion left Cincinnati, and upon the 13th, without any accident, encamped upon a strong position beyond Fort Jefferson. Here, upon the 24th of October, he was joined by 1000 mounted Kentucky volunteers under General Scott, to whom he had written pressing requests to hasten forward with all the men he could muster. This request Scott hastened to comply with, and the Governor, upon the 28th of September had ordered, in addition, a draft of militia. The Kentucky troops, however, were soon dismissed again, until spring.

One attack had been made upon the troops previous to the 23d of October, and only one: a body of two commissioned and ninety non-commissioned officers and soldiers, conveying twenty wagons of supplies, was assaulted on the 17th, seven miles beyond Fort St. Clair, and Lieutenant Lowry and Ensign Boyd, with thirteen others, were killed. Although so little opposition had thus far been encountered, however, Wayne determined to stay where he was, for the winter, and having 70,000 rations on hand in October, with the prospect of 120,000 more, while the Indians were sure to be short of provisions, he proceeded to fortify his position; which he named Fort Greenville, and which was situated upon the spot now occupied by the town of that name. This being done, on the 23d or 24th of December, a detachment was sent forward to take possession of the field of St. Clair's defeat. They arrived upon the spot at Christmas day. "Six hundred skulls," says one present, "were gathered up and buried; when we went to lie down in our tents at night, we had to scrape the bones together and carry them out, to make our beds." Here was built Fort Recovery, which was properly garrisoned, and placed under the charge of Captain Alexander Gibson. During the early months of 1794, Wayne was steadily engaged in preparing everything for a sure blow when the time came, and, by means of Captain Gibson and his various spies, kept himself informed of the plans and move-

ments of the savages. All his information showed the faith in British assistance which still animated the doomed race of red-men.

On the 30th of June, 1794, Fort Recovery, the advanced American post, was assaulted by the Little Turtle, at the head of 1000 to 1500 warriors; and although repelled, the assailants rallied and returned to the charge, and kept up the attack through the whole of that day, and a part of the following. Nor was this assailing force entirely composed of natives; General Wayne, in his despatch, says his spies report "a great number of white men with the Indians."

On the 26th of July, Scott, with some 1600 mounted men from Kentucky, joined Wayne at Greenville, and on the 28th the legion moved forward. On the 8th of August, the army was near the junction of the Auglaize and Maumee, at Grand Glaize, and proceeded at once to build Fort Defiance where the rivers meet. The Indians had hastily abandoned their towns upon hearing of the approach of the army from a runaway member of the Quartermaster's corps, who was afterwards taken at Pittsburgh. It had been Wayne's plan to reach the head-quarters of the savages, Grand Glaize, undiscovered; and in order to do this, he had caused two roads to be cut, one towards the foot of the rapids (Roche de Bout), the other to the junction of the St. Mary and St. Joseph, while he pressed forward between the two: and this stratagem, he thinks would have been successful but for the deserter referred to. While engaged upon Fort Defiance, the American commander received full and accurate accounts of the Indians and the aid they would receive from the volunteers of Detroit and elsewhere; he learned the nature of the ground, and the circumstances favourable and unfavourable; and upon the whole, considering the spirit of his troops, officers and men, regulars and volunteers, he determined to march forward and settle matters at once. But yet, true to the last to the spirit of compromise and peace so forcibly taught by Washington, on the 13th of August he sent Christopher Miller, who had been naturalized among the Shawanees, and had been taken prisoner on the 11th by Wayne's spies, as a special messenger, offering terms of friendship.



Unwilling to waste time, the troops moved forward on the 15th, and on the 16th met Miller returning with the message, that if the Americans would wait ten days at Grand Glaize, they (the Indians) would decide for peace or war; which Wayne replied to only by marching straight on. On the 18th, the Legion had advanced forty-one miles from Grand Glaize, and being near by the long looked for foe, began to throw up some light works, called Fort Deposit, wherein to place the heavy baggage during the expected battle. On that day, five of Wayne's spies, among whom was May, rode into the very camp of the enemy: in attempting to retreat again, May's horse fell, and he was taken. The next day, the day before the battle, he was tied to a tree and shot at as a target. During the 19th, the army still laboured on their works: on the 20th, at 7 or 8 o'clock, all baggage having been left behind, the white forces moved down the north bank of the Maumee;—"the Legion on the right, its flank covered by the Maumee: one brigade of mounted volunteers on the left, under Brigadier General Todd, and the other in the rear, under Brigadier General Barbee. A select battalion of mounted volunteers moved in front of the Legion, commanded by Major Price, who was directed to keep sufficiently advanced, so as to give timely notice for the troops to form in case of action, it being yet undetermined whether the Indians would decide for peace or war.

"After advancing about five miles, Major Price's corps received so severe a fire from the enemy, who were secreted in the woods and high grass, as to compel them to retreat. The Legion was immediately formed in two lines, principally in a close thick wood, which extended for miles on our left, and for a very considerable distance in front; the ground being covered with old fallen timber, probably occasioned by a tornado, which rendered it impracticable for the cavalry to act with effect, and afforded the enemy the most favourable covert for their mode of warfare. The savages were formed in three lines, within supporting distance of each other, and extending for near two miles at right angles with the river. I soon discovered, from the weight of the fire and extent of their lines, that the enemy were in full force in front, in possession of their favourite



WAYNE DEFEATING THE INDIANS.

ground, and endeavouring to turn our left flank. I therefore gave orders for the second line to advance and support the first; and directed Major General Scott to gain and turn the right flank of the savages, with the whole of the mounted volunteers, by a circuitous route; at the same time I ordered the front line to advance and charge with trailed arms, and rouse the Indians from their coverts at the point of the bayonet, and when up to deliver a close and well directed fire on their backs, followed by a brisk charge, so as not to give them time to load again.

“I also ordered Captain Mis Campbell, who commanded the legionary cavalry, to turn the left flank of the enemy next the river, and which afforded a favourable field for that corps to act in. All these orders were obeyed with spirit and promptitude; but such was the impetuosity of the charge by the first line of infantry, that the Indians and Canadian militia and volunteers were driven from all their coverts in so short a time, that although every possible exertion was used by the officers of the second line of the Legion, and by Generals Scott, Todd, and Barbee, of the mounted volunteers, to gain their proper positions, but part of each could get up in season to participate in the action; the enemy being driven, in the course of one



hour, more than two miles, through the thick woods, already mentioned, by less than one-half their numbers. From every account the enemy amounted to two thousand combatants. The troops actually engaged against them were short of nine hundred. This horde of savages, with their allies, abandoned themselves to flight, and dispersed with terror and dismay, leaving our victorious army in full and quiet possession of the field of battle, which terminated under the influence of the guns of the British garrison, as you will observe by the enclosed correspondence between Major Campbell, the commandant, and myself, upon the occasion."

The broken remains of the Indian army were pursued under the guns of the British fort, and so keen was the ardour of Wayne's men, and so strong their resentment against the English, that it was with the utmost difficulty they could be restrained from storming it upon the spot. As it was, many of the Kentucky troops advanced within gunshot, and insulted the garrison with a select volley of oaths and epithets, which must have given the British commandant a high idea of backwoods gentility. He instantly wrote an indignant letter to General Wayne, complaining of the outrage, and demanding by what authority he trespassed upon the sacred precincts of a British garrison? Now, "Mad Anthony" was the last man in the world to be dragooned into politeness, and he replied in terms but little short of those employed by the Kentuckians, and satisfactorily informed Captain Campbell, the British commandant, that his only chance of safety was silence and civility. After some sharp messages on both sides, the war of the pen ceased, and the destruction of property began. Houses, stores, cornfields, orchards, were soon wrapped in flames or levelled with the earth. The dwelling-house and store of Colonel M'Kee, the Indian Agent, shared the fate of the rest.

All this was performed before the face of Captain Campbell, who was compelled to look on in silence, and without any effort to prevent it. There remains not the least question *now* that the Indians were not only encouraged in their acts of hostility by the English *traders*, but were actually supplied with arms, ammunition, and provisions, by order of the English commandant at Detroit, Colonel England. There remains



a correspondence between this gentleman and M'Kee, in which urgent demands are made for fresh supplies of ammunition, and the approach of "the enemy" (as they called Wayne) is mentioned with great anxiety. After the battle of the Rapids, he writes that the Indians are much discouraged, and that "it will require great efforts to induce them to remain in a body." Had Wayne been positively informed of this circumstance, he would scarcely have restrained his men from a more energetic expression of indignation.

The Indian force being completely dispersed, their cornfields cut up, and their houses destroyed, Wayne drew off from the neighbourhood of the British posts, and, in order to hold the Indians permanently in check, he erected a fort at the junction of the Auglaize and Miami, in the very heart of the Indian country, to which he gave the appropriate name of Defiance. As this was connected with Fort Washington by various intermediate fortifications, it could not fail completely to overawe the enemy, who, in a very short time, urgently and unanimously demanded peace.

No victory could have been better timed than that of Wayne. The various tribes of Indians throughout the whole of the United States, encouraged by the repeated disasters of the armies in the northwest, had become very unsteady, and menacing in their intercourse with the whites. The Creeks and Cherokees, in the south, were already in arms, while the Oneidas, Tuscaroras, &c., in the north, were evidently preparing for hostilities. The shock of the victory at the Rapids, however, was felt in all quarters. The southern Indians instantly demanded peace; the Oneidas, conscious of their evil intentions, and fearful of the consequences, became suddenly affectionate even to servility; and within a few months after the victory, all the frontiers enjoyed the most profound peace. Wayne reported his loss at thirty-three killed and one hundred wounded. The Indian loss could not be ascertained, but was supposed to exceed that of the Americans. This, however, is very doubtful, as they gave way immediately, and were not so much exposed as the continentals.

One circumstance attending their flight is remarkable, and deserves to be inserted. Three Indians being hard pressed by

the cavalry upon one side, and the infantry upon the other, plunged into the river and attempted to swim to the opposite shore. A runaway negro who had attached himself to the American army, was concealed in the bushes upon the opposite bank, and perceiving three Indians approaching nearer than in his opinion was consistent with the security of his hiding-place, he collected courage enough to level his rifle at the foremost, as he was swimming, and shot him through the head. The other two Indians instantly halted in the water, and attempted to drag the body of their dead companion ashore. The negro, in the mean time, reloaded his gun and shot another dead upon the spot. The survivor then seized hold of both bodies, and attempted, with a fidelity which seems astonishing, to bring them both to land. The negro having had leisure to reload a second time, and firing from his covert upon the surviving Indian, wounded him mortally while struggling with the dead bodies. He then ventured to approach them, and from the striking resemblance of their features, as well as their devoted attachment, they were supposed to have been brothers. After scalping them, he permitted their bodies to float down the stream.

The Indians now sued for peace. Preliminaries were settled, and it was determined that a grand conference should be held at Greenville, to form a definitive treaty. During the month of June, 1795, the representatives of the northwestern tribes began to gather at Greenville, and on the 16th of that month Wayne met in council the Delawares, Ottawas, Pottawatamies, and Eel River Indians; and the conferences, which lasted till August 10th, commenced. On the 21st of June, Buckongehelas arrived; on the 23d, the Little Turtle and other Miamies; on the 13th of July, Tarke and other Wyandot Chiefs reached the appointed spot; and upon the 18th, Blue Jacket with thirteen Shawnees, and Masass with twenty Chippeways. Most of these, as it appeared by their statements, had been tampered with by M'Kee, Brant, and other English agents. They had, however, all determined to make a permanent peace with the Thirteen Fires, and although some difficulty as to the ownership of the lands to be ceded, at one time seemed likely to arise, the good sense of Wayne and of the Chiefs prevented it, and upon



the 30th of July the treaty was agreed to which was to bury the hatchet for ever. Between that day and the 3d of August it was engrossed, and having been signed by the various nations upon the day last named, on the 7th was finally acted upon, and the presents from the United States distributed forthwith. While the Council was in session some mischief had been done in Virginia by a band of Shawnees, but on the 9th of September these also came to Greenville, gave up their prisoners, and asked for forgiveness. The basis of the treaty of Greenville was the previous one made at Fort Harmar. Hostilities were to cease; all prisoners were to be restored, a large portion of the north-western territory was ceded to the United States; the Indians were allowed to hunt within the ceded lands; all previous treaties were annulled. From this time until the mighty Tecumseh began to agitate the west, the inhabitants enjoyed peace and security.









# HISTORY

OF THE

## WARS OF THE UNITED STATES,

FROM THE EARLIEST COLONIAL TIMES TO THE  
CLOSE OF THE MEXICAN WAR.

BY

JOHN LEWIS THOMSON.

*With Additions and Corrections.*

ILLUSTRATED WITH NUMEROUS ENGRAVINGS, FROM DESIGNS BY  
W. CROOME AND OTHER ARTISTS.

TWO VOLUMES IN ONE.

PHILADELPHIA:  
J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO.

1860.



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BY THE EDITOR.

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MR. THOMSON'S History of the Second War between Great Britain and the United States, was written and published very soon after the termination of that eventful contest. The author had the advantage of abundant resources for his work. Besides the great mass of official documents at his command, he was in possession of numerous letters and journals from officers who had served in the war, and he was personally acquainted with many of the conspicuous actors in that grand drama.

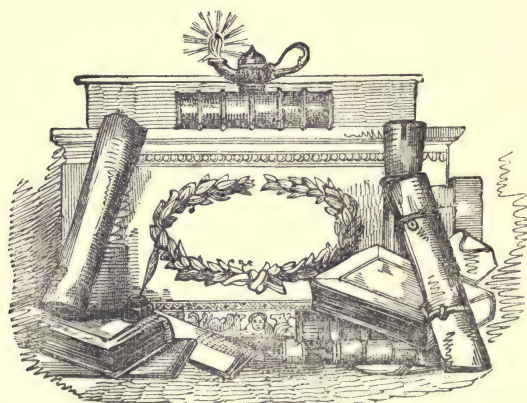
These circumstances, known to the public at the time, gave authority to his work, and it passed rapidly through six editions. The copyright having passed into the hands of the present publishers, they determined on republishing it, with the addition of a history of the military transactions of this country down to the present time, including the War

with Black Hawk, the Seminole Wars in Florida, and the War with Mexico.

In editing Thomson's History, it was thought expedient to add a chapter on the Creek War, conducted by General Jackson, and to enlarge the account of that great commander's operations in defense of New Orleans.

The history of the subsequent military operations of the country has been drawn from official documents, and the personal narratives of actors in the stirring scenes narrated.

A work of this description has long been demanded as a contribution to the general history of the republic. In preparing it for publication, the editor has endeavoured to deserve the public approbation, by care and fidelity in every part of the work.








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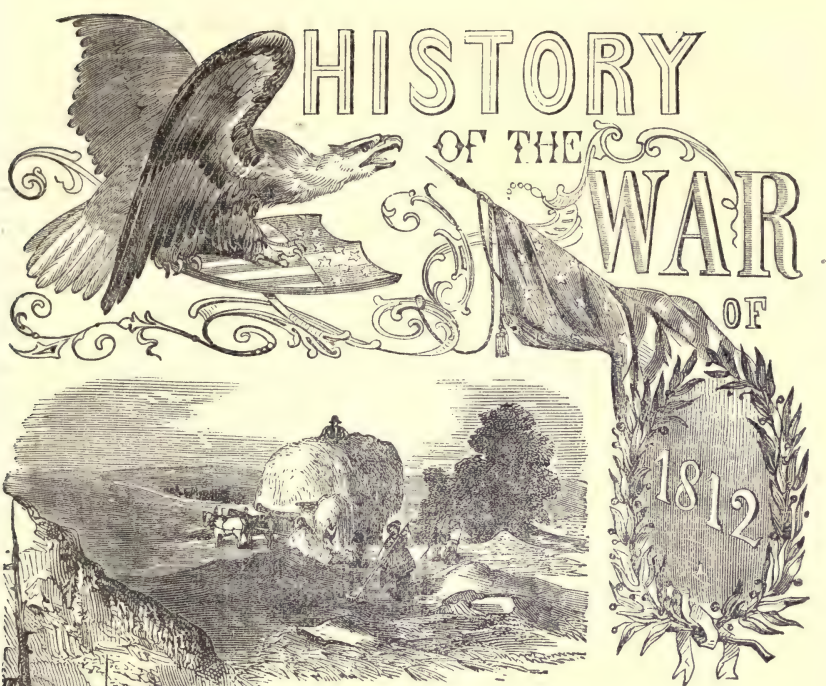
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## CHAPTER I.

### *Commencement of the War.*

ABOUT the close of the year 1811 the Indian affairs on the southern and north-western frontiers of the United States assumed an aspect of a much more alarming nature than that which had been marked by any of the previous depredations of the neighbouring tribes. Incessant incursions were followed by the extinction of whole families, and the several nations seemed emulous of excelling each other in acts of the greatest horror. An unextinguishable hostility was manifested by the most powerful chiefs and warriors, whose enmity towards the frontier inhabitants was excited, and kept alive by an industrious circulation of



inflammatory addresses, and alluring gifts. The conduct of the British traders was far from being consistent with the pacific disposition which their government had been professing; and the facility with which the Indians became possessed of every description of offensive weapons, known to be beyond their means, either to manufacture or to purchase, led to suspicions of their having been supplied by its appointed agents. The result of investigations which were made by the governors of Ohio, and of the Michigan and Illinois territories, gave strong confirmation to these suspicions, and it was ascertained that great quantities of missiles, arms, and ammunition, had been delivered to the different nations, contiguous to the British posts.

The influence of a Shawanese, who styled himself "the Prophet," and who neglected no means to excite the most violent animosities against the people of the United States, had produced among the Indians on the borders of the Wabash, a disposition to massacre and plunder, to so enormous an extent, that the vigorous interference of the government was no longer to be delayed. Measures were therefore immediately adopted, in conjunction with Governor William H. Harrison, to repel by force, any further outrages which could not be prevented by amicable treaty. The militia of Indiana, and a regiment of United States infantry, commanded by Colonel John P. Boyd, were accordingly ordered to march, under Governor Harrison, to the Prophet's town, to demand restoration of the plunder which the Indians had committed, and to reduce them to terms, which would secure the future peace of that territory. In the month of November, 1811, this body of troops were within four miles of the Prophet's town (having already marched thirty-four days) before the Indians had any expectation of seeing them; when one of the chiefs came out, and proposed that Governor Harrison should encamp near them until morning, at which time the Prophet would willingly enter into a treaty of peace. This proposal was agreed to, and the army were encamped in line of battle, with orders to keep on their accoutrements, and to lie upon their arms, so that they might be ready for action without one moment's delay. At four o'clock on the morning of the seventh, the camp was attained with great fury by the savages at one point, where the bayonet, however, soon



Battle of Tippecanoe.

dispersed them, and where three Indians were found within the line of sentinels seeking the commander. The morning was excessively dark, and the men could only be distinguished by the watchword, or the flashes of the musketry. By the aid of this momentary light, the Indians were seen crowding into the camp; but they were entirely routed by several vigorous and intrepid charges. The conduct of Colonel Boyd and the 4th regiment, after the action had become more general, intimidated and put the Indians to flight; at the dawn of day they were closely pursued, and numbers of them killed. The cavalry were now first brought into action, but the savages fled from them in great confusion, abandoned their town, into which they had been driven, and escaped across the river. Fifty-three Indians were lying dead about the encampment, and their loss, in killed and wounded, was estimated at one hundred and fifty. Of the 4th regiment, seventy-seven were killed and wounded. The loss of the whole force amounted, from the most accurate account, to one hundred and eighty-seven. Most of the militia under Governor Harrison, behaved with great courage and bravery; but to Colonel Boyd, whose experience in the Mahrattah (India) service, well qualified him for a combat with the Prophet's warriors, is much of the



success of this battle to be attributed. Tranquillity being now restored to the territory of Indiana, the troops returned to Fort Harrison—distance one hundred miles—and the militia to their homes. Many months had not elapsed, however, before the Prophet, in connexion with Tecumseh, a chief of great valour, and of equal ambition, threatened a renewal of hostilities, not only against the inhabitants of Indiana, but of the adjacent territories.\*

To guard against future encroachments from the savages, and to protect such of the inhabitants as had yet escaped their fury, it was necessary that the peace establishment should be augmented, and new regiments raised, of a nature to cope with the Indian warfare. Indications of hostility to the interests of the United States were about this time evinced in the conduct, as well of the British ministry, as of their public ships of war on the American coast, in neutral ports, and on the ocean.

In the event of a more decided character being given to this state of relations between the United States, Great Britain, and the Indians, the necessity of a larger army would become still more urgent. In providing against these threatening evils, the second session of the twelfth Congress had been protracted to an unusual length, and on finding remonstrances to be unavailing, the president, on the first of June, 1812, laid before the two houses a detail of the various enormities committed against this nation by the British government and the officers representing it. Their immediate attention was required to this subject, as it was thought necessary, by the greatest proportion of the people, that such encroaching injuries should at last be resisted by the most effectual means. Documents being in possession of the executive which placed the insulting practices of the British, against the commerce and national honour of the United States, beyond all doubt, the communication set forth, "that the cruisers of that nation had been in the continued practice of violating the Ameri-

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\* Although the affair on the Wabash, which has been distinguished by the name of 'The Battle of Tippecanoe,' was previous to the declaration of war, it is indispensable to the introduction to its history that it should be at least briefly referred to—the limits of this work do not admit of as full a description of a victory which has reflected so much lustre on the American character, as the author is desirous to give, or the reader perhaps to receive.



can flag on the great highway of nations, and of seizing and carrying off persons sailing under it; not in the exercise of a belligerent right, founded on the law of nations—against an enemy, but of a municipal prerogative over British subjects;

“That they had been in the practice also of violating the peace and the rights of our coasts by hovering over and harassing our entering and departing commerce; and that to the most insulting pretensions they had added the most lawless proceedings in our very harbours, and wantonly spilt American blood within the sanctuary of our territorial jurisdiction;

“That they were aiming to sacrifice our commercial interests, and were laying waste our neutral trade, not because we supplied their enemy, but by carrying on a war against our friendly commerce that they might themselves pursue an intercourse with their enemy;

“That they were plundering our vessels on the high seas under pretended blockades, without the necessary presence of an adequate force to maintain them, and that to these transcendent acts of injustice the cabinet of Great Britain added at length the *sweeping system of blockade* under the name of orders in council, which had been moulded to suit its political views, its commercial jealousies, or the avidity of British cruisers;

“That, at the very moment when their public minister was holding the language of friendship and inspiring confidence in the sincerity of the negotiations with which he was charged, a secret agent of his government was employed in intrigues, having for their object a subversion of our government and a dismemberment of our Union;

“That the warfare which was just renewed by the savages on our frontiers, which spared neither age nor sex, and was distinguished by features peculiarly shocking to humanity, could not be referred to without connecting their hostility with the influence of British traders and garrisons, nor without recollecting the authenticated examples of the interpositions of the officers and agents of that government. And,

“That in fine, on the side of Great Britain, there was a state of war against the United States; and on the side of the United States a state of peace towards Great Britain.”

The committee of foreign relations, to whom this message was referred, reported a manifesto to the House, in which, after recapitulating these grievances, they recommended, as the only measure to prevent future aggression, an immediate appeal to arms; and on the 18th of June, an act was passed declaring war against the kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the dependencies thereof; which received the executive sanction.

A small army, consisting of the 4th regiment of infantry, and three regiments of Ohio volunteers, was ordered, under the command of Brigadier-General Hull, to protect the frontiers against the incursions of the savages. After the declaration of war, this force being nearest to the most convenient point of invasion, was directed to repair to the town of Detroit, on the river of that name, and opposite Sandwich, a beautiful and extensive village in Upper Canada.

On the 5th of July, after a tedious and fatiguing march of thirty-five days, during which he was obliged to fortify his camp, at every position which he occupied at night, to prevent a surprise from a party of Indians, who, aided by the British, had closely and constantly reconnoitered him, and who had planned an attack upon Detroit, which the approach of his army frustrated, he arrived at that post with two thousand five hundred men. He had no sooner garrisoned the American shore of the Detroit, than the British began to throw up breastworks and to erect batteries on the opposite side. The first of these was destroyed by a well-directed fire from the fort, and the persons employed at it were obliged precipitately to retire; a second, which was situated about three miles below, was destroyed in like manner, by a few pieces of cannon despatched for that purpose, and worked with so much skill that the enemy was compelled to abandon his design of fortifying at that point.

Active preparations were now making for an immediate invasion of Canada; boats were constructed capable of containing a regiment, and the passage of the whole army was to be effected at the same instant—the width of the river being favourable to the crossing of the troops, either above or below the point selected to oppose their landing, the enemy was allowed, on his third attempt, to erect, without annoyance, a battery of seven small

cannon and two mortars. Every preparation having been completed, the embarkation took place on the 12th. The army landed on the Canadian shore, above the fort, and entered Sandwich without opposition. Those of the inhabitants who had not been compelled to repair to the defence of Malden, were without arms, and therefore made no show of resistance to the Americans, by whom they were honourably respected in their property and persons. Possession was had, in a few days, of the whole country from the river Thames, or *la Tranche*, so called from the evenness and beauty of its bank, to a rivulet within five miles of Malden, whither the British regulars and Canadian militia, with several hundred Indians, had retired.

Prior to the occupation of Sandwich, however, the enemy had removed his most valuable stores, and whilst he was throwing up breastworks, and apparently fortifying that place for defence, the largest division of his troops was employed in transporting them to Amherstburg.

If General Hull's instructions admitted of his striking a blow immediately on his arrival at Detroit, a favourable opportunity was culpably neglected. But, on hearing a proposition from his officers to cross the river below, to cut off the communication between the two divisions at Sandwich and Amherstburg, and suddenly to rush upon and carry Fort Malden by storm, he alleged the necessity of waiting for positive orders for the invasion of Canada before he could embark his troops for that purpose. Whilst the force at Malden was weakened by the employment of the men at Sandwich, this project might have been carried into effect, and his army, besides prisoners, would have obtained a large accession of stores and ammunition. When he arrived at Sandwich, the British army, with these and other stores, and an augmented Indian force, had collected at, and were placing Malden in a state to sustain a siege. To attempt the reduction of that garrison by storm, after the enemy had effected this concentration of his forces, it was necessary to proceed against it with a train of battering cannon, and ladders of a sufficient height and number to scale the walls at various points. The American army had neither of these at that time in readiness, and its operations were delayed for one month in preparing two twenty-four pounders



and three howitzers. In this interval such advantages were gained as result from subsisting on the resources of the enemy's country, and the capture of some camp articles, and a small supply of arms, by reconnoitering parties.

Meanwhile, the British and Indians at St. Josephs, had been making preparations for an attack on Fort Michilimackinac,\* (a position on an island of that name and in General Hull's command,) and on the 16th, four days after the occupation of Sandwich by the troops of the United States, the British embarked at St. Josephs, and reached the island early on the following morning. Their force, consisting of three hundred and six white troops, and seven hundred and fifteen Indians, was commanded by Captain Roberts, of the British regulars, who sent in a prisoner to inform the commandant that if any resistance was made the garrison and inhabitants would be indiscriminately put to the sword. The inhabitants knowing that the fort had but fifty-seven men for its defence, escaped from the island, or fled for refuge to the enemy, in great numbers; but many of them had no opportunity to do either, and were obliged to remain and abide the issue of the day. The commandant of the garrison, Lieutenant Porter Hanks, of the artillery, determined to give as gallant a resistance to the assailants as his small force would allow him.

The island of Michilimackinac is about nine miles in circumference, of irregular form and broken surface. It is separated from the main land by a strait of about seven miles broad, its greatest breadth is three miles, and its elevation above the lake, on its highest ground, about one hundred and sixty-eight feet. A proposal was made to government, in 1797, to erect a citadel on this elevation, which would be impregnable. Two square stone houses, united by a stockade, stand in the rear of the fort, which is situated on a bluff rock rising from the water, but is entirely overlooked by the high ground at a distance of six hundred yards. The island itself is of a circular form, highest in the centre, and resembling a turtle's back; from which circumstance it is said to have taken its name—(Michilimackinac, or the Turtle.)

The enemy had landed on the back part of the island, and urged

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\* Pronounced—Mackinaw.

his approach within cannon shot of the fort, where he gained the eminence commanding it, and from which he directed a piece of heavy cannon against its most defenceless side. The Indians were arranged on the edge of an adjoining wood. The British commandant now sent a flag, with a demand for the surrender of the fort and island, and communicated the first intelligence which the garrison received of the declaration of war. The movement of the British and Indians had been until this moment considered as one, among the many outrages, to which the frontier of that neighbourhood had been exposed, and the American commandant had resolved to shut himself up and defend the fortress to the very last extremity, though it should result in the total annihilation of his force. But, on being informed of the actual state of hostilities, he was aware that if he held out, the enemy, whose present number could not be effectually opposed, might be largely reinforced, and that the fall of the garrison would be followed by the threatened indiscriminate slaughter, as well of the soldiers composing it, as of the non-combatant inhabitants of the island. The only measure which could save them from the brutal massacre of the savages, was a surrender of the fort to the British, and Lieutenant Hanks very prudently entered into terms of capitulation, in which he secured a promised protection to all private property, though he put the enemy in possession of a fortress susceptible of being rendered the strongest in America.

It will be observed that the loss of Michilimackinac took place on the 17th of July, and that General Hull, already apprized of the war, arrived at Detroit on the 5th—and the reader will judge whether this intelligence could not have been transmitted to Michilimackinac, a distance of two hundred and fifty-four miles, and whether that post ought not to have been immediately reinforced. The enemy had knowledge of the existence of hostilities, through the activity of persons concerned in the North-west Fur Company, nine days *preceding* the arrival of the American disposables, whilst the American garrison was suffered to remain in ignorance for *twelve* days after—and to the vigilance of one side, and the tardiness or negligence of the other, is this disaster to be ascribed.

Preparations were still going on at Sandwich for an attempt

on Malden, when the army were informed of the affair at Michilimackinac by the capture of two vessels, in which the prisoners taken there had been embarked. Unless the contemplated attack on Malden should result in the success of the American arms, the situation of the troops would become critical in the extreme; the possession of Michilimackinac gave the enemy many decided advantages, and if the capture of that post should be followed up by an assault on Fort Chicago, all the fortified stations west of Detroit would be in his hands, and the whole of his Indian forces might be thrown upon that frontier. Detroit would be an easy conquest, and the American army might be so encompassed that its retreat would be impossible. The Indians from the shores of the north-western lakes were already released from constraint, and the British commander was collecting large bodies of them to move down upon Detroit and the intermediate garrisons. Depending on the arrival of reinforcements, however, for which, in anticipation of these events General Hull had despatched numerous expresses; and being assured of the importance of the occupation of Amherstburg, he remained at Sandwich, carrying on an extensive war by small parties, and reconnoitering the enemy's outposts with incessant vigilance. Skirmishes were frequent. In one of them Colonel M'Arthur made capture of a quantity of arms, ammunition, flour, and other provisions, and upwards of one thousand blankets.

Colonel Cass, of the 3d regiment of Ohio volunteers, was ordered with a detachment of two hundred and eighty men, to reconnoiter an advanced post of the enemy upon a long bridge, crossing *Riviere Aux Canards*, or the River of the Ducks, about four miles from Fort Malden. A company of riflemen, commanded by Captain Robinson, was concealed near the bridge, with directions to fire upon and divert the attention of the guard stationed upon it, as soon as the remaining part of the detachment should be seen on the opposite bank of the river, which was intended to be forded about five miles below. An unlooked for difficulty at the ford caused so much delay in the movement of the detachment, that it did not appear at the appointed ground until sunset, when, having marched, without a guide, too near the bank of the river, its progress was obstructed by a tributary





Colonel Cass.

creek; to pass this, a march of another mile was necessary, and time was consequently allowed for the enemy to prepare for his defence. On coming down the creek, Colonel Cass found the British already formed, and received from them a distant fire of musketry. The detachment moved on, however, in good order and with great spirit and alacrity. The British, who had been reinforced at intervals during the whole afternoon, and whose number was made up of the 41st regiment and some Indians, made several other attempts to fire, but were as often compelled to retreat, the detachment continuing to move up, regardless of their opposition. They were driven more than half a mile, when the darkness of the night made further pursuit hazardous, and Colonel Cass was content to possess the bridge and some adjoining houses until morning, when, after reconnoitering the neighbourhood and not finding the enemy, he commenced his return to the camp at Sandwich. No accurate information could be obtained of the force opposed to the detachment, but the loss of the enemy was reported by deserters at eleven killed and wounded. The detachment lost not a single man. The bridge was after

wards fortified by the British with six pieces of artillery, but this being deemed insufficient for its defence, they removed both bridge and battery and planted their cannon behind a breastwork constructed from the timber.

Three days after (19th July) Colonel M'Arthur with one hundred and fifty men from his own regiment, (Ohio volunteers,) on relieving a detachment which was out, proceeded to the reconnoitering ground of Colonel Cass, whence he discovered the enemy—eighty-five regulars, forty Indians, and one hundred and fifty militia protected by this battery. The Queen Charlotte of twenty guns being at the same time anchored in Detroit river, at the mouth of Aux Canards, with a gunboat cruising about her. The firing was kept up for nearly an hour between the battery and a few riflemen in advance of the troops, but at too great a distance to have effect, whilst M'Arthur was examining the Queen Charlotte.

On finding the enemy so well protected by the battery, the riflemen were ordered to retire to the detachment, but M'Arthur's desire to ascertain the true situation of the enemy, induced him to go near the broken bridge with a glass. He discovered that the Indians had principally left the battery, and was almost at the same instant informed by a messenger from the detachment that a number of them were seen passing to a road in its rear. He was now attended by Dr. M'Anaw and Captain Puthuff, who, on turning their horses to ride with him to the detachment, were fired upon by about thirty Indians, from their concealment in a brush, at the distance of only one hundred yards. They escaped, however, without being hurt, a ball intended for M'Arthur having struck his horse's head below the browband, and glancing to the ground. His men were led to the pursuit of the Indians, and drove them across Aux Canards to the battery, between the detachment and which the fire was kept up at long shot for three hours, without other injury to the Americans than the wounding of two men, though several broadsides had been discharged from the Queen Charlotte.

The chief, Tecumseh, celebrated for his dexterity with the tomahawk and rifle, not less than for his relentless cruelty in the use of them against the inhabitants of the frontier, was at the

head of the Indians. The escape, therefore, of M'Arthur and his companions from a troop of savages, trained and commanded by such a warrior as Tecumseh, was almost miraculous. It was no less fortunate that the detachment bravely moved up at the report of the fire of the Indians, and put them to immediate flight. M'Arthur encamped for the night within two miles of Aux Canards, and on the following morning returned to the army, with Colonel Cass and one hundred men, by whom he was then joined.

Between this time and the beginning of August, no event took place which could afford the American troops an opportunity of displaying their true character. The inclemency of the weather was very unfavourable to the operations of an army. Sudden transitions from extreme heat to intense cold, followed by violent storms of rain and hail, rendered them both sickly and discontented. They had been all enamoured of an expedition which promised them so much honour and renown, and when they landed on the Canadian shore they were filled with such assurances of conquest as made their impatience for achievement almost ungovernable. The tardiness, which now seemed inseparable from the conduct of their commander, dispirited them, and destroyed whatever of confidence they might have reposed in him before. The result of a council of war, however, which it was found necessary to convoke, revived all their desires, and a spirit, no less active than that with which they had set out, pervaded the whole encampment. In two days more, by proper exertions, every arrangement would be completed for the investment of Fort Malden. At the end of that time the heavy cannon might be ready; if they should not, the council recommended an attempt with the bayonet. The British garrison had been constantly deserted by the embodied Canadian militia, and a vigorous attack upon it, however gallant the defence, could not but be attended with ultimate success. The deliberations of the council corresponded with the opinions of the general, and the day was appointed on which the assault was to take place. The cannon were well mounted, and embarked on floating batteries; the ammunition was already placed in wagons provided for its conveyance; the troops were animated by the prospect of a



combat, and not at all doubtful of a certain and brilliant victory.

A company of volunteers from Ohio, under command of Captain Brush, had arrived at the river Raisin, with a quantity of provisions for the army. Although the troops were already supplied for many days, these provisions might be necessary in the event of conquest. The distance from Detroit to the point at which they had arrived was thirty-six miles, and their march was liable to be intercepted by scouting parties from the enemy. Major Vanhorne was therefore despatched, with one hundred and fifty men, to meet and escort them to their destination. He had nearly reached Brownstown, on his second day's march, when he was attacked in front, and on both flanks, by a very superior force, regulars and Indians. A warm engagement followed. To the Americans the odds were fearful, but their resistance was obstinate. A retreat became indispensable, but to succeed in it, the exercise of great judgment was necessary. The volunteers had confidence in that of their commander, and he brought them off, with the loss of nineteen killed and missing, and nine wounded. Among the former were Captains M'Culloch, Bostler, and Gilcrease, who fought with that gallantry which has never failed to distinguish the citizens of the state to which they belonged; among the latter was Captain Ulry, since dead, whose conduct was no less noble than that of his companions.

Major Vanhorne had scarcely been sent from Sandwich, when a change of measures was adopted by the general in opposition to the wishes and entreaties of all his officers. The enterprise against Malden was abandoned, and he announced his intention of evacuating Canada and posting himself at Fort Detroit. The promulgation of his intentions was attended by an order to break up the encampment and to recross the river in the night. Consternation and dismay were visible in the countenance of every, the meanest soldier; their confidence was destroyed, and they considered their commander as timid and irresolute. The presence of their own officers, on whose capabilities they implicitly relied, alone prevented one universal burst of indignation. Reluctantly, and with much murmuring, they obeyed the order; and at day-break of the morning of the eighth they found themselves garri-

soned at Detroit. Here the intelligence of the late skirmish was received.

The communication, which had been opened by the army between Raisin and their present post, was shut up by the savages. It was indispensably necessary that it should be again opened, or the provisions at that river could never reach the garrison, which, in a few weeks, would be in want of rations.

To Lieutenant-Colonel James Miller the command of a strong detachment was for this purpose assigned. He immediately took up his line of march with three hundred regulars and two hundred militia. The regulars were of the 4th regiment, which had acquired imperishable renown, under the gallant Colonel Boyd, at Tippecanoe. The British and Indians anticipated the return of the detachment which they had driven back, and calculated that it would be largely reinforced. Their own body was therefore increased to a number, competent as they supposed, to drive off, or perhaps to capture them. They were seven hundred and fifty strong, and might be reinforced during an engagement from Malden, opposite to which was the village of Brownstown, which they had taken possession of a few days before. They fortified the ground at a place called Maguaga, nearly four miles from Brownstown, by felling trees and erecting breastworks. Behind these they intended to conceal themselves until the Americans should attain the point at which they might deal out to them what measure of destruction they pleased. The Indians were commanded by their great leader, Tecumseh; the united force by Major Muir of the British army.

On the 9th, the American troops, though they proceeded with great caution, reached the ground on which the enemy desired to see them before they discovered their ambuscade. Captain Snelling, commanding the advance, was attacked from it, and sustained a combat until the main body came up, when the British and Indians sprang suddenly from behind the works, formed a line of battle with great celerity, and commenced a brisk fire, accompanied with all the demonstrations of savage war. Sudden and unexpected as was the attack, the intrepid commander of the American force was not the least dismayed; his troops received the shock without shrinking, and with a coolness and sagacity

which are commonly looked for in soldiers of long experience, he as suddenly drew up his men, and after a rapid fire, charged upon the enemy with such unlooked for firmness, as to throw them into complete disorder. The obstinacy of the Indians, however, would not admit of flight; they might not act in concert with the British, and resorting to their own kind of combat, they were resolved not to abandon the contest. But the British had now recovered from their confusion, and a scene of indescribable horror ensued. Five hundred Indians, led on and encouraged by the regulars, (many of whom were like themselves, almost naked,) frightfully painted, and sending forth such dreadful whooping and yelling, as might have appalled almost any other troops, were fighting on every side of the American detachment; but on every side they were gallantly repulsed. No such means could induce these brave men to forsake their standard, or to disgrace their nation. They saw danger strengthening around them, they knew what kind of destiny awaited their defeat, and they were resolutely determined to repel the foe, or to yield only with their lives.

Colonel Miller found himself contending against a force more than one-third superior to his own, but he was animated by the same spirit which was exhibited by his men. Over such men, headed by such a commander, the enemy could not hope to be victorious. The firmness of the Americans had that effect upon the British and Indians, which it was intended by their savage noises should be produced on them. They found that they had no terrors to resort to which could attain their end, and they began from necessity to give ground. The obstinacy of the detachment was equal to the determined character of the Indians, and the latter became first intimidated.

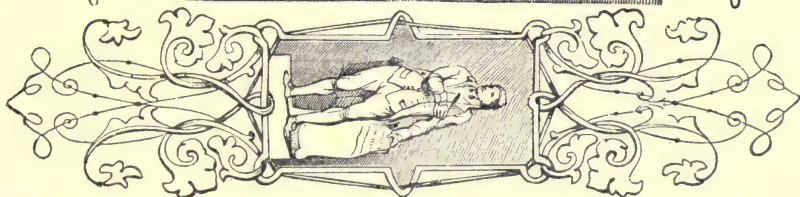
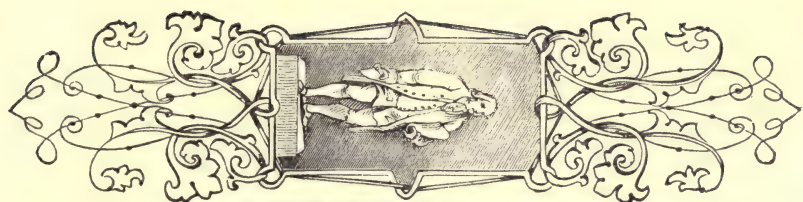
The united forces were driven, inch by inch, into Brownstown, and would have been beaten into submission, had not a squadron of boats been ready to receive them at that place. They made as rapid a retreat across the river as their oarsmen knew how, and returned to Malden with an inferior force to that with which they had left it. Their loss was, in regulars, seven killed and wounded; of Indians they left nearly one hundred on the field.

In the stout contest, which the detachment kept up for more





Battle of Magna Carta.





than two hours, there were killed fifteen, and wounded between thirty and forty. The officers who principally distinguished themselves were Captain Baker, Lieutenants Larabee and Peters, and Ensign Whistler. The first of them was shot three different times during the battle; the second lost his left arm, and the two latter were also wounded. Colonel Miller remained at Brownstown until the meridian of the next day, when he received orders to return to Detroit. The troops were exhausted by so vigorous an engagement, and they would have been unable to proceed further. A fresh detachment would probably be sent upon the same expedition; and Colonel Miller, knowing how necessary it was that his men should be refreshed, was not averse from this order.

Captain Brush was still waiting at the river Raisin for an escort, when he received a letter from General Hull, of the 11th of August, in the following words: "The state of the communication between this [Detroit] and the river Raisin is such, that a sufficient detachment cannot be sent to bring on the provisions with safety. You will therefore remain at the river Raisin, and in conjunction with the regiment, Le Croix's corps, and your own, protect the provisions and yourselves until further orders. The detachment sent for the purpose are so fatigued, after a severe and victorious battle, that it will return here." In a postscript to this letter, it was left to the discretion of Captain Brush, on consulting with Colonel Anderson, and the bearer of the letter, to proceed by a route on an upper road, crossing the river Huron; on determining on which, immediate notice was to be given at Detroit. Colonels Cass and M'Arthur were despatched, on the evening of the 14th, with three hundred and fifty men, to assist in the transportation of the provisions through that channel.

On the same day on which the victory at Maguaga was achieved, Captain Heald, the commandant at Fort Chicago, since called Fort Dearborn, received orders to proceed immediately with his command to Detroit, by land. Accordingly on the 15th, after delivering to the friendly Indians, in conformity to his instructions, all the goods in the factory, and such provisions as could not be taken away, and destroying the surplus arms and ammunition, he commenced his march with fifty-four regu-



lars and twelve militia, the whole amount of his force, and was escorted by Captain Wells, of Fort Wayne, and a few friendly Indians of the Miami tribe, sent thither for that purpose. As the place would now be defenseless, the inhabitants, principally women and children, were directed to accompany the troops. The little party had not proceeded more than one mile and a half, between a high sand-bank and the lake, when it was discovered that a number of hostile Indians were preparing to attack them from behind the bank.

Captain Heald immediately ordered his company to ascend it; and they had scarcely done so, when an action commenced, in which, after firing one round and charging with great velocity upon the Indians, the latter were obliged to give way in front, but joining the party on the American flanks, they kept up their fire, and got possession of all the horses, provisions, and baggage of every description. The friendly Indians standing aloof, refusing to take part in the contest, and apparently awaiting the issue, that they might determine on which side to belong, made it necessary for Captain Heald to draw off his few men, and take possession of a small elevation in an open *prairie*, out of shot of the bank or any other cover. Here he received an offer of protection from an Indian chief on condition of his surrender, which, without much reliance on its faith, he accepted, because of the great disparity of force, the Indian warriors amounting to nearly five hundred. Their loss was about fifteen. Of the Americans, twenty-six regulars and all the militia were killed: among them, Captain Wells and Ensign George Roman, both officers of great gallantry. Two women and twelve children were also killed. The Indians had it now in their power to move to any part of the country through which the communication had been formed between the river Raisin and Detroit, and numbers of them were accordingly posted at several points on that road, whilst a stronger party proceeded against Fort Wayne. Their absence was taken advantage of by Captain Heald, whom they had taken to the mouth of St. Josephs, and who now, with his lady, procured a conveyance to Michilimackinac, where he was received politely by the commandant, Captain Roberts. Mrs. Heald was wounded by six shot—the captain by two.

Any attempt to accelerate the transportation of the provisions would now be useless, for on the 13th the British had taken a position opposite Detroit. They were occupied in throwing up breastworks during that and the two following days, at the end of which time they had completed a battery of two eighteen pounders and an eight inch howitzer, without any interruption from the American fort. Major Denny, of the volunteers, who had been left in garrison at Sandwich with two hundred and fifty infantry, and a corps of artillerists, was obliged on their approach to make his retreat across the river. This he effected in good order.

On the 15th a flag of truce was received from the British, with the following summons: "Sir—The force at my disposal authorizes me to require of you the surrender of Fort Detroit. It is far from my inclination to join in a war of extermination, but you must be aware that the numerous body of Indians, who have attached themselves to my troops, will be beyond my control the moment the contest commences. You will find me disposed to enter into such conditions as will satisfy the most scrupulous sense of honour. Lieutenant-Colonel M'Donnell and Major Glegg are fully authorized to conclude any arrangement that may lead to prevent the unnecessary effusion of blood. I have the honour to be, &c.

ISAAC BROCK, Maj. Gen.

"His Ex. Brig. Gen. HULL, com'g at Fort Detroit."

To this summons it was returned for answer, that the "town and fort would be defended to the last extremity." The British then opened their batteries upon the town, and continued to throw their shells into the fort from four o'clock until midnight. The fire was returned until dark with little effect. At daylight the next morning the firing again commenced, whilst the British, under the protection of their ships, were landing their forces at Spring Wells. At about ten o'clock they proceeded in a close column, twelve in front, along the bank of the river towards the fort.

From Fort Detroit the enemy could not have been prevented from landing, had he attempted it, even in its more immediate vicinity. Its situation had been originally chosen without skill; the town actually standing between it and the river, and the foot

of the *scarp* being more than two hundred rods from it. On the evening of the 15th it was, therefore, suggested to General Hull that the British should be opposed on the margin of the river, that there was a position at that point whence they could be destroyed, with the utmost certainty, as fast as they could land; and that a strong battery, well manned there, would be a better security than the Fort of Detroit.

The suggestions of General Hull's officers were too often disregarded. The enemy had now landed, and no obstruction could prevent his approach until he should be either in the rear of the town or of the fort, when all the strength of the latter might be successfully brought against him.

The 4th regiment was stationed within the fort; the Ohio volunteers, and part of the Michigan militia, behind pickets, from which the enemy's whole flank could be annoyed; the residue of the militia were in the town to resist the Indians, and two twenty-four pounders, loaded with grape shot, were posted on an eminence from which they could sweep the advancing column. The superiority of position was apparent on the side of the Americans, and their force at least equal to that of the enemy. They had four hundred rounds of twenty-four pound shot, already fixed, and about one hundred thousand cartridges made. Their provisions were sufficient for fifteen days, and every man of them awaited the approach of the enemy with a full and eager expectation of victory. The head of the column had advanced within five hundred yards of the American line, when General Hull ordered the troops to retreat to the fort, and not by any means to open the twenty-four pounders upon the enemy. The feelings of the soldiers were not now to be restrained, as they had been a few days before at Sandwich. Indignation at the conduct, and contempt for the capacity of the commanding general, could not longer be disguised, and they loudly uttered their discontent. They entered the fort, however, which, though crowded so that any movement was impracticable, was scarcely capable of containing them. Here they were directed to stack their arms, and they had the mortification to see the flag of their country struck to the invaders, and the fort surrendered, without the discharge of a single gun. A white flag was suspended from its walls, and





Detroit.



such was the astonishment, even of the enemy's troops, that a British officer rode up to ascertain its meaning. It was the first instance, perhaps, which they had ever known, of the surrender of a military post without a previous arrangement of the terms and they had little expectation of so tame a submission. Those brave troops, who had but eight days before beaten and put this same enemy to flight, were now obliged to march out in review, and lay down their arms to an inferior force, who had done no other thing towards the capture of the garrison than showing themselves before it.

Not only the heroes of Brownstown, but the detachments then absent from the fort, the volunteers and all the provisions at Raisin, and those of no inconsiderable amount, the fortified posts and garrisons, and the whole territory and inhabitants of Michigan, were delivered over by capitulation to the commanding general of the British forces. Forty barrels of powder, two thousand five hundred stand of arms, and an armament, (consisting of twenty-five iron, and eight brass pieces of ordnance,) the greater part of which had been captured from the British in the revolutionary war, were surrendered with them. The detachment which had been sent out under Colonels Cass and M'Arthur, had received orders the night before to return; but when they arrived within sight of Detroit, before which the enemy was already stationed, it became necessary to use excessive caution in their nearer approach. They were accidentally thrown into a situation, the best for annoying and cutting off the retreat of the enemy, which could possibly be selected; and if they had heard any firing, or had seen any indication of an engagement, they might have attacked the rear of the column, and placed the enemy's raw troops between their own fire and that of the fort. They could not imagine what measures were in operation, when an uninterrupted silence prevailed between two hostile armies within fighting distance of each other; the arrangement for a surrender was the last among their surmises, because they knew that the garrison was superior to any force which could then be brought against it. Their doubts were relieved by a message from General Hull to the following effect: "I have signed articles of capitulation for the surrender of this garrison, in which you and your detach



ment are prisoners of war. Such part of the Ohio militia as have not joined the army, will be permitted to return to their homes on condition that they will not serve during the war. Their arms, however, will be given up, if belonging to the public." This despatch was forwarded by Colonel M'Arthur to Captain Brush. The volunteers and militia returned to their respective homes, but General Hull and the 4th regiment, and part of the 1st, were taken to Montreal, whence they were destined for Quebec. General Brock issued his proclamation announcing to the inhabitants of Michigan the cession of that territory to the arms of his Britannic majesty, and establishing regulations for its civil government. The capitulation of an immense territory, and the surrender of the whole north-western army, which was composed of men feelingly alive to the honour of their country, ambitious of distinguishing themselves in arms, and most of whom had left their families and their friends to encounter the fatigues and dangers of a long campaign, excited a sensation among the people from one extremity of the country to the other, not less indignant than that which was felt by the troops themselves. When General Brock said that the force at his disposal authorized him to require the surrender, he must have had a very exalted opinion of the prowess of his own soldiers, or a very mistaken one of the ability of those which were commanded by the American general. The force at his disposal was inferior to the garrison of Detroit, even in the absence of the detachments. In a letter to Sir George Prevost, he states the American force at two thousand five hundred—which, however, could not be correct, as it had met with losses in the different skirmishes—and his own at six hundred white troops, and six hundred Indians. By the return of his quartermaster-general, it consisted of—

British regulars, infantry and artillery,	382
Indians, principally Chippewas, Hurons and Pottawatamies,	650
Militia, in regular uniforms,	362
Total,	<u>1394</u>

Of these, few of the Indians were visible, as they generally skulked in the woods, and did not advance upon the fort with the British column. The force of General Hull's army, by the morn-

ing report, was one thousand and sixty, exclusive of the detachment of three hundred and fifty men, and three hundred Michigan militia, then out on duty, which would have made seventeen hundred and ten; superior to the enemy by three hundred and sixteen. On the arrival of Captain Brush from Raisin, his total force would have amounted to more than eighteen hundred and sixty.

Had the troops remained at Sandwich till the provisions were brought on, the surrender of this force to a body of troops inferior in quality as well as number, would have been prevented. The British did not appear at that place until they had heard of its evacuation, they were induced to follow up the American army, because of its abrupt departure from the Canadian shore, and it has been matter of conjecture whether General Hull's conduct was the result of cowardice, mental imbecility and moral depravity, or corrupt perfidy. In his official despatches to the government he accounted for it by saying, "the surrender of Michilimackinac opened the northern hive of Indians, and they were swarming down in every direction. Reinforcements from Niagara had arrived at Amherstburg under the command of Colonel Proctor. The desertion of the militia ceased. Besides the reinforcements that came by water, I received information of a very considerable force under the command of Major Chambers, on the river Le Tranche, with four field-pieces, and collecting the militia on his route, evidently destined for Amherstburg, and in addition to this combination and increase of force, contrary to all expectations the Wyandots, Chippewas and other tribes with whom I had the most friendly intercourse, at once passed over to Amherstburg and accepted the tomahawk and scalping knife. There being now a vast number of Indians at the British post, they were sent to the river Huron, Brownstown, and Maguaga, to intercept my communication.

"Under this sudden and unexpected change of things, and having received an express from General Hall commanding opposite the British shore on the Niagara river, by which it appeared that there was no prospect of any co-operation from that quarter, and the two senior officers of the artillery having stated to me an opinion that it would be extremely difficult if not impossible to

pass the Turkey river and the river Aux Canards with twenty-four-pounders, and that they could not be transported by water, as the Queen Charlotte, which carries eighteen twenty-four-pounders, lay in the river Detroit above the mouth of the river Aux Canards, and as it appeared indispensably necessary to open the communication to the river Raisin and the Miami, I found myself compelled to suspend the operations against Amherstburg and concentrate the main force of the army at Detroit, fully intending at that time, after the communication was opened, to recross the river and pursue the object at Amherstburg, and strongly desirous of continuing protection to a very large number of the inhabitants of Upper Canada who had voluntarily accepted it under my proclamation; I established a fortress on the banks of the river a little below Detroit, calculated for a garrison of three hundred men. On the evening of the 7th and morning of the 8th instant, the army, excepting the garrison of two hundred and fifty infantry and a corps of artillerists, all under the command of Major Denny of the Ohio volunteers, recrossed the river and encamped at Detroit."

But the greater part of the statement contained in his despatches was contradicted by his officers of the highest grades, and particularly that in which, after describing the approach of the enemy, he continued—

"It now became necessary either to fight the enemy in the field, collect the whole force in the fort, or propose terms of capitulation. I could not have carried into the field more than six hundred men, and left any adequate force in the fort. There were landed at that time of the enemy a regular force of much more than that number, and twice the number of Indians. Considering this great inequality of force, I did not think it expedient to adopt the first measure. The second must have been attended with a great sacrifice of blood, and no possible advantage, because the contest could not have been sustained for more than a day for the want of powder, and but a very few days for the want of provisions. In addition to this, Colonels M'Arthur and Cass would have been in a most hazardous situation. I feared nothing but the last alternative. I have dared to adopt it. I well know



the high responsibility of the measure, and I take the whole of it on myself."

With this account the government were not satisfied; nor was the court-martial before whom, on being exchanged for thirty British prisoners, he was tried.

After an investigation of all the facts, that court declined making a decision on the charge of treason, which was alleged against him, but said that they did not believe, from any thing which had come before them, that he had been guilty of that act. On the second charge, for cowardice—and the third, for neglect of duty and unofficerlike conduct, they condemned him. A sentence of death was passed upon him; but in consideration of his revolutionary services and his advanced age, he was earnestly recommended to the mercy of the president, who remitted the sentence, but directed a general order to be issued, by which his name was struck from the rolls of the army.

Could that genius and enterprise, which distinguished the other officers of the north-western army, have been imparted to its commander, a more glorious issue to the American arms must have been the necessary result. The conduct of the several detachments, and the ample success of each excursion, gave an almost incontestible proof that a vigorous prosecution of the warfare would have obtained complete victory. Had the effect of these successes been followed up by a rapid movement of the army itself, and proper advantages been taken of the desertions from the enemy's garrison, the whole country would have been subjugated, or laid open to future expeditions, and the object of the present would doubtless have been achieved. Weakness and imbecility, however, supplied the place of military talent, and the result was different from that which was looked to by the army and the nation.





## CHAPTER II.

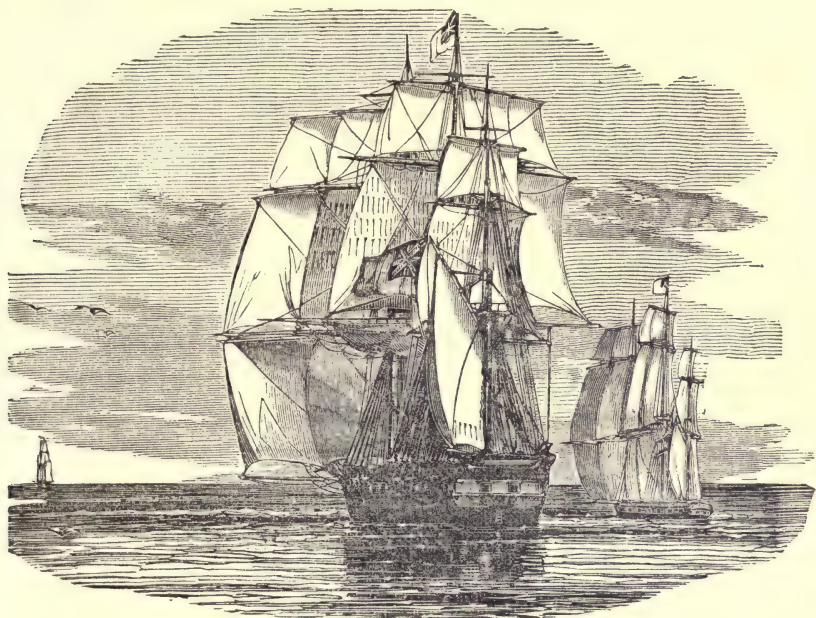
## Naval Campaign of 1812.



CONTEMPORANEOUS with the disaster at Detroit was a succession of brilliant achievements on the ocean, paralleled perhaps, but never yet surpassed; the intelligence of which entirely dispelled the temporary gloom which pervaded the minds, and filled with grief the hearts of the American people. At the commencement of hostilities, such of the United States vessels of war whose equipments were entire, had orders to proceed immediately to sea. A squadron of three frigates, one brig, and one sloop of war, sailed on the 21st of June from New York, in quest of several of the enemy's frigates, known to be at that time cruising off the entrance to that harbour. On the 3d of July, the frigate *Essex*, Captain Porter, went to sea from the same port; and the *Constitution*, Captain Hull, sailed from the Chesapeake bay on the 12th. The brigs *Nautilus*, *Viper*, and *Vixen*, were at the same time cruising off the coast, and the sloop of war *Wasp* was at sea, on her return from France.

On the morning of the 17th, an English squadron, consisting





Escape of the Constitution.

of the *Africa*, a ship of the line, the frigates *Shannon*, *Guerriere*, *Belvidere*, and *Æolus*, and a brig and schooner, the nearest of the frigates being within gun-shot, gave chase to the *Constitution*. A calm prevailing during the whole day, towing and warping were unremittingly resorted to; but the enemy, by attaching all the boats of the squadron to two of the frigates, were gaining so much upon the *Constitution*, as to bring their bow guns to bear upon her, though they received several discharges from her stern chasers. The chase continued all night. On the following morning (18th) at daylight, the *Constitution*, taking advantage of a fresh breeze which just then sprang up, spread all her canvass, outsailed, and escaped from her pursuers, and arrived at Boston on the evening of the 26th—whence she sailed upon a cruise on the 2d of August. The chase continued for sixty hours; the ship's crew were all that time at their stations, and the escape of the frigate from seven sail, two of which were warped up by more than six times the number of men and boats employed by the *Constitution*, has been considered as an incontestible proof of the superior skill and seamanship of her commander. The



officers of the pursuing ships, one of whom was afterwards captured by Captain Hull, have spoken of it in terms of the highest admiration.

Congress having authorized the president to issue letters of marque and reprisals, the ocean was very soon covered with private armed ships from almost every port in the United States. One of the first which sailed was the schooner *Atlas*, commanded by Captain David Moffat; who, on the 3d of August, fell in with two armed ships of the enemy, and at 11 A. M. engaged them both. The action commenced by a broadside of musketry from the *Atlas*, and was continued without intermission until noon, when one of the enemy's ships struck her colours. The whole fire of the *Atlas* was then brought against the largest ship, when that which had already struck again opened her broadside. A few shot from the *Atlas*, however, drove every man from her decks, and compelled her a second time to yield. At twenty minutes, P. M., the largest ship struck also, and on taking possession of them, Captain Moffat found them to be the ship *Pursuit*, of four hundred and fifty tons, sixteen guns, eighteens and nines, and thirty-five men; and the ship *Planter*, of twelve guns, twelve-pounders, and fifteen men. During the action the *Atlas* was very much disabled in her rigging, and had two men killed and five wounded. Among the latter, a seaman of the name of William Curl, who behaved with great coolness, and refused to quit his quarters, though he had received a wound which afterwards proved to be mortal. The three vessels were making a port, when a British frigate hove in sight and recaptured the *Planter*; but the *Atlas*, and her largest prize, arrived safely in the Delaware.

On the 13th of August the frigate *Essex*, which had now been cruising forty days, fell in with the British sloop of war *Alert*, Captain T. L. P. Langhorne, of twenty guns, and one hundred and thirty men; who immediately ran down upon the frigate's weather quarter, gave three cheers, commenced an action, and after eight minutes firing, struck her colours, with seven feet water in her hold, her hull cut to pieces, and three of her men wounded. The officers and crew of the *Essex*, which received not the slightest injury, were highly amused at the boldness of

the enemy, who must have calculated on an easy conquest over the American frigate. A few broadsides, however, deliberately fired into the sloop of war, brought down her colours; and after concluding an arrangement with Captain Langhorne to that effect, Captain Porter dismantled her of her armament, and putting all his prisoners, being about five hundred, on board, sent her under the command of one of his officers, Lieutenant J. P. Wilmer, as a cartel to St. Johns, in Newfoundland; whence she was instructed to sail for New York with whatever American prisoners might be given in exchange.

About seventeen days after, late in the afternoon of the 30th, Captain Porter discovered, and stood under easy sail, for one of the enemy's frigates, which was at the same time standing for him. The *Essex* was cleared, and the crew anxious for an engagement. Being apprehensive that the enemy might not find him in the night, Captain Porter hoisted a light at the masthead, and at nine o'clock discovered a signal of two flashes and a blue-light, at about four miles distance. The *Essex* stood on for the point at which this signal was given until midnight, but not getting a sight of the enemy he hove to, under an expectation that the hostile ship would do the same, until morning. To the great surprise of Captain Porter, and the mortification of his crew, at daylight the enemy was not to be seen.

On the 4th of September, in attempting to get into New York, the *Essex* was intercepted and chased by two large ships of war, who gained her wake and came up with great fleetness; but she escaped from them by manœuvring in the night, having first hoisted American colours and fired a gun to windward. One of the ships being considerably to windward of the other, and about five miles astern of the *Essex*, it was determined to heave about as soon as it became dark, and in the event of not being able to pass, to fire a broadside into her and lay her on board. The wind heading the *Essex* off, however, at thirty minutes after eight she bore away, and being cut off from New York, effected her escape into the bay of Delaware, where she arrived on the 7th without the loss of a man—having made nine captures in addition to the *Alert*. The *Alert* returned from St. Johns, and arrived

at New York on the 16th of September, with two hundred and seventy American prisoners.

On the 28th of August the Constitution returned to Boston from a cruise commenced upon the second of that month, and signalized by a brilliant and victorious contest with a British ship of war, the commander of which had repeatedly threatened the capture of any one of the American frigates which it might be his fortune to encounter. The frigate Guerriere had been sailing off the coast for several months previous to the declaration of war, and had frequently shown herself at the entrances of the different ports, with her name written in large characters upon a flag at one of her mastheads, and at another the words "*not the Little Belt*"—in allusion to an affair which had taken place between a sloop of war of that name and the United States frigate President, in which the latter ship retorted an assault committed on her, in time of peace, by discharging two broadsides at, and nearly sinking, the sloop of war.\* Captain Hull had been informed of the

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\* On the 16th of May, the *Little Belt*, commanded by Captain Bingham, and mounting eighteen guns, was hailed by the President, to know what ship she was. The captain of the *Little Belt* repeated the question, without answering it, and Commodore Rodgers again asked, "What ship is that?" This demand was followed by a shot from the *Little Belt*. The President returned it, and received a broadside from her. Commodore Rodgers then gave a general order to fire, and having silenced the other, again inquired what ship she was. He now received an answer which informed him of the character of the vessel, and he lay to, in order to assist her in repairing her damages.

"This occurrence," says Mr. Cooper, in his *Naval History*, "gave rise to much discussion in America, and widened the breach which already existed between the American and English nations. The account given by Captain Bingham differed essentially from that of Commodore Rodgers, and official investigations were made on both sides. On that of the Americans, a formal court of inquiry was held, and every sea officer in the ship was examined, as well as a great many of the petty officers. The testimony was very clear, and it was in a great measure free from the discrepancies that usually distinguish the accounts of battles, whether by sea or land. The fact that the *Little Belt* fired the first gun, was established by the oath of the officer who ordered the gun fired in return. This gentleman distinctly testified that he gave the command, under a standing order of the ship, and in consequence of having seen the flash and heard the report of the *Little Belt's* gun. He not only testified that he heard the report of the gun, but that he also heard the noise made by the shot which had entered the mast. Other officers and men corroborated this account, and in a way to render their evidence not only consistent with itself, but with probability. As the President was very fully officered, the number and respectability of the witnesses put at rest all cavilling about the facts."





Commodore Hull.

appearance of a single ship of war, to the eastward of the coast, and immediately stood in that direction. Between the 2d and the 19th of August, he made several captures of merchantmen, and recaptured an American brig which had been taken by the *Avenger*. On that day, in lat. 41 deg. 42 min. N., and long. 55 deg. 33 min. W., he discovered a large frigate of the enemy, set all sail in chase, and came up with and captured her after a spirited engagement of forty-five minutes. She proved to be the frigate *Guerriere*, of thirty-eight guns, but carrying forty-nine, and commanded by Captain James R. Dacres. She was discovered at about two, P. M. and at four, the *Constitution* was closing fast upon her. At ten minutes past four the enemy hoisted English colours, and commenced the action by firing several guns. The *Constitution's* fire was reserved until she could be put in such a position that every shot should take effect; and the sailing-master, Aylwin, brought her so skilfully into action, that Captain Hull's views were completely accomplished. But the enemy not comprehending them, suspected the Americans of

timidity, or of ignorance in the art of gunnery, and discharged his broadsides with an assurance of crippling his antagonist before he might open his battery. The crew of the *Constitution* anxiously awaiting the orders of their commander to fire on the foe, were themselves filled with surprise at his receiving so many rounds without yet returning them. Captain Hull, at his station however, was with great judgment reconnoitering the enemy with his glass; until finding that the ability and excellent seamanship of his sailing-master, brought up the ship to the exact station upon the enemy's beam from which he knew he could effectually annoy him, he issued his orders to fire broadside after broadside with the greatest possible rapidity. His crew, now perfectly entering into a plan which none but an able seaman could have conceived, executed his commands with as much alacrity as was required, and after fifteen minutes close and constant cannonading, the enemy's mizzen-mast having gone over his starboard quarter, the *Constitution* was placed upon his larboard bow, in a raking position, from which she swept the decks of the *Guerriere* with grape and musketry. The enemy's ship became now unmanageable, and the *Constitution* prepared to lay her on board. Lieutenant Bush attempted to throw his marines on her deck, when he was killed by a musket-ball, and the *Guerriere*, at the same moment, getting clear of the *Constitution*, shot ahead; but it being impossible to get her before the wind, she was exposed to every raking fire of her opponent. Her fore and mainmasts went over the side; her hull was cut almost to pieces, and at twenty minutes past five she surrendered. The execution of the *Constitution's* fire was dreadfully severe, and the management of the vessel reflected great credit on her officer. Her loss was but seven killed, and seven wounded. The *Guerriere's* loss was about one hundred and two—in wounded sixty-two, in killed and missing upwards of forty.

The *Constitution* had some spars and much of her rigging shot away; after repairing which, and getting out the prisoners, she set fire to and blew up the *Guerriere*, which was in so sinking a condition that she could not be brought into port. Captain Hull spoke in high terms of the crew, from the smallest boy in the ship to the oldest seaman. The officers behaved with great gal-

lantry. The brave and amiable Lieutenant William Bush, the first naval officer who fell in this war, distinguished himself by intrepidly leading on the boarders, when he received the ball which deprived his country of his services. Mr. Aylwin, who manœvered the ship so well throughout the battle, was severely wounded, and on his return to port was promoted to the rank of a lieutenant. The first officer, Lieutenant Morris, was dangerously wounded; his conduct procured for him the applause of the government, and a promotion to the rank of a post-captain. Captain Hull was received, with a degree of joy bordering on enthusiasm, by the citizens of every town through which he passed on his way to the navy department. Many of the state legislatures voted him their thanks and a sword; the freedom of several cities was presented to him, each in a gold box; and the people of Charlestown and Philadelphia subscribed for the purchase of two elegant pieces of plate. The Congress of the United States voted him, and his officers and crew, their thanks—and the sum of fifty thousand dollars.

The Guerriere was one of the finest and largest class of frigates in the British navy; a fact which is certified in a letter to Lord Keith from a British officer, Captain Thomas Lavie, of the frigate *Blanche*—in which ship, on the 19th of July, 1806, off the Faro Islands, after a contest of the same length, (forty-five minutes,) he captured the French frigate *Le Guerriere*, commanded by Monsieur Hubert of the legion of honour. His letter states, "*Le Guerreire is of the largest class of frigates, mounting fifty guns, with a complement of three hundred and seventeen men.*"

The squadron which had sailed on the 21st of June, under the command of Commodore Rodgers, and which consisted of the *President*, of forty-four guns, (flag ship;) *United States*, forty-four, Captain Decatur; *Congress*, thirty-six, Captain John Smith; *Hornet*, sixteen, Lieutenant-Commandant Lawrence; and *Argus*, sixteen, Lieutenant-Commandant Sinclair, returned from the cruise, and arrived in Boston harbour on the 31st of August, with about one hundred and twenty English prisoners on board, having been out seventy-two days. These vessels had been off the English channel, along the coast of France, Spain, and Portugal, within thirty miles of the Rock of Lisbon; thence to Madeira





Commodore Decatur.

Island, thence off Coro and Flores, and thence back to the Banks, and by Nova Scotia to Boston. They were, most of this time, in search of the Jamaica fleet; though on the third day out their attention was diverted by the appearance of a large sail, which was afterwards known to be the British frigate *Belvidere*, Captain B. Byron, and to which they gave chase. The *President* being a superior sailer to the rest of the squadron, was brought within gun-shot of the enemy. The breeze inclining to the westward and becoming lighter, however, the *Belvidere* had the advantage; at one P.M. she hoisted English colours. At four, the wind having changed, so that the two vessels sailed nearly alike, Commodore Rodgers determined to fire his bow chase guns at the rigging and spars, in the expectation of crippling the enemy, so that her escape would be prevented, or at least that the *President* might be enabled to come up. The fire was returned from the enemy's stern guns, and was kept up on both sides until thirty minutes past four, when one of the *President's* chase guns bursted, and killed and wounded sixteen men—among the latter the commodore; and by the explosion of the passing-box, from which the gun was served with powder, both the main and forecastle decks in its neighbourhood were much shattered. The helm was then

put to starboard, and the discharge of the President's broadside wounded, and considerably injured, though it did not destroy, the spars and rigging of the Belvidere. The President began now to lose ground, no hope was left of bringing the enemy to close action, except that derived from being to windward, and the probability that the breeze might favour the President first, and the commodore ordered her to be steered close after him, and the bow chase guns to be kept playing on his spars, rigging and stern. At five, the enemy's stern guns annoyed the President so much, that the commodore determined on another broadside, which being discharged, was found to have wounded the fore-topsail yard of the Belvidere: after this, the pursuit was kept up until eleven p. m. The President gave two more broadsides, but the Belvidere having stove and threw overboard her boats, and every thing which could be possibly spared; and having cut away her anchors, and started about fourteen tons of water, outsailed the squadron and effected her escape. Six men were killed and wounded by the Belvidere's fire, and sixteen by the accident on board the President, making in all twenty-two, among whom, beside the commodore, were five midshipmen, one lieutenant of marines, and one lieutenant of the ship.

While these events were transpiring on the ocean, several naval affairs took place upon the lakes, more inferior in their magnitude than in the heroism of the persons concerned in them. On the 30th of July, the brig Julia of one thirty-two-pounder, and two sixes, was fitted out at Sackett's Harbour, with orders to proceed to Ogdensburg. On the 31st, upon entering the St. Lawrence, within sight of Brockville, ten miles from her destination, she discovered the Earl Moira of eighteen guns, and the Duke of Gloucester of ten, lying to. The Julia bore down within three-quarters of a mile of them, and came to action. At half-past four p. m. the enemy opened their fire, and the engagement continued three hours and a half, during which time, numerous attempts were made to board the Julia by the boats of the Duke, but the thirty-two-pounder being well fought, the enemy were obliged to relinquish that plan. Both vessels hauled up under the land battery, and kept up a heavy fire. At eight o'clock, the Julia proceeded to Ogdensburg, without the loss of a man. The enemy's



loss has never been ascertained. In all the engagement three shot only struck the hull; one went through the jib, and another pierced the gun carriage of the Julia. Her crew were all volunteers; Lieutenant H. Wells having the command, Samuel Dixon being sailing-master, and Captain Benedict being on board with a small company of riflemen, acting as marines.

Lieutenant Jesse D. Elliot, of the United States navy, had been ordered to the Niagara river, to superintend the building of the vessels at Black Rock for the service on Lake Erie. The British brig Detroit, of six-pound long guns, formerly the United States brig Adams, which had been taken at the surrender of Detroit, and the brig Caledonia, of two small guns, both well appointed and supplied with blunderbusses, pistols, muskets, cutlasses, boarding-pikes, and battle-axes, came down the lake and anchored under the protection of Fort Erie, on the morning of the eighth of October. Lieutenant Elliot planned an expedition against them, which, because there were but few seamen at the station, was to be executed by volunteers from the army. This plan was communicated to General Smyth, who immediately agreed to supply the regulars to man two boats to attack and cut out the enemy's vessels. Several companies of artillery and infantry, who arrived at the rock only a few days before, on hearing the proposal for volunteers, stepped forward to a man, and such was the eagerness of all the troops, that it became necessary to resort to lot. Fifty men only were wanted: Lieutenant Elliot having heard that the same number of seamen were at a short distance from him, on their route to the naval station, and who arrived at twelve o'clock on the morning of that day, and whom, though they came off a march of five hundred miles, he determined should be also of the expedition. At four o'clock in the afternoon the selection was completed, and the men stationed in two boats, (fifty in each,) commanded by Lieutenant Elliot and Sailing-Master Watts. In the same boat with the former, was Lieutenant Isaac Roach, and with the latter, Captain N. Towson, both of the artillery, and officers of great merit, who had been fortunate enough to draw the successful lots. About three hours before daylight of the following morning, the boats put off from the mouth of Buffalo creek, and in two hours were alongside the vessels.



In ten minutes the crews of each were secured, the topsails sheeted home, and the vessels under way. The wind not being sufficiently strong to get them up against a rapid current into the lake, they were obliged to run down the Niagara, by the forts, under a strong fire of round, grape, and canister, from a number of pieces of heavy ordnance and flying artillery. They anchored within four hundred yards of the enemy's battery. The officer commanding these was hailed, and informed that if another gun was fired, the prisoners should be brought on deck and share the fate which might attend the American crew. This threat was disregarded, but the humanity of the American officers prevented them from executing it, though a constant and destructive fire was kept up from the enemy. The Caledonia succeeded in getting under the batteries at Black Rock; but the Detroit could not be got across. All her guns were therefore placed upon the side next the enemy, and a fire directed against the batteries as long as the ammunition lasted. During the contest several attempts to warp her over to the American shore were unsuccessfully made. The fire from the batteries was so destructive, that Lieutenant Elliot, expecting that she would soon be sunk if she remained in that situation, determined to drift down the river out of their reach, and prefer making a stand against the flying artillery. The cable was accordingly cut, and the Detroit made sail with light airs, but the pilot having abandoned her, she brought up on the American shore, on Squaw Island. The boarding-boat was immediately got ready and sent with the prisoners to the American side of the river, with directions to return for Lieutenant Elliot and whatever property could be got out of the brig; the boat, however, could not get back to her. Lieutenant Elliot was, therefore, obliged with Lieutenant Roach and four prisoners to make the shore in a skiff which they discovered under the counter. Protection was then asked for the brig from Lieutenant-Colonel Scott, of the second regiment of artillery, who immediately despatched a company of that corps, under Captain J. N. Barker, with a few pieces, to be stationed opposite the island. A boat from the British shore approached the brig with forty men, who succeeded in getting on board, but the fire of four pieces of artillery soon compelled them to abandon her, and she was left in

such a condition that it would be impossible to float her. Captain Chambers, and part of the 5th United States regiment, afterwards crossed to Squaw Island and burnt her with her valuable cargo of furs. The *Caledonia's* cargo was estimated at two hundred thousand dollars. In all these proceedings the American loss was three killed, three severely, and four or five slightly wounded. Major Cuyler, an officer of great bravery, was killed by the first shot from the enemy's batteries, as he stood on the beach; and Midshipman John C. Cummings was wounded in the leg by a bayonet as he was boarding the *Detroit*. The regulars were unused to this species of service, but they had entered into it with zeal and alacrity, and their conduct was such as entitled them to the approbation which they received from their officers. Captain Towson and Lieutenant Roach were actively engaged during the whole enterprise, and contributed to its success as much by their counsel as by their intrepidity. Captain Talbot Chambers (now major) it was who destroyed the brig on the island. The artillery which was stationed on the shore, when the *Detroit* was abandoned by the crew, was served with skill and dexterity. The loss of the enemy, by the deserters' report, was about seventy.

The United States sloop of war *Wasp*, having returned from France and refitted, put to sea again from the Delaware, on the 13th of October, on a cruise. On the 17th she discovered five sail steering eastward, and as several of them had the appearance of ships of war, she was placed in such a situation that she might escape from, or assail them, as circumstances might require. Keeping in the course she had descried them, on the following morning at daylight, they were seen ahead, and on being made out to be a convoy of six sail, under convoy of a sloop of war, the *Wasp* gave them immediate chase. The convoy, under a heavy press of sail, all made their escape and left the sloop of war to contend with the *Wasp*, though four of them were heavy ships, and mounted sixteen and eighteen guns. The weather was extremely boisterous, and the sea so rough, that the *Wasp's* guns had been already several times under water, she nevertheless, prepared for action, and at thirty-two minutes past eleven came down to windward in handsome style, on the larboard side of the sloop of war, and hailed her within about sixty yards. She was the

the British sloop of war Frolic, Captain Whinyeates, of twenty-two guns, and at this moment showed Spanish colours, but upon being hailed, she immediately hauled them down, hoisted the English ensign, and commenced a fire of cannon and musketry.\* The action becoming close, the Wasp received a shot which took away her main-topmast, threw it over the fore and fore-mainsail braces, and made her head yards unmanageable during the remainder of the action. She was soon after wounded in her gaff and mizzen-topgallant-sail, but kept up, notwithstanding, a close and galling fire as her side was going down with the swell of the sea, and every shot consequently struck the Frolic's hull. The English, as they almost invariably do, fired as their ship was rising, and therefore, either missed their aim, or struck only the rigging of the Wasp. The Wasp shot ahead, gave a well-directed broadside, took station on the larboard bow of the Frolic, and gradually neared her, until she lay her on board, although while loading another, and the last broadside, the rammers of the guns struck the side of the enemy's vessel. The Frolic had long before slackened her fire, and her jibboom having now entered between the main and mizzen rigging of the Wasp, two of the latter's guns were brought through her bow ports and swept her whole deck. The borders were immediately called, and such

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\* The following is an extract from Captain Jones's official account of the battle :

"The courage and exertions of the officers and crew fully answered my expectations and wishes. Lieutenant Biddle's active conduct contributed much to our success, by the exact attention paid to every department during the engagement, and the animating example he afforded the crew by his intrepidity. Lieutenants Rodgers, Booth, and Mr. Rapp, showed, by the incessant fire from their divisions, that they were not to be surpassed in resolution or skill. Mr. Knight and every other officer acted with a courage and promptitude highly honourable, and I trust have given assurance that they may be relied on whenever their services may be required.

"I could not ascertain the exact loss of the enemy, as many of the dead lay buried under the masts and spars that had fallen upon deck, which two hours' exertion had not sufficiently removed. Mr. Biddle, who had charge of the Frolic, states that from what he saw and from information from the officers, the number of killed must have been about thirty, and that of the wounded about forty or fifty—of the killed is her first lieutenant and sailingmaster; of the wounded, Captain Whinyeates and the second lieutenant.

"We had five killed and five wounded as per list; the wounded are recovering. Lieutenant Claxton, who was confined by sickness, left his bed a little previous to the engagement, and though too weak to be at his division, remained on deck and showed by his composed manner of noting incidents, that we had lost, by his illness, the services of a brave officer."



was the anxiety of every man to be the first upon her deck, that several of them were pulled down upon their own ship from the bowsprit of the Frolic. Lieutenant Biddle, who was a supernumerary officer of the Wasp, had mounted the hammock cloth to board, but his feet getting entangled in the rigging of the Frolic's bowsprit, Midshipman J. C. Baker, in his enthusiastic ardour, caught the lieutenant by the coat, drew him back upon the Wasp's leek, and was himself the first officer on that of the enemy. Lieutenant Biddle, however, immediately sprang up, ascended the Frolic's bowsprit, and upon getting on her deck found not a single man alive, except a seaman at the wheel and three officers, who threw down their swords and yielded. The Frolic's colours were still flying, and Lieutenant Biddle jumping into the rigging, pulled down the English ensign himself. Her birth-deck was crowded with dead and wounded, and her main-deck slippery with blood; her loss could not be accurately ascertained, as many of the dead had been swept into the sea by the falling of her rigging, and others were buried under the spars which had fallen on the deck; but by the declaration of her own officers it could not be less than thirty killed and about fifty wounded. The Wasp lost five killed and five wounded. Lieutenant Biddle was put on board the Frolic with a prize crew, with orders to make a southern port, but the approach of a British ship of the line, the Poictiers, Sir J. P. Beresford, of seventy-four guns, made it necessary for both ships to make sail for the most convenient port. The Frolic was so much damaged, and the Wasp so disabled in her rigging, that the enemy closed upon them fast, fired a shot over and passed the Frolic, pursued the Wasp, and made capture of both, and ordered them to Bermuda.

Thus terminated a spirited and brilliant contest of forty-three minutes, in the capture of an enemy's vessel, four guns superior at least to her antagonist. The conduct of the American officers and seamen showed that they were not to be surpassed in promptitude or courage; to that of Lieutenant Biddle, and Lieutenant Rodgers, first of the ship, and every other commissioned and warrant officer on board, Captain Jones has given official testimony.

A seaman, of the name of Jack Lang, gave a very extraordinary

instance of bravery and eccentricity, by mounting the enemy's bowsprit before any of his brother sailors had attempted to do so, though called back by his commander, and by the jocose manner in which he descended from it to the deck of the Frolic, with many humorous expressions peculiar to his profession. Lieutenants Booth and Mr. Rapp, and Midshipmen Gaunt and Baker, the latter of whom died in Bermuda, behaved with great personal bravery. Lieutenant Claxton, who was confined by sickness, left his bed, went upon deck, and noted the incidents of the engagement with great composure.

When Captain Jones returned from Bermuda he received from his countrymen as many flattering testimonials of their approbation as they had previously given to Captain Hull. The legislatures of Massachusetts, New York, and Delaware, of which latter state he was a native, presented him with their thanks, and several elegant swords and pieces of plate. The order of Cincinnati admitted him into the society as an honorary member, as they had Captain Hull; and the Congress of the United States voted him, his officers, and crew, twenty-five thousand dollars, in consideration of the loss they met with by not being able to bring in the Frolic.

The next naval action took place on the 25th of October, and terminated in the victory of the United States frigate United States, over the British frigate Macedonian, the command of which, upon her being brought into port, refitted and taken into the service, was given to Lieutenant-Commandant Jones, who, as a further testimony of the high opinion which the executive entertained of his gallant conduct in the capture of the Frolic, was now promoted to the rank of post-captain. The events of that engagement, in the order of succession, should have been recorded in the present chapter. They will be found, however, in another naval section of the work.

Though the enemy gained no advantages over our forces on the ocean which could counter-balance the disasters he sustained by these successive triumphs of the American arms, his superior class of ships made capture of several of our smaller vessels of war. The squadron which had pursued the Constitution on the 18th of July, captured a day or two after, the United States schooner Nautilus, of twelve guns, commanded by Lieutenant-

Commandant Crane; and on the 22d November, the United States schooner *Vixen*, Lieutenant-Commandant George Washington Reed, of the same number of guns, was captured, after a chase of nine hours and a half, by the British frigate *Southampton*, Sir James Lucas Yeo. Though the *Vixen* was commanded by a skilful and scientific seaman, and manned by as gallant a crew as any other American vessel, every effort to escape was found to be fruitless, and she was at length surrendered to a ship as much her superior in sailing as in force. She had not long been captive to the enemy before both vessels ran ashore and were immediately wrecked. The frigates' crew became mutinous from intoxication, and the property which was saved from both wrecks was retrieved by the generous and indefatigable exertions of the American sailors. Captain Reed, himself, was as actually engaged in the direction and encouragement of the men, as any of the British officers, and he received the public acknowledgments of Sir James, accompanied by an offer of his parole to return home. But such were the noble sentiments by which he was ever actuated, that he would not leave his officers and men, and preferring to remain with them in an unhealthy climate, to which they were taken, he became a victim to an obstinate fever, brought on by the anxieties and fatigues to which, by his unpleasant situation, and his unremitting attention to the comforts of his men, he was necessarily exposed. His interment was attended by the British officers, and a detachment from the garrison, and his funeral obsequies were accompanied by those honours due to his rank which are seldom withheld from a brave enemy.

A splendid triumph seldom fails to excite the general joy, and to call forth the universal admiration of the people. The rapid succession in which the naval conquests followed each other—the superiority of seamanship and gunnery which was exhibited in each, and the fact being now well ascertained that the inexperienced crews of the American navy could not only sustain a conflict with, but might actually capture the veteran seamen of the enemy, whenever chance should bring them together, upon equal terms; the attention of Congress was turned to the marine establishment, and the majority of the nation were desirous that measures should be immediately adopted for its enlargement.





UNITED STATES AND MACEDONIAN.



In the naval part of the war, the national ships were actively assisted by privateers. Twenty-six of these vessels, carrying two hundred and twelve guns, and two thousand two hundred and thirty-nine men, were fitted out from New York, and seventeen vessels, carrying one hundred and forty-three guns, and one thousand five hundred and thirty-eight men, from Baltimore, in 1812. The other seaports contributed proportionally to this force, by which the commerce of the enemy suffered very severely. Our space will permit but a slight notice of their operations.

The Nonsuch privateer of Baltimore, Captain Levely, carrying twelve twelve-pound carronades, and (at that time) between eighty and ninety men, on the 28th of September, 1812, fell in with a ship and schooner under British colours, the ship carrying sixteen eighteen and twenty-four-pound carronades, and two hundred men, including soldiers; and the schooner six four-pounders, and sixty men. "When within reach of the ship," says the logbook of the Nonsuch, "she gave us a broadside. Bore down upon her, and hoisted American colours, and returned ten broadsides, accompanied each time with a heavy volley of musketry; the ship and schooner keeping up a heavy fire upon us with their great guns and musketry. The engagement lasted three hours and twenty minutes, when the bolts and breachings of our guns, fore and aft, were carried away, on both sides. We could then only fire our musketry, or should have certainly captured them both. Dismounted several of the ship's guns, and damaged her very much in her hull and rigging. From the confusion which appeared on board, we judge that we must have killed a number of men. She bore away for Martinico. We being much crippled in our rigging, could not pursue her. Our crew all fought like true Americans."

The only other action which we shall notice, is thus described by a resident at Laguira, who saw it.

"On the 9th of December, the private armed schooner *Saratoga*, commanded by Captain Charles W. Wooster, made her appearance off Laguira. The same day the first lieutenant went on shore, and reported that they were twenty-four days from New York, and had seen nothing. On the 10th, Captain



Wooster ran down and anchored in the Roads, but in a few minutes was advised in a note from the American consul, to weigh and keep out of the reach of the batteries, as the commandant had said he would sink her if she came to. He immediately complied with this advice, and stood off. He soon discovered a schooner standing down the coast, and some miles to windward of Laguira. He boarded and captured her. She was laden with dry goods to the amount of twenty thousand dollars. The next day, at nine A. M., after the fog cleared off, the *Saratoga* was some miles to leeward of Laguira, in shore of a brig, but neither near enough to fetch in. At eleven A. M., the brig tacked off shore, and soon after the schooner did the same. It was known on shore that the brig was well armed and manned, and it was generally believed she would take the *Saratoga*, or at all events beat her off. The inhabitants all left off their business, from the commandant to the beggar, to see the engagement. The brig being so far from the schooner, it was some time before she came up with her. They being so far off, the spectators on shore could but just discover them from the house-tops; and just as they had given up all hope of seeing the battle, they discovered them both tacking to shore again. They continued standing in until within two leagues of the town, when the *Saratoga* commenced the action from her starboard bow guns, which was returned from the brig's larboard quarter. The action now became furious, so that both vessels were hid in columns of fire and smoke; but in a few minutes the firing ceased. When the smoke cleared off, no other colours were flying except the American, on board the *Saratoga*, which was victorious. On the 13th, the second mate and twenty-five seamen arrived at Laguira, in the brig's long-boat, which Captain Wooster had given them, together with every article belonging to them. The second mate was the only officer that was alive after the action, there being great slaughter on board the brig. On board the *Saratoga* they had but one man slightly wounded. The brig was the *Rachel*, from Greenock, mounting twelve long nine-pounders, and carrying sixty men. She had on board a cargo of dry goods, &c., invoiced at fifteen thousand pounds sterling."



## CHAPTER III.

*Hostilities of the Creek Indians.*

**I**NTELLIGENCE of the recent misfortune of the north-western army, of the assault upon the troops from Fort Chicago, and of the advantages which were consequently expected to follow those events having been communicated by early despatches from the tribes on the northern to those of the Creek nation on the southern frontiers; fears were entertained that the result of a council of the chiefs of that nation, which was to be held on the 22d of October, would be unfavourable to the interests of that department of the Union, and that a coalition would be formed between the Indians of the two extremities, which might require all the energies of the government to suppress. To this council

of the Creeks, their neighbours, the Choctaws, the Chickasaws, and the Cherokees were invited, and if the deliberations of such a convention should be influenced by the elation evidently produced by the late successes of their northern red brethren, the whole frontier from Tennessee to the bay of Mobile, and all the settlements between Georgia and the Mississippi, and Tennessee and Florida, would be subject to their depredations. The Seminoles, a tribe attached to the Creek nation, were already at war with the white people on the borders of East Florida, and had murdered several citizens on the Georgia side of the St. Mary's. The same hatchet which is raised by one of a chain of tribes, linked together by common or confederated interests, is generally grasped by all. The Creeks were not dilatory in following an example which they at first pretended to restrain, and their outrages surpassed those of any of the northern nations.

The British, availing themselves of one of the best harbours in the Gulf of Mexico, sent several of their vessels loaded with the implements of war to Pensacola. The commandant at St. Marks, a small Spanish settlement between East and West Florida, informed the chiefs that the English would soon be there with guns, knives, hatchets, and ammunition for the red people, whom they considered to be their friends. These were put into the hands of the Indians, and they commenced their hostilities against all the defenseless inhabitants of Tennessee and Georgia. The presence of an army became now necessary in the south, and the states there were authorized to call forth as many of the militia, as, in conjunction with the regulars, might be thought competent to quell the associated tribes. The Indians of the Creek nation are not subject to any kind of restraint in war, they will neither give nor receive quarters, and pursue no other mode but that which leads to entire extermination. The force necessary to combat such an enemy must, therefore be extensive, and the executives of the different states made every exertion to arm and equip the whole quota of the militia.

The Seminoles had been committing depredations of the most daring nature, before they had any intelligence from their northern friends; and uniting to their forces a number of negroes whom they had captured at Florida, they made frequent incursions into



the state of Georgia, murdered many inhabitants, and carried off much valuable plunder. On the night of the 11th of September, about twenty American troops, principally marines, under command of Captain Williams of that corps, were marching with two wagons towards Davis' creek. When within ten miles of their destination they were attacked by a party of Indians and negroes of about fifty in number, with whom they contended until every cartridge was expended. Captain Williams, in the course of that time, received eight wounds, and was carried off by two of his men, leaving Captain Fort, of the volunteers, to command his troops, and to keep up the contest; but he being also wounded, and finding the strength of the party to be diminishing, retired in the best manner he could, and left the Indians in possession of the wagons and teams. The night was excessively dark, and several of the men, who were wounded, had concealed themselves in the bushes. On the following morning a detachment was sent from a block-house a few miles off, to which some of the men had escaped, to examine the ground. They found Captain Williams, with his right leg and left arm broken, his left leg shot through with one, and his right arm with three balls, and a wound through the lower part of his body. One man was killed and scalped, and the whole number of wounded was six. The Indians destroyed one wagon, but took the other to carry off their dead and wounded—of whom the number was much greater than that of the marines. Captain Williams languished for three or four days, and expired at Davis' creek. He was a brave young man, and noted for his sedulous attention to the duties of his station.

On the 24th of the same month, Colonel Newnan, of the Georgia volunteers, left Picollata with about one hundred and seventeen men for the Lotchway towns. On his third day's march, when within seven miles of the first of those towns, he was met by a body of about one hundred and fifty Indians, all of whom were mounted. This meeting was very unexpected to the Indians, but they immediately dismounted, formed a line of battle, and marched a few paces in advance. This movement was intended to intimidate the Georgians, but Colonel Newnan gave orders for the charge, and determined to put an end to the encounter by entirely subduing the Indians or putting them to flight.

The battle-ground was situated midst a number of swamps, which bounded three of its sides. The Indians remained firm until the Georgians had advanced within fifty paces of their line, when they fled to these swamps for safety. The whole of the musketry being fired at them with precision, made great execution, and among others, killed their leader, King Paine. His tribe, on hearing of his fall, were resolved on rescuing his body from the enemy, and returned to the action for that purpose. Several charges were now made, and the Indians were constantly driven back, until at length they determined on one desperate effort, and recovering all their strength and spirits, they made a push against the Georgians, which, though it was received with firmness, could not be resisted with much vigour. The Indians obtained the body of King Paine, gave up the conflict, which had now lasted upwards of four hours, and carried off their killed and wounded, supposed to be between twenty and thirty.

Before night of the same day, the Indians were reinforced from their towns by other Indians and negroes, and renewed and kept up the action, with the greatest obstinacy, until they began to think the volunteers invincible, and again fled. Their force in the second attack was upwards of two hundred, but they were repulsed with nearly the same loss as in the first; whilst the volunteers loss in both, was one killed and nine wounded.

Colonel Newnan's situation was becoming extremely hazardous; the enemy's numbers were hourly increasing, and they began to surround him on all sides: he therefore threw up a small breast-work, from which he was determined to defend himself until his troops should be reinforced also. He had already despatched expresses to procure additional numbers. His wounded men rendered him unable to retreat or to advance; and he repelled every assault which was made upon this little work until the 4th day of October. The Indians were continually harassing him, day and night; and finding they could make no impression on his fortification, they glutted their insatiable vengeance by shooting all his horses. On the 4th, a perfect silence prevailed in Colonel Newnan's camp, and the Indians suspected from that, and the circumstance that their fire had not been returned the day preceding, that he had deserted it in the night. Under this assur-

ance they approached the works, without any thought of opposition until they were within forty paces of them, when the Georgian troops suddenly showed themselves, compelled the Indians to retreat with precipitation, and after several rapid discharges of musketry, killed and wounded about thirty warriors more. They then decamped, without being molested, and were stationed about ten miles off, on the Picolatta road, where they were obliged to await the arrival of fresh horses and provisions. Colonel Newnan's account of this affair bestows a high degree of credit upon every volunteer of his detachment; and their intrepid conduct, as well as his judicious arrangements, served to give a check to the combined red and black warriors, which promised security to the neighbourhood, at least, until larger forces should be organized. Besides the loss of King Paine, the Indians had three of the principal chiefs and their young governor slain; and Bow-legs, their second in command, severely wounded.







General Harrison.

## CHAPTER IV.

*Operations of Taylor and Winchester on the North-western Frontier.*

**I**MMEDIATELY after the surrender of the garrisons at Michilimackinac, Chicago, and Detroit, measures were adopted for the organization and equipment of a new army. An offer had been made to receive volunteers into the service from the states and territories in the neighbourhood of Michigan, and they came forward with an alacrity which made it unnecessary to hold out allurements. The recovery of the surrendered territory, and the re-establishment of its former civil government, were the strong motives which induced all the brave and patriotic men in its vicinity to take up arms and march against the invaders. The inhabitants of that territory were now governed by an authority too rigorous to be compatible with those notions of liberty inspired by the genius of their own constitution, and they were awaiting the expected succour from their friends with the deepest anxiety.

The new army was in readiness almost instantly, the different corps concentrated with unprecedented celerity, and by the early part of September their disposition was completed. Two thou-

sand Pennsylvania volunteers, under Brigadier-General Crooks, left Pittsburg for the shores of Lake Erie; General Tupper's brigade of Ohio volunteers was to retrace the road which had been formed by the first army, from Urbanna to the Rapids; and a brigade of Virginians, when they should arrive, under General Leftwich, was to pursue the same route. General Payne's brigade of Kentucky volunteers, the first of the present army which was in readiness, and the 17th United States regiment, under Colonel Wells, were to proceed to Fort Wayne, and descend to the Rapids of the Miami of the lakes, which place was assigned for the general rendezvous.

The command of the second north-western army was given, by the unanimous wishes of the troops composing it, to General William H. Harrison; the immediate command of the Kentucky troops under General Payne, devolved on him, by his being brevetted a major-general by the governor of that state.

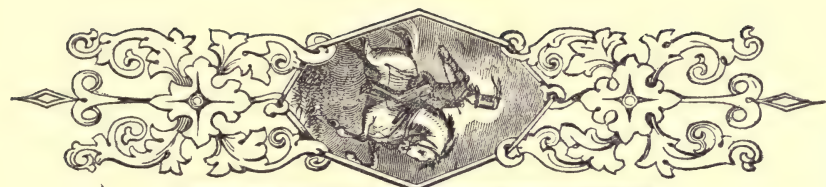
Forts Harrison and Wayne were at this time garrisoned only by a few regulars and volunteers; numerous British and Indian forces had already marched from Malden to lay waste the Ohio frontier, and the latter post would naturally be their leading point. General Harrison, therefore, immediately marched to its relief with Payne's brigade and the regulars.

The former post (Fort Harrison) was invested on the 3d of September by the Prophet's party from the Wabash. On the night of the 4th they set fire to one of the block-houses, containing the contractor's property, and followed up that act by a resolute attack upon the fort. The garrison was commanded by Captain Zachary Taylor, of the 7th United States infantry, and consisted of only eighteen effective men. The flames were raging—the Indians, about three hundred in number, were howling in their usual horrid manner, and the women and children of the barracks were crying for protection which they did not expect to receive. When the block-house should be entirely consumed, a large entrance would be open to the enemy; no efforts had yet succeeded to extinguish the fire; its ascendancy baffled every attempt—and the men themselves began to despond. Two of the stoutest jumped over the pickets, with a hope of escaping in the dark; but one of them was cut to pieces and scalped, and the

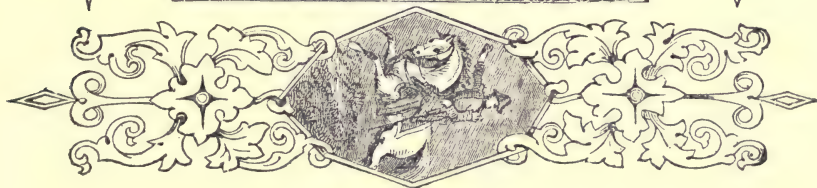
other returned with his arm broken, and implored to be re-admitted into the fort. Under these discouraging circumstances, Captain Taylor never suffered his presence of mind to forsake him; and applying the only resource now left him, he ordered a small party to dislodge the roof of the house, so that it might fall in the space, whilst a few men in another house were to keep up a continual fire upon the Indians. His plan succeeded—the men became confident in their exertions, and a breastwork was formed under a heavy shower of bullets, along the cavity which the destruction of the block-house produced. A desperate defense was now made, and a constant and rapid fire kept up until six o'clock in the morning of the 5th. Several furious assaults had been repulsed, and the Indians, at the approach of day, judging the number of the garrison to be greater than it actually was, retired with a quantity of captured cattle, after having shot all the horses belonging to the fort. Doctor Clarke was the most indefatigable man in the engagement, and Captain Taylor's good conduct was so highly applauded, that the president soon after promoted him to a majority. Two men only were killed, with the exception of the deserter, and one wounded. The Indians always carry off their dead, unless their numbers are too small, and their loss is seldom without great difficulty ascertained. All the provisions were consumed by the fire, and the garrison compelled to subsist on green corn until reinforcements should come on with supplies. The little band, which was now reduced to fourteen men, repaired the damages sustained by the fort, and constructed a strong fortification across the space. The bastions were all put in the best state of defense, and every precaution adopted to sustain a second assault. To the great joy of the garrison, however, Colonel William Russell arrived about the 16th, from Illinois, with six hundred mounted rangers and five hundred infantry, and Fort Harrison became sufficiently manned to resist the attack of a much larger body of the Prophet's warriors.

The situation of Fort Wayne was now more critical than that of any other fortress in the west. The Indians, who had proceeded from the battle-ground of Chicago, were afterwards reinforced by those from Malden, and they laid siege to this fortress in very large numbers. The troops in garrison amounted to





Defense of Fort Harrison.





seventy. On the night of the 5th of September the Indians commenced an attack, they fired principally upon the sentinels, but did no injury. On the 6th, several of the men went out of the south gate of the fort, but had not proceeded more than seventy paces when two of them were killed, and by the exertions of their companions their bodies were carried into the fort, to protect them against savage indignities. During the night another attack was made by the whole force of the Indians, and when they approached the fort, it was confidently expected that they would scale the works, but the incessant fire of the garrison compelled them to abandon their designs. What they could not do by force they then attempted by stratagem. Resort was had to all kinds of artifice, and they at length brought up two wooden pieces, which they had contrived in imitation of cannon, to persuade the garrison that the British had supplied them with battering pieces to reduce the place. These were brought up, and one of their chiefs threatened to batter down the walls unless the troops would immediately capitulate, or to storm them on the following day, when they would be reinforced by seven hundred other warriors. In three days they menaced an entire massacre, but the troops in Fort Wayne, still hoping that it would be relieved by the arrival of the expected volunteers, resolved to hold out until every article of provision should be exhausted. No other attempts were made upon the fort until the 9th, when a firing was commenced and continued at intervals all day, but without doing any damage. On the succeeding day they began their war-whoop, renewed their fire, and were again unsuccessful. Not a man was killed in any of their attacks, the only wounds which they inflicted being upon those who ventured without the fort. On the evening of the 12th, General Harrison's forces reached the garrison, and the whole Indian body precipitately fled.

The depredations which they had committed about the fort were as inhuman as they were extensive. All the stock upon the neighbouring farms was destroyed; the corn, all the small grain, and every house burned; and all the horses and cattle killed. The Indian agent, Stephen Johnson, was murdered, and his body treated with shocking indecency: and, indeed, the commission of no act indicative of savage vengeance was omitted. The approach



of the regulars and volunteers, prevented perhaps, the destruction of the fields at a greater distance, and secured a supply of Indian corn for the garrison. But the great augmentation of the troops made it necessary to obtain supplies of other provisions, from the towns of those tribes which had been so active in destroying what the farms might have afforded. It was now high time, too, to make the Indians feel those effects of the war which their repeated cruelties had provoked, and to convince them that the American troops were not quite so contemptible and degraded as the Indians implied them to be from the surrender of the late commander-in-chief on the same station. General Harrison, therefore, divided his forces into scouting parties, under the command of his most active officers. Several expeditions were forwarded against the Indian settlements, and some expectations entertained that they might be drawn into battle. But they did not betray the same willingness to combat these corps which they had heretofore shown to encounter others. The Kentuckians were held in great dread by most of the Indian warriors, and the expression of "*Kentucky too much*," has not unfrequently accompanied their orders to retreat, in the form of justification. On the 14th, General Harrison despatched Colonel Wells, with his own and Colonel Scott's regiments, and two hundred mounted riflemen, with instructions to proceed up the river St. Joseph, which, with the St. Mary's, forms the Miami of the lakes, and to destroy the Pottawatomie towns at Elk Hart. Another detachment, consisting of Colonels Allen's and Lewis' regiments, and Captain Garrard's troop, under command of General Payne, but which the commander-in-chief accompanied, proceeded, on the same day, to the destruction of the Miami towns on the forks of the Wabash. The object of each expedition was accomplished without opposition, the Indians of those tribes having abandoned their villages, and the different detachments returned to the fort on the 18th.

Several Indian tribes, who constantly resisted the solicitations of the enemy to join their standard, had before this time expressed their desires of being taken into the service of the United States; arrangements having been made between General Harrison and the executive government, which authorized him to employ them, he had accepted the services of Logan, a chief of reputation as a

warrior, and was accompanied by him on his march towards Fort Wayne. On the arrival of the troops at that place, Logan went forward with about seven hundred men, raised an Indian yell, and pursued the retreating tribes. This signal was answered by them, at the distance of only one hundred and fifty yards; but the intervention of the river and several other obstacles, prevented the pursuit being attended with effect.

General Winchester, of the United States army, arrived at Fort Wayne immediately after the expedition against the Indian villages, and the command of the detachments under General Payne and Colonel Wells, was resigned to him in obedience to the orders of the war department. The volunteers, who had centred all their affections in the person of the commander of their choice, were not satisfied with this change until General Harrison reminded them of the revolutionary services of his successor, and communicated to them the instructions from the department confirming him in the command of all the troops but those which were assigned to General Winchester.

The strength of this army was continually augmenting. Volunteer associations to a greater number than it was politic to receive into the service, were formed, equipped, and ready to march against the enemy in the same day, and a selection was made from among them of such a force as was at that time required, in conjunction with the troops which had already marched, to make the army complete. But such was the patriotic impetuosity of the western people, that many of the corps who were not fortunate enough to be received, immediately provided themselves at their own expense, and insisted upon accompanying their fellow-citizens to the field.

The siege of Fort Wayne having been raised by the Indians, it now entered into the views of the two generals to march forces to the relief of the intermediate garrisons between that place and Detroit, against which an ultimate movement was to be made; the leading object of the expedition being to regain the ground which had been lost, and to retrieve the late disaster, not only by repossessing that fortress, but by the capture of Malden and all the great rallying points of the northern Indians. Through the

exertions of the indefatigable governor of Ohio,\* every necessary supply was forwarded with the greatest possible despatch, and General Winchester therefore advanced to Fort Defiance, whilst General Harrison fixed his head-quarters at St. Mary's; distance from each other sixty miles. The troops destined for Defiance amounted to about two thousand. On the 22d of September, they marched cautiously in three divisions, the baggage being in the centre, and a company of spies, under Captain Ballard, protected by Garrard's troop of dragoons, about one or two miles in front. As it was necessary to guard against surprise from a watchful enemy, whose principle it is to assault his foe while sleeping, they encamped each day at three o'clock, and threw up breast-works around the tents, at the distance of about twenty paces. On the fourth day's march, Ensign Ligett of the regulars, and four of the volunteers, proposed, and were permitted to go forward and discover the strength and situation of the enemy at Defiance, which was then distant about twenty-five miles. But their enterprise, which was too hazardous for any but experienced men, entirely failed. These adventurous young men were assailed on the night of the 25th, and though they defended themselves until their strength was exhausted, were overpowered, killed, tomahawked, and scalped in the usual barbarous manner of the Indians.

On the 27th, Captain Ballard, who was reputed in that army for his courage and prudence, was ordered to go out with his company of spies, supported by forty of Garrard's dragoons, and bury the bodies of the young men, whose death was now known of in the camp. When within about two miles of the spot where they had been killed, Ballard discovered an Indian ambuscade, but as he had marched his men in two divisions, placing one on

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\* His excellency, Return J. Meigs, afterwards postmaster-general of the United States, whose active zeal in the service of his country was manifested by his administration of the civil affairs of the state over which he presided, before and after the commencement of hostilities. When the invasion of Ohio was threatened by General Brock after he took possession of Michigan, Governor Meigs, with incessant diligence, highly honourable to his patriotism, equipped, provided, and organized one army after another, until the safety of the state was secured, and the mass of the inhabitants of that devoted territory fled to him for protection. Several members of his own family were among the volunteers, and one of his brothers was one of the three men killed at the siege of Fort Wayne.



each side of an Indian trace, through which the enemy supposed the volunteers would advance, the ambushade became useless, and the Indians succeeded in gaining an eminence; whilst they were forming, Captain Ballard gave them a galling fire, which they immediately returned, accompanied by a loud and terrific yell. Ballard ordered up the horse and charged upon, and put them to the route. Pursuit was given, but the enemy knew the country better than the dragoons, and escaped into the swamps and thickets with the loss of four or five wounded. No injury of consequence enough to name was sustained by the volunteers.

On the 28th, Ballard's spies were again sent forward, and discovered a fresh trail of Indians. On communicating which to the general, he ordered twenty troopers to cross the river to ascertain whether the wagons could pass, and on finding a tolerable ford, the whole army crossed about five miles above Fort Defiance, and encamped on its bank. At one hundred yards from the edge of the river, another trail was discovered, when Captain Garrard was despatched, with twenty of his troops, to proceed and ascertain by whom it was made. Three miles below General Winchester's encampment, and two miles above Defiance, the enemy were observed to be encamped in large numbers, with war poles erected and the bloody flag flying. When the army commenced its march from Fort Wayne, the troops were provided with six days rations only, but Colonel Jennings's regiment was to meet them with provisions at Fort Defiance. At a certain point on the Aux Glaize, the colonel was directed to halt and erect a block-house, which having done, he ascertained by his spies, that the British and Indians were encamped near the fort, and without reinforcements it would have been imprudent to have proceeded further. Late on the night of the 29th, he therefore forwarded an express to General Winchester, to make known his situation, forty miles above Fort Defiance; and as the troops were now nearly starving, Captain Garrard proceeded with great despatch to Colonel Jennings's regiment, to escort with his dragoons, a brigade of pack-horses with provisions for their relief, and effected a hazardous tour in thirty-six hours, though all the time drenched with incessant rain.

General Winchester, seeing that his force was far inferior to

that of the newly discovered enemy, and finding himself in their immediate vicinity, despatched expresses to General Harrison at the St. Mary's, to obtain reinforcements, and to apprise him of the situation of the left wing. Expecting the required relief in a few days, he put his encampment in a state of defense, by fortifying himself on the front and sides, and kept out reconnoitering parties, who were to communicate with him the moment the enemy should come out to attack him. On the other hand, the enemy had possession of Fort Defiance, and were repairing and enlarging its armament.





## CHAPTER V.

*Operations of Generals Harrison and Hopkins.*

GENERAL HARRISON, on receiving General Winchester's despatch, immediately took up his march with General Tupper's mounted men, and arrived at the encampment near Defiance, when he moved forward with the whole force to attack that fort. But

the British and Indians had evacuated it, as soon as they heard of his approach, and taking away the cannon with which they had increased the armament, proceeded down the Miami to the rapids. The mounted men were ordered to pursue the retreating enemy, and to destroy their encampment at that place; and General Harrison left Fort Defiance on the 5th, to join the right wing of the army, and to concentrate the whole at the appointed rendezvous, at the Miami of the Lakes. After his departure, General Winchester countermanded the order to General Tupper, and the expedition against the Indians at the rapids, was consequently frustrated.

Until the contemplated concentration could be effected, no movement could be made which would promote the ultimate object of the campaign, and the troops at Fort Defiance, which



now assumed the name of Fort Winchester, remained in that garrison until the 14th of December.

In this interval, Logan, with about thirty friendly Indians, attempted to examine the movements and situation of the enemy on the Miami, where his party was discovered and dispersed. Logan and six of them returned, the remainder escaped in another direction.

On the 22d of November, he was again ordered by General Winchester, to take two Indians and go forward to make discoveries. Early in the day they were met and captured by the celebrated hostile chief, Wynemack, and a party of five Indians. Logan resorted to a stratagem, by which he persuaded Wynemack that he had come to join him, and he and his two men were therefore allowed to carry their arms and march in front. Logan having communicated to his comrades his determination to rescue himself or perish in the effort, they suddenly turned upon their enemy on the first opportunity, and each brought his man to the ground; Wynemack being among them. The remaining three fired in return, shot Logan and one of his Indians and retired. Logan exchanged the shot, notwithstanding his wound was mortal, and springing with his wounded companion upon the horses of two of those whom they had just killed, whilst his third man protected him in his retreat, he returned to Fort Winchester. On the 28th he died, with the firmness of a brave warrior, sincerely regretted by the whole garrison, who knew him to be a distinguished, and considered him a useful leader. At Franklinton, General Harrison was actively employed in forwarding ammunition, pieces of ordnance, ordnance stores, provisions, &c., and arranging depots for their reception on the road, which was designated for the right wing of the army.

On the 18th of November, he sent Lieutenant-Colonel J. B. Campbell with a detachment of six hundred men on an expedition against the Indians of the Miami tribes, residing in the Mississinewa towns. On the morning of the 17th December the detachment charged on the first of those towns, drove the Indians across the Mississinewa river, killed seven warriors, and took thirty-seven prisoners. During this contest a part of the detachment was sent to the other towns, which were immediately

evacuated by the inhabitants, and soon after destroyed by the detachment, which then returned to the ground first occupied. On the morning of the 18th, at daylight, the camp was attacked by a number of Indians, of the Miami and Delaware tribes, amounting to about three hundred. The attack commenced on the right of the line, which was occupied by Major Ball's squadron of horse, who gallantly contended against them for one hour, and sustained almost the whole conflict. The Indians then fell back, and were courageously charged by Captain Trotter at the head of his company of Kentucky dragoons.

In this charge Captain Trotter was wounded in the hand: the Indians fled with great velocity, and were pursued as far as was thought prudent. Captain Pierce, of the Zanesville troop was killed, whilst he was charging the foe. Lieutenant Waltz was shot through the arm, but being resolved on losing no share of honour, he remounted his horse, and in that act was killed by a shot through the head. He was of the Pennsylvania volunteers. Captains Markle and M'Clelland of the same corps, and Captains Garrard and Hopkins were complimented by the commanding general. Lieutenant-Colonel Simmerall, Major M'Dowell, and Captains Hite and Smith, are said to have distinguished themselves with persevering bravery; and the whole detachment exhibiting throughout a great degree of patience, fortitude, and coolness, rendered the victory more honourable to the American arms, by respecting the high and inestimable principles of humanity, and rendering them, as they ever ought to be, inseparable from bravery. The general's orders, on their departure, were to that effect, and the most rigid obedience was paid to them.

The battle being ended, and the object of the expedition completely accomplished, Colonel Campbell took up his march for Greeneville on his return, having first forwarded an express for reinforcements, Tecumseh being reported to be in the neighbourhood with five hundred warriors, and the name of Tecumseh had now become terrible. If the detachment should be intercepted an obstinate engagement must follow, and by the morning report of the 24th, three hundred and three of the men were rendered unfit for duty by being frost bitten; an attack from a superior body of Indians could not therefore be sustained with any pros-

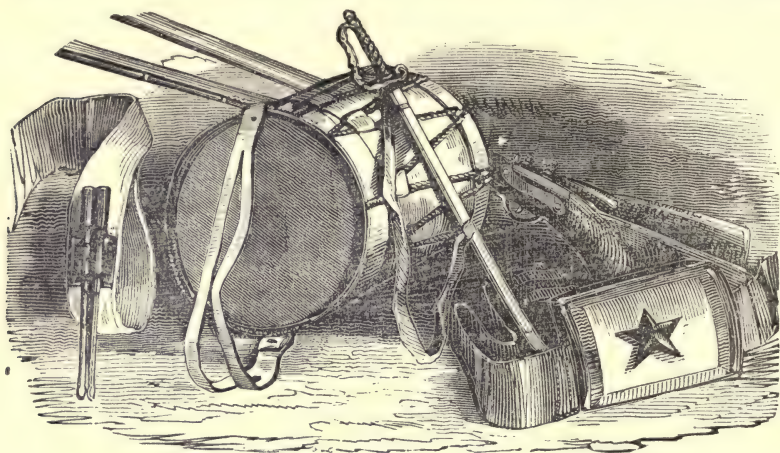
pect of success. The detachment reached Greeneville, however, without being once molested, and the citizens received the troops with marks of admiration for their gallantry, and for the lustre which they had thrown upon the north-western army. In the destruction of the first town the American loss was one killed and one wounded. In the action of the following morning, eight killed and twenty-five wounded; the Indian loss in killed was known to be forty, the number of wounded could not be ascertained. The prisoners were brought away by the detachment. It has been thought to be unaccountable that the Indians did not attack the detachment in its retrograde movement, but this circumstance may be attributed to the loss of their prophet, who it is supposed by many, was killed in the second engagement.

Notwithstanding the season was already so far advanced, and the difficulties in marching against the enemy were every day increasing, General Harrison was too steadily determined on the recovery of Michigan, and the subjugation of Malden and the country surrounding it, to be put aside from his views by any such obstacles. Every implement was provided which might possibly be necessary, the military stores and trains of artillery were already at the different depots, and the troops from Pennsylvania being at Mansfield, those from Virginia at Delaware, and those from Ohio at Fort M'Arthur, the purposed concentration could be almost immediately effected. General Winchester with the left wing, moved from Fort Winchester to the Rapids, in conformity to the previous order of General Harrison, who was now commissioned a major-general in the army of the United States, and appointed to the command of the north-western army. A line of posts was to be established, and strong fortifications erected as intermediate places of rendezvous, at equal distances between Defiance and Detroit; and that he might with more convenience superintend the building of these, the commander-in-chief fixed his head-quarters at Upper Sandusky.

A brigade of Kentuckians had been sent into the Indiana territory, under General Samuel Hopkins, with instructions to attack every settlement on the Wabash, and then to fall upon the Illinois. On the 11th of November they marched from Fort Harrison with a view to the destruction of the Prophet's town. Seven



boats, with provisions, forage, and military stores, commanded by Colonel Barbour, accompanied the expedition, and the troops marched on the east side of the Wabash to protect them, until the 19th, when they reached the town, and were engaged three days in the destruction of it and a large Kickapoo village adjoining, while General Butler, with three hundred men, surrounded and destroyed the Winnebago town on the *Ponce-passu* creek: each of these towns had been abandoned by the Indian warriors, and a small party was sent out to reconnoiter the surrounding woods and to seek out their hiding-places. Several Indians showed themselves, fired on the party, killed one man and compelled the others to retire. This occurrence was no sooner made known to the troops than sixty horsemen offered to proceed to the ground to bury their companion and to encounter the enemy. When they attained the point, near the Indian encampment, they were fired upon from an ambuscade and eighteen of the party were killed and wounded, among them several promising young officers. The enemy had taken possession of a strong defensive position, in which there was no hope of effectually assailing him, having a deep rapid creek in its rear in the form of a semicircle, and being fronted by a high and almost perpendicular bluff of one hundred feet, which could only be penetrated by three steep ravines. The death of these gallant young men excited a spirit of revenge among the troops, and they moved forward under a heavy fall of snow, determined to attack the enemy in his stronghold at every risk. But on arriving at the place they found that the Indians had evacuated it and crossed over *Ponce-passu* on their retreat. There being now no certain point to which the operations of the troops could be directed, General Hopkins gave orders for their return to Fort Harrison, where they arrived after an absence of sixteen days, having in that time traversed one hundred miles of a country of which, to use the words of their commander, they had no cognizance.



## CHAPTER VI.

*Operations on the Northern Frontier in 1812.*

**W**HILST these events were transpiring in the western department of the Union, dispositions had been made and troops collected at the different stations along the Niagara river, from Lake Erie to Lake Ontario; and beyond the latter along the shore of the St. Lawrence. Excursions from the American to the British shores of the rivers had been frequently made, and on some occasions were followed by smart skirmishes. The chief command of these forces was given to Major-General Dearborn. The immediate command of the troops on the Niagara to Major-General Van Rensselaer of the militia of the state of New York. Brigadier-General Smyth was stationed at Black Rock. The troops on the St. Lawrence were principally garrisoned at Ogdensburg, and commanded by Brigadier-General Brown, also of the New York militia.

On the 15th of September twenty-five British boats passed Madrid up the St. Lawrence, laden with military stores and munitions of war. About one hundred and forty of the militia from Ogdensburg and Hamilton, with one gun-boat, posted themselves on an island to obstruct their passage. The enemy, approaching

the head of the river, brought himself immediately in front of this island, when a rapid and well-directed fire made him ply for the opposite shore, where he took shelter in the woods. The militia had no small boats to pursue the flying squadron, and the British had time to rally, to procure assistance, and to return to a contest. This they did with little delay, and after an action of three hours, they were reinforced by two gun-boats and a large body of men from Prescott. The militia being then outnumbered, their ammunition nearly exhausted, and their loss one man killed and two wounded, abandoned the enterprise and retreated to their respective quarters. The injury sustained by the enemy has never been known.

Captain Forsyth of the rifle regiment being at the garrison of Ogdensburg, projected an expedition against a small village in the town of Leeds, in Canada, called Gananoque. In this village was the king's storehouse, containing immense quantities of arms and ammunition, and Captain Forsyth was resolved on its destruction. In the night of the 20th instant, therefore, a number of boats being provided, he embarked with seventy of his own men, and thirty-four militia men. Before daylight of the 21st they reached the Canadian shore, and landed unobserved at a little distance from the village. The enemy soon after discovered them, and they were fired on by a party of one hundred and twenty-five regulars and militia. Forsyth drew up his men and returned their fire with such effect, that the British retreated in disorder and were pursued to the village, where they rallied and resolved on making a stand, and disputing the passage of a bridge. An action took place here which resulted in the same manner as the former. The enemy again fled, making his escape over the bridge and leaving ten of his number killed, eight regulars and several militia men prisoners, and the village and storehouse in possession of the American party. Captain Forsyth lost one in killed and one wounded. After releasing the militia prisoners on their parole, and taking out a quantity of arms, fixed ammunition, powder, flints, and other articles of public property, and setting fire to the storehouse, he returned to Cape Vincent with these and the eight regulars prisoners.

In retaliation for this daring exploit the enemy determined on





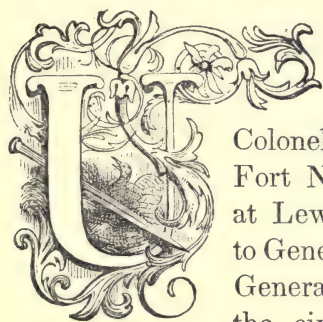
Defense of Ogdensburg.

attacking and destroying the town of Ogdensburg. Opposite to this is situated the Canadian village of Prescott, before which the British had a strong line of breastworks. On the 2d of October they opened a heavy cannonading on the town from their batteries, and continued to bombard it with little intermission until the night of the 3d; one or two buildings only were injured. On Sunday the 4th, having prepared forty boats, with from ten to fifteen armed men in each, they advanced with six pieces of artillery to storm the town. General Brown commanded at Ogdensburg in person, and when the enemy had advanced within a short distance, he ordered his troops to open a warm fire upon them. The British, nevertheless, steadily approached the shore, and kept up their fire for two hours, during which they sustained the galling fire of the Americans, until one of their boats was taken, and two others so shattered when they retreated.

The success of the detachment which had proceeded against the brigs *Detroit* and *Caledonia*, on the 9th of October, excited a

strong spirit of enterprise among the troops at the different stations along the Niagara. The whole number under the command of General Van Renssellaer, amounted, as it is said, to five thousand eight hundred, and were disposed of in the following manner. Two thousand and nine hundred, with which he was himself stationed at and near Lewistown. Thirteen hundred regulars, under General Smyth, near Black Rock, distance from Lewistown twenty-eight miles. Five hundred militia and volunteers at Black Rock and Schlosser. Six companies of field and light artillery, (three hundred,) and about five hundred of the 6th and 13th regiments, and three hundred of the 23d, under Major Mullany, at Fort Niagara.

The general was pressed from all quarters to give the troops an opportunity of distinguishing themselves, and his own opinion was that the crisis of the campaign was rapidly advancing, and, as he informed the commander-in-chief, "*That the blow must be soon struck or the toil and expense of the campaign go for nothing, for the whole will be tinged with dishonour.*"



UNDER these circumstances, and influenced by these impressions, he ordered the regulars, under Lieutenant-Colonel Fenwick and Major Mullany, to leave Fort Niagara and proceed to his head-quarters at Lewistown. The same orders were issued to General Smyth's brigade.—When the British General Brock had made arrangements for the civil government of Michigan, and had appointed such officers as he thought necessary to its administration, he transferred the command of Detroit to Colonel Proctor, and moved his own quarters to Fort George that he might facilitate the preparations on the Niagara frontier. But General Van Renssellaer received intelligence which was thought to warrant a movement into Canada, and was at the same time informed that General Brock had returned to Detroit, upon hearing of the preparations in the west for the recovery of that post, and had taken with him such troops as could with safety be spared from Fort Erie and Fort George. He therefore promised



his army that they should cross over and act against Queens-town, and it was for this purpose that the regulars were ordered from Fort Niagara and the Rock. The possession of Queens-town was important to the success of the American arms in Canada, in this or in any future campaign. It is a handsome town, below the Falls of Niagara, at the head of the navigable waters of that strait, and immediately opposite Lewistown, a place of depot for the merchandise for all the country above, and for the public stores for the line of posts along the Niagara and Detroit rivers. It has an excellent harbour and good anchorage; the banks on both sides are elevated, and the landscape is among the most splendid and sublime.

It was intended that the attack upon Queenstown should be made on the morning of the 11th at three o'clock, and the embarkation was to take place from the old ferry opposite the heights, to which situation experienced boatmen were employed to navigate the boats from the landing below. The river here is one sheet of violent eddies, and an officer who was considered to be the most skilful for such a service was sent ahead, but in the extreme darkness of the night, passed the intended point of embarkation far up the river, and very unaccountably fastened his boat, containing nearly all the oars of the other boats, to the shore and abandoned the detachment. The ardour of the officers and men was not the least abated through the night, though they were exposed to a tremendous north-east storm which prevailed for twenty-eight hours and in that time deluged the whole camp. But they were mortified by this distressing dilemma, and the appearance of daylight having extinguished every prospect of success the detachments returned to camp, and an express was sent to Black Rock to countermand the orders to General Smyth. The miscarriage of the plan had no other effect than to increase the ardour of the troops, and they impatiently awaited for the arrival of orders which would bring them into personal opposition with their enemy. Arrangements were therefore made to that effect, and the night of the 12th was designated for the operation. Two columns, one of three hundred militia, under Colonel Van Rensselaer, and another of three hundred regulars, under Lieutenant-Colonel Christie, were to pass over together. Thirteen



boats were provided for their conveyance, and when the heights should be carried, Lieutenant-Colonel Fenwick's flying artillery were to cross over, then Major Mullany's detachment of regulars, and the other troops to follow in order. Early in the night Colonel Christie marched his detachment by the rear road from Niagara to camp. At seven in the evening Lieutenant-Colonel Stranahan's regiment moved from Niagara Falls; at three o'clock Mead's regiment, and at nine, Lieutenant-Colonel Blan's regiment. Each corps was in camp in proper time. At the dawn of day the boats were in readiness, and the troops embarked early in the morning of the 13th, under cover of a commanding battery mounting two eighteen-pounders and two sixes.

Whilst these preparations were going forward, the British at Queenstown were surreptitiously apprized of the contemplated movement of the American troops, and they despatched expresses to give intelligence to General Brock, who was at that moment quartered at Fort George. The heights were lined with troops, and measures were instantly adopted to repel the debarkation. The boats had scarcely put off from the American, before they received a brisk fire of musketry from the whole line on the Canadian shore. The American batteries were immediately opened to sweep the opposite shore, and three British batteries played with great severity upon the boats.

Lieutenant-Colonel Scott, of the artillery, who had marched with uncommon expedition from Niagara Falls, arrived in time to reply to the enemy's fire with two six-pounders. The eddies in the river were violent, the shot from the enemy fell in heavy showers on the boats, and the difficulty of combating the former, and avoiding the latter, not only embarrassed the officers, but put many of the oarsmen into confusion. A grape-shot from a battery below Queenstown, which enfiladed the place of crossing, struck the boat in which was Lieutenant-Colonel Christie, wounded him in the hand, and alarmed the pilot and boatmen so, that the boat fell below the intended place of landing and was obliged to return. The boats in which Major Mullany followed the two columns fell also below the point, two of them into the hands of the enemy, and the Major returned. But Colonel Van Renssellaer, who commanded the whole detachment, and whose



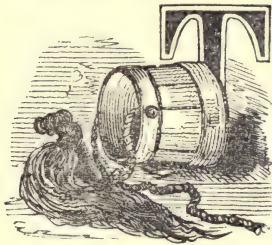
Battle of Queenstown.

boats formed the van, moved to the enemy's shore, succeeded in touching it at the designated place, and effected the landing of the van, consisting of one hundred men, under a tremendous fire directed upon him from every point. In ascending the banks the colonel received four balls. Captain Armstrong, Captain Malcolm, and Captain Wool, were wounded, and Ensign Morris was killed. Lieutenant Valance was killed in crossing. A party of the British then issued from an old fort below Queenstown, but on being fired on by the Americans immediately retreated.

A strong battery which fired incessantly upon the van, obliged it to retire under the banks, where lay Colonel Van Rensselaer, who, though in excruciating pain, with great difficulty stood up and ordered his officers to proceed with rapidity and storm the fort, and if possible, to ascend and carry the heights. The men were instantly rallied. About sixty of the most determined, commanded by Captain Ogilvie, seconded by Captain Wool, though wounded, and Lieutenants Kearny, Carr, Hugginan and Sammons, and Ensign Reeve, of the 13th; and Lieutenants Gansevoort and Randolph, cautiously mounted the rocks on the right of the fort, gave three cheers, assailed and reduced it after three



desperate charges in which they were met with firmness; they then carried the heights, and thus gallantly executed the whole order of the colonel, driving the enemy down the hill in every direction. A party of them retreated behind a stone guard-house, where a piece of ordnance was briskly served, but a fire from the battery at Lewistown was so effectually directed upon it, that it was in a few minutes silenced.



THE British then retreated behind a large stone-house. The American artillery-men were ordered to turn the guns of the fort upon them, but Lieutenant Gansevoort had hastily spiked the cannon and they were therefore now useless. The enemy's fire was silenced, however, with the exception of one gun, which was out of reach of the American cannon, and the boats were crossing unannoyed but by this battery. Reinforcements arrived after this brilliant success, under Captain Gibson of the light artillery, Captain M'Chesney of the 6th, and Captain Lawrence of the 13th infantry, and Colonels Mead, Stranahan, Allen, and other militia officers. At about ten o'clock the British line was reformed, and flanking parties sent out. Lieutenant-Colonel Christie succeeded in getting across the river with five hundred men and took command.

General Brock having received the expresses which were forwarded to him, arrived at this moment at the head of a reinforcement of regulars from Fort George. He had led them around the heights to the rear of the battery, when Captain Wool detached one hundred and sixty men to meet them. The detachment was driven back, but being immediately reinforced pressed forward again, and was again driven back to the brink of the precipice forming the Niagara river above Queenstown. Seeing that nothing short of a miracle could save the detachment from being beaten; finding that the party were nearly without ammunition, and supposing it useless to sacrifice the lives of brave men, one of the officers was in the act of hoisting a white flag on a bayonet when Captain Wool, knowing that if the men held out a short while longer they would be relieved by reinforcements,



tore down the flag, and ordered his officers instantly to rally the men and bring them to a charge.

At this moment Colonel Christie arrived with such a reinforcement as made the detachment amount to three hundred and twenty men, to whom he immediately repeated the orders of Captain Wool, (whom he directed to leave the ground to get his wound dressed,) led them on to the charge himself, and making a forcible appeal to the bayonet, entirely routed the British 49th regiment of six hundred men, and pursued them up the height until he regained the ground which the detachment had just before lost. Part of the 41st were acting with the 49th, both of which regiments distinguished themselves under the same commander in Europe, and the latter had obtained the title of the Egyptian Invincibles, because they had never on any occasion before, been known to give ground.

General Brock, indignant almost to exasperation at the flight of this regiment, was attempting to rally them, when he received three balls at the same instant, which immediately terminated his brave career. His aid, Captain M'Donald, fell at his side mortally wounded. At about two o'clock in the afternoon, Brigadier-General Wadsworth of the militia, Lieutenant-Colonel Scott of the artillery, and Major Mullany crossed the river, and took the several commands which had been assigned to them. Captain Wool obeyed the order of Colonel Christie, crossed over to Lewistown, had his wounds dressed, and returned to the scene of action. General Van Rensselaer had crossed over to Queenstown, and considering the victory complete after the repulse of the 49th, and the death of General Brock, he commenced preparations for encamping in the enemy's country. But in expectation of further attacks by other reinforcements, he directed that the camp should be immediately fortified, and committed this service to Lieutenant Totten, a skilful officer of the engineers.

The enemy was reinforced at three o'clock by several hundred Indians from Chippewa, who, under the direction of the British in the town, commenced a furious attack upon the American troops, whose whole number did not exceed nine hundred and twenty. As they approached through the woods and an orchard, the troops not knowing their number, at first

faltered. Lieutenant-Colonel Christie and Lieutenant-Colonel Scott behaved with great coolness, and making every possible exertion, led the men promptly on, and in a short time the Indians being routed, fled before the bayonet and rifle, leaving several dead and one of their chiefs a prisoner. General Van Rensselaer observing that the troops were embarking very slowly, and fearing the necessity of a strong accession of numbers, crossed over to Lewistown during the assault of the Indians, to facilitate the movements of the militia. Twelve hundred and upwards of them were standing on the American shore inactive and, apparently, unconcerned spectators of the battle.

At the very moment when victory was perching on the banners of their country, the ardour of the unengaged troops entirely subsided, and no effort could induce them to cross the line and share in the glory of the day's triumph. Thrice already had the battle been won; three assaults of the enemy had been vigorously repulsed, and the conquest of the town and heights must necessarily follow. One third part of the disengaged men would secure it, but they had witnessed at a distance the furious attack of the Indians, they had seen the bodies of their wounded fellow soldiers brought back to the garrison, and they refused to go further than the laws of their country authorized the general to command them. They claimed the privileges allowed them by the laws of their country, whose honour and renown they refused to assist in promoting; they beheld as gallant exploits as the world perhaps ever knew, but still they were not animated by the same spirit of enthusiasm, nor the same degree of valour. Peremptory orders were disobeyed, solicitations disregarded, and all argument exhausted to bring them to a sense of that duty which the general vainly hoped had urged them in the first instance to press for an opportunity to act.

Lieutenant-Colonel Bloom, who had been wounded in one of the three engagements, mounted a horse and rode among them with the general, but his example had no more effect than the general's persuasions. Meanwhile, another reinforcement was seen coming up the river from Fort George. The battery on the hill was considered as an important check to their ascending the heights, and measures were immediately taken to send them a

fresh supply of arms and ammunition. The reinforcements, however, obliques from the road to the right, and formed a junction with the Indians in the rear of the heights. The American troops being scattered in pursuit of the Indians, lost an opportunity of raking the reinforcing column as it approached the heights, and were taken a little by surprise.

Knowing that the troops at the heights must be nearly exhausted, and their ammunition as nearly expended; overwhelmed with mortification and disappointment at the refusal of the militia to cross, and seeing that another severe conflict which the reduced detachment could not long sustain without great loss would very soon take place, General Van Rensselaer despatched a note to General Wadsworth, acquainting him with the conduct of the militia, "Leaving the course to be pursued much to his own judgment, with an assurance that if he thought best to retreat, he (General Van Rensselaer) would send over as many boats as he could collect, and cover his retreat by every fire which he could possibly make with safety." The last British reinforcement amounted to eight hundred men, and when drawn up in line with their light artillery, and flanked by their Indians, at about four o'clock an obstinate contest ensued, and was kept up for half an hour, with a tremendous discharge of flying artillery, musketry, and cannon, until the American detachment finding that they were not to be reinforced, their strength being nearly exhausted, and those of the militia who had already distinguished themselves, being unable to fight longer, received orders to retreat upon the reception of General Van Rensselaer's note, which they did in good order, down the hill to the point at which they had landed.

Many of the boats had been destroyed, others had been taken, and there remained but four or five to take the whole of the detachment to Lewistown. These were crossing when the last affair took place, and the boatmen becoming panic struck, had fled from their duty, and the boats were consequently dispersed, so that few of the Americans escaped from the Canada shore. In this distressing dilemma, they were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war, to the number of three hundred and eighty-six regulars, and three hundred and seventy-eight militia; sixty-two of the regulars and twenty of the militia being wounded



The estimate of killed in the detachment was at ninety. When the last detachment arrived from Fort George the whole American force was formed into line, in three divisions, and amounted to only two hundred and forty men, the militia refusing to act longer, and many of the regulars being then already wounded. The victorious enemy treated their prisoners, while on the frontier, with the most generous tenderness, but for want of will or power, they put no restraint upon their Indian allies, who were stripping and scalping not only the slain, but the dying that remained on the field of battle. The lifeless body of Ensign Morris, who was brother to the amiable and distinguished naval officer of that name, was stripped to his shirt, and indignities too savage to be recorded were committed on his person. The body of General Brock was committed to the grave with the usual military honours, and the guns at Fort Niagara were fired during the ceremony as a tribute of respect for a gallant enemy.

There was no officer crossed the line, upon this memorable day, who did not do honour to his country. Colonel Scott was in full dress, which with his tall stature rendered him a conspicuous mark for the enemy—it has been said that several Indians told him of their having shot at him, but he received no wound. A company of volunteer riflemen under Lieutenant Smith, who took the Indian chief, behaved with the courage of veterans.—Lieutenant-Colonel Fenwick was wounded three different times, and each time severely; he nevertheless continued fighting, and was particularly distinguished through the whole day's engagement.—Captains Gibson, Wool, and M'Chesney, have been spoken of as having done the same.

The British forces in the different battles, with the exception of the first, was at no time less than eleven hundred; in the last and fourth engagement it was much greater. Their loss is not known. With regard to close and courageous fighting, the victory on this occasion belonged to the Americans; but with regard to the loss which was sustained, it was exclusively yielded to the British. An arrangement was entered into on the 14th by which a few prisoners were paroled, the remainder were taken to Montreal.

Whilst the troops were embarking at Lewistown in the morn

ing, the batteries at Fort George opened a cannonade upon Fort Niagara, which was returned and kept up with hot shot on both sides for several hours. From the south block-house of the American fort the shot was principally directed against the village of Newark, and several houses were set on fire, one or two of which were entirely consumed. This battery was commanded by Captain M'Keon, and the guns were worked with great ability. The enemy commenced throwing shells, as there were no defenses against these, Captain N. Leonard, the commandant at Fort Niagara, preferred ordering a retreat from the garrison rather than expose a handful of men to their danger. The bursting of a twelve-pounder, by which two men were killed, deprived the fort of its best battery. The retreat had scarcely been ordered, when a number of boats loaded with troops, were observed to put off from the enemy's shore, upon which Captain M'Keon returned to the fort with a guard of twenty men, remained in it during the night, and was joined next morning by the rest of the garrison. Very few were wounded, and none killed except the two men by the bursting of the gun.

Early in the following week the British batteries below Fort Erie opened a very heavy fire upon the village and fortifications of Black Rock, and kept it up at intervals during the day. There being no larger pieces than sixes at the breastworks, very few shot were returned. Several cannon-shot struck the battery, and two or three passed through the upper loft of the west barracks. The east barracks were destroyed by a bomb thrown from a twenty-four-pounder, which blew up the magazine, and burnt a quantity of the skins taken in the Caledonia. General Porter, of the New York militia, was sitting at dinner in his quarters, when one twenty-four-pound ball struck the upper loft of his house, and another entered it through the roof.

On the 22d the enemy landed at St. Regis, a village without a garrison of any kind, and from which he could move immediately upon the camp at French Mills. The tribe of Indians inhabiting the village were friendly to the United States, and as it entered into the views of the enemy to persuade them from the service of the American government into which they might probably enter, and to flatter them into their own, Sir George Prevost, under

the authority with which he was clothed, had forwarded to this tribe, in the form of a present, a quantity of baggage, consisting of blankets, guns, specie, &c., under an escort of soldiers, and accompanied by despatches, in which he solicited their alliance. The force was variously stated from one to three hundred, and Major Young, commanding the American militia from Troy, at the Mills, determined on immediately attacking them, as it was understood they were halting there for an increase of numbers. He detached Captain Tilden to the St. Lawrence, with a view of gaining a circuitous route to one of two houses in which the British were said to be quartered, and to secure the enemy's boats which were stationed there, to prevent his retreat. Captain Lyon was detached with orders to take the road running along the bank of the river St. Regis, with directions to gain the rear of the other house, and Major Young with the remainder of the forces moved on in front. When within fifty yards of either house, he heard a firing which convinced him that Captain Lyon was engaged. One round was sufficient. The enemy surrendered, but not to the number reported to have landed, and the Americans made forty prisoners, and took one stand of colours, thirty-eight muskets, the despatches, and all the baggage. Two batteaux were taken by Captain Tilden, and the troops returned to their encampment at about eleven o'clock. The British lost four killed and one mortally wounded.

At one o'clock in the morning of the 17th November, four British barges approached the American shore, about a mile above Ogdensburg, and on being hailed by a sentinel and refusing to answer, were immediately fired upon. The report of his piece brought several riflemen to his assistance, when the barges opened a smart fire of grape-shot, without effect, and soon after retired to Prescott harbour. On their way thither they fired several shot into the town, which were returned by a six-pounder.

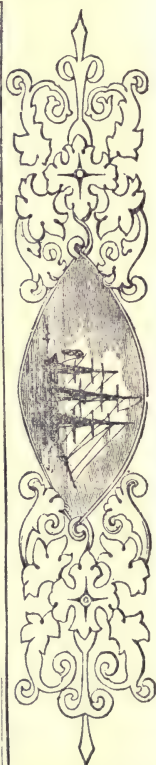
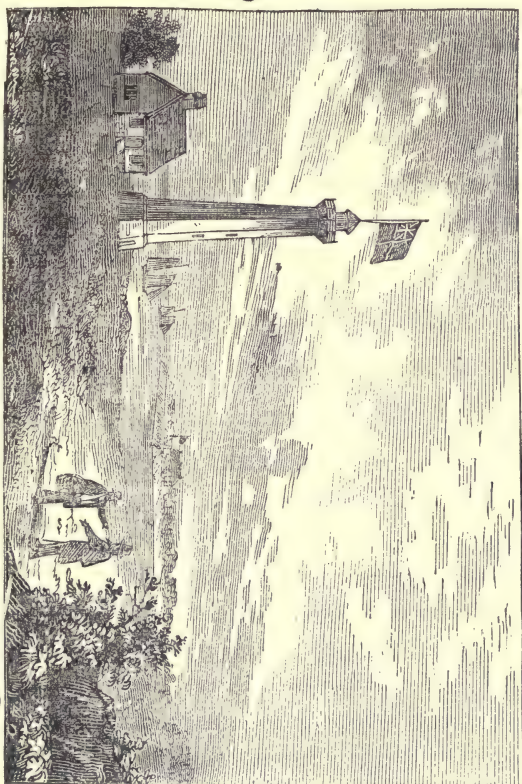
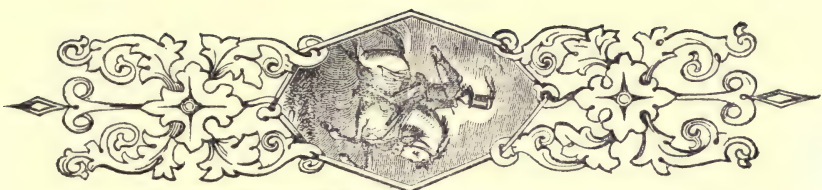
This affair was followed on the night of the 19th by an incursion seven miles into the British territory by Colonel Pike and a part of the 15th regiment. He assaulted and carried a post which was defended by a large body of British and Indians, burned a block house, and put the garrison to flight, and returned with the loss of five men wounded.



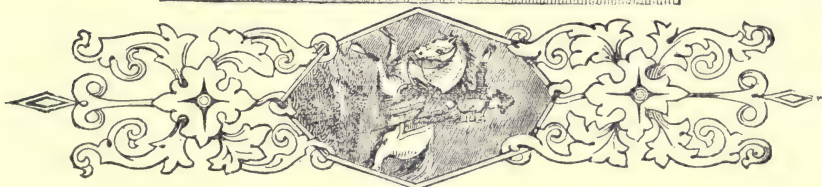
At six o'clock on the morning of the 21st, the British having prepared mortars, and planted a long train of battering cannon behind breastworks erected on the margin of the river, commenced a bombardment of Fort Niagara, and opened a cannonade from the batteries at and in the neighbourhood of Fort George, which was kept up without a moment's cessation until sundown. They employed five detached batteries in this affair. Two of them mounting twenty-four-pounders, and one mounting a nine-pounder. The remainder were mortar batteries, from five and a half to ten and a half inches, from which were thrown great quantities of shells. These fortresses are situated nearly opposite each other, at the mouth of the Niagara river, and command the entrance from Lake Ontario. The guns of Fort Niagara may be brought to bear alternately upon Fort George and the town of Newark, whilst a salt-battery, being a dependency of Fort Niagara and mounting one eighteen and a four-pounder, is directly in a range with and calculated to do much damage to the enemy's garrison.

The American fort had received an augmentation of force immediately after the cannonade of the 13th, several corps who had marched to Lewistown, having been ordered after the battle of Queenstown, to relieve the garrison, but it was not yet supplied with a sufficient quantity of artillery and ammunition. It was now commanded by Colonel George M'Feeley. In the course of the day the enemy threw two thousand red-hot balls, and one hundred and eighty shells. The shells proved to be harmless, but the hot shot set fire to several buildings which were within and about the fort, but through the incessant vigilance of all the officers and men, but particularly of that gallant officer, Major Armistead, of the United States corps of engineers, who has on many other occasions distinguished himself, the fires were got under and extinguished, without being discovered by the enemy.

Notwithstanding the vast shower of shells and cannon balls which was falling into the fort, the garrison performed their duty with unremitting alacrity, and served their pieces with coolness and composure. Captain M'Keon commanded a twelve-pounder in the south-east block-house; Captain Jacks, of the 7th militia artillery, commanded in the north block-house, a situation most



Fort Niagara.







exposed to the enemy's fire. Lieutenant Rees, of the 3d artillery, had command of an eighteen-pounder on the south-east battery, from which several well-directed shot were made whilst the piece was pointed at the battery *en barbette*, mounting a twenty-four-pounder. Lieutenant Wendal, of the same regiment, had command of an eighteen and four-pounder on the west battery; Dr. Hooper, of the militia artillery, had command of a six-pounder on the mess-house, and Lieutenants Gansevoort and Harris, of the 1st artillery, had command of the salt-battery. Thus disposed they returned the fire of the enemy with vigour and effect. They directed several of the pieces at the town of Newark, and repeatedly fired it with hot shot. The buildings within Fort George were also fired, and at one time one of the batteries was silenced. A part of the parapet falling on Lieutenant Rees, his left shoulder was so severely bruised that it became necessary for him to quit his station, and Captain Leonard, happening at that moment to arrive at the fort, took command of Lieutenant Rees's battery for the remainder of the day.

The continuation of the bombardment increased the animation of the men, and they fought with undiminished cheerfulness until the cannonading ceased. Colonel M'Feely spoke of all the garrison in very strong terms, and of Lieutenant-Colonel Gray, Major Armistead, and Captain Mulligan particularly. During the bombardment a twelve-pounder bursted and killed two men. Two others were killed by the enemy's fire, and Lieutenant Thomas and four men were wounded. From the salt-battery the enemy was very much annoyed. A few shot from the four-pounder there sunk a schooner which lay at the opposite wharf, and such was the spirited earnestness of both officers and men at this battery, that when in the most tremendous of the bombardment they had fired away all their cartridges, they cut up their flannel waistcoats and shirts, and the soldiers their trousers to supply their guns.

An instance of extraordinary bravery took place in the garrison in the hottest of the cannonade, and for deliberate coolness and courageous fortitude, was surpassed neither by Joan, maid of Orleans, nor the heroine of Saragosa.—Doyle, a private in the United States artillery, who had been stationed in the fort, was

made prisoner in the battle of Queenstown. His wife remained in the garrison, and being there on the 21st, she determined to resent the refusal of the British to parole her husband, by proffering her services, and doing his duty against the enemy whenever the works should be assailed; and she, accordingly, attended the six-pounder on the mess-house with hot shot, (regardless of the shells which were falling around her,) and never quitted her station until the last gun had been discharged.

General Van Rensselaer having resigned his command on the Niagara, General Smyth now contemplated a more effectual invasion of Canada than that which had so recently failed. From a description of the river below the falls, the view of the shore below Fort Erie, and from information which he had received of the enemy's preparations, General Smyth was of opinion that the landing should be effected between Fort Erie and Chippewa. This opinion he had delivered to General Van Rensselaer before the battle of Queenstown, and being in command, he was resolved that it should now be acted upon. The troops stationed at Black Rock and Buffalo were equally desirous of engaging the enemy, and the general promised them conquest and renown. In order that he might visit the Canadian shore with a force competent to retain the posts which might be captured, he desired to increase his numbers by such an accession of volunteers, as would be willing to perform one month's service in the army, to submit to the rigid discipline of a camp, and to encounter the enemy on his own soil. He immediately communicated his intentions by a proclamation, issued on the 10th of November, circulated in the counties of Seneca and Ontario, and inviting persons thus disposed to place themselves under his authority.

This proclamation produced the intended effect. It held forth great allurements, and appealed to the patriotism of the American citizens. Under this proclamation numbers of volunteers came forward with the expected alacrity, and on the 27th of November the force collected at the station amounted to four thousand and five hundred men, including the regular troops, and the Baltimore, Pennsylvania, and New York volunteers, the latter being placed under the command of General Peter B. Porter, of the militia. On the following morning at reveille, the whole force was to em-



General Porter.

bark from the navy-yard at Black Rock and to proceed on the contemplated expedition.

No possible preparation was omitted. At the navy-yard there were lying for the purpose of transporting the troops across the river, seventy public boats calculated to carry forty men each, five large private boats, which were taken into the public service calculated to carry one hundred men each, and ten scows for the artillery to carry twenty-five each, which, together with a number of small boats which were also provided, were to transport the whole of this army. After informing the citizens that for many years they had seen their country oppressed with numerous wrongs; their government, though above all others devoted to peace, had been forced to draw the sword and rely for redress of injuries on the valour of the American people, and that that valour had in every instance been conspicuous; his proclamation continued in the following words: "But the nation has been unfortunate in the election of some of those who have directed it



*One army has been disgracefully surrendered and lost. Another has been sacrificed by a precipitate attempt to pass over at the strongest point of the enemy's lines with most incompetent means.* The cause of these miscarriages is apparent. The commanders were popular men, 'destitute alike of theory and experience' in the art of war. In a few days the troops under my command will plant the American standard in Canada. They are men accustomed to obedience, silence, and steadiness. They will conquer, or they will die. Will you stand with your arms folded and look on this interesting struggle? Are you not related to the men who fought at Bennington and Saratoga? Has the race degenerated? Or have you, under the baneful influence of contending passions, forgot your country? Must I turn from you and ask the men of the Six Nations to support the government of the United States? Shall I imitate the officers of the British king, and suffer our ungathered laurels to be tarnished by ruthless deeds? Shame, where is thy blush? No. Where I command, the vanquished and the peaceful man, the maid and the matron, shall be secure from wrong. If we conquer, 'we will conquer but to save'

*"Men of New York,*

"The present is the hour of renown. Have you not a wish for fame? Would you not choose in future times to be named as one, who, imitating the heroes whom Montgomery led, have, in spite of the season, visited the tomb of the chief, and conquered the country where he lies? Yes, you desire your share of fame. Then seize the present moment. If you do not, you will regret it: and say, 'the valiant bled in vain—the friends of my country fell—and I was not there!' advance then to our aid. I will wait for you a few days. I cannot give you the day of my departure. But come on. Come in companies, half companies, or singly. I will organize you for a short tour. Ride to this place if the distance is far, and send back your horses. But remember, that every man who accompanies us places himself under my command, and shall submit to the salutary restraints of discipline."

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\* It was about this time understood that a number of friendly Indians proposed to be taken into General Smyth's army, but that he explicitly refused to let them accompany him into Canada.



ACCOMPANYING a second proclamation of General Smyth, of the 17th of November, in which was recapitulated most of the appeal of the former, and in which he set forth that "disloyal and traitorous men had endeavoured to persuade the people from doing their duty," was an address from General Porter to the people of Ontario and Genessee, in which he informed them that General Smyth had a powerful army at Buffalo, under strict discipline, in high spirits, and eager for the contest. That with this army he would in a few days occupy all the British fortresses on the Niagara. That as humanity suggested that this conquest should be achieved with the least possible sacrifice, General Smyth had asked their aid and co-operation for the purpose of obtaining a force that would overawe opposition and save the effusion of blood. That he intended himself to accompany the expedition; that a vigorous campaign of one month would relieve their fellow-citizens of the frontier from their sufferings, drive off the savage knife, restore peace to the whole of that section of the country, and redeem the tarnished reputation of the nation.

A large number of troops were now assembled at and near Buffalo, where they were drilled, equipped, and organized for the intended invasion. Ten boats were appointed to precede the main body, to effect a landing, and to storm and carry the enemy's batteries. A number of sailors were engaged to navigate the boats, under command of Lieutenant-Commandant Samuel Angus of the navy, assisted by Lieutenant Dudley, Sailing-Master Watts, who had distinguished himself in cutting out the *Caledonia*, and several other naval officers. At three o'clock in the morning of the 28th, these boats put off from the American shore, but they had not proceeded one-fourth of the way across when the British batteries opened a galling fire, and five of them were obliged to return. In one of these was Colonel Winder of the 14th infantry, who commanded the troops to whom this hazardous duty was assigned. The command of the 14th devolved therefore upon Lieutenant-Colonel Boerstler, who was in one of the advance boats with several resolute infantry officers. A se-

vere fire of musketry and grape-shot from two pieces of flying artillery was poured upon this part of the squadron, but they effected their landing in good order, formed on the shore, and advanced to the accomplishment of their object.

Lieutenant-Commandant Angus and his officers, assisted by Samuel Swartwout, Esq., of New York, an enterprising citizen who happened to be at the station, acted as volunteers after the landing of the troops, and joining their little band of sailors to the regulars under Captain King of the 15th, they stormed the enemy's principal batteries and drove him to the Red-house, where he rallied with two hundred and fifty men and commenced a rapid fire of musketry upon the assailants. Sixty regulars and fifty sailors composed the whole American force. The success at the battery, the guns of which were spiked, was followed up by a desperate assault on the Red-house. The sailors charged with boarding-pikes and cutlasses, the regulars with the bayonet, and after a hard and destructive engagement they routed the enemy, fired the house in which he quartered, and made about fifty prisoners. Lieutenant-Colonel Boerstler attacked and dispersed the enemy lower down the river, and took also several prisoners. Every battery between Chippewa and Fort Erie was now carried, the cannon spiked or destroyed, and sixteen miles of the Canadian frontier laid waste and deserted. The boats returned with the wounded and the prisoners, leaving Captain King and twelve men, who were so anxious to complete the destruction of every breastwork and barrack of the enemy that they resolved on remaining in possession of the conquered ground until the main body of the army should cross over the strait and march to the assault of the British forts. Sailing-Master Watts fell at the head of his division of the sailors, while he was gallantly leading them on. Midshipman Graham received a severe wound, which caused the amputation of a leg. Seven out of twelve of the navy officers were wounded. Captain Morgan of the 12th, Captain Sprowl and Captain Dix of the 13th, and Lieutenant Lisson, the two latter of whom were badly wounded, took a very distinguished part in the engagement.

At daybreak the batteries on the American side were opened; they were ready to cover the embarkation of the main army, and



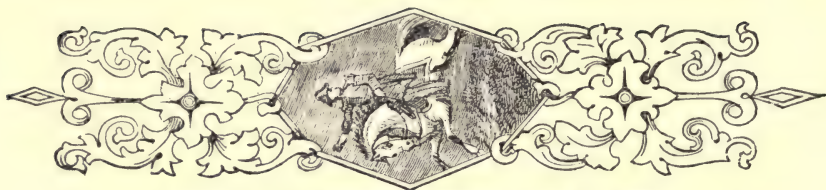
most of the troops had arrived at the designated place. Three hundred and forty volunteers, who had rallied under General Smyth's proclamation, well armed and provided, were marched by General Porter to the navy-yard. One hundred and fifty others were drawing arms at Buffalo, and had orders to follow immediately. Colonel Winder, being under an apprehension that Lieutenant-Colonel Boerstler and his men were in danger, made an unsuccessful attempt to land two hundred and fifty men at a difficult point down the river, his own being the only boat which touched the shore. When the squadron returned from their successful enterprise, he put back and formed his regiment to join in the general embarkation. At sunrise the troops began to embark, but such was their tardiness, that at twelve o'clock the whole body, with Colonel Swift's volunteer regiment, were not yet in the boats. A considerable number of barges had been thrown upon the shores of the river and Conejockeda creek, by the high tide of the preceding day, others were filled with ice and water, and those which had been employed by Colonel Winder were lying about one mile below. To collect and put these in order for the reception of the troops required a delay of several hours more, and it was not until two o'clock that all the troops intended to be sent over at the first crossing, were collected in a group of boats at Black Rock, under cover of the batteries; where General Porter, having brought up the five boats which were below, joined and took his station among them. The number now embarked, according to the estimate of General Porter, were about two thousand, who were anxiously awaiting the order to proceed. General Tannehill's volunteers, Colonel F. M'Clure's regiment, and some riflemen and cavalry, in all about two thousand more, were still paraded on the shore, and were to constitute the second embarkation. In the mean time, Captain King and his twelve men, who were yet in the enemy's territory dismounting his pieces, were made prisoners, and about five hundred British troops had been drawn up in line, about half a mile from the river, sounding their trumpets and bugles, and indicating their readiness to receive the Americans. Late in the afternoon General Smyth ordered the troops to disembark, and silenced their murmurs by an assurance that the expedition was only postponed

until the boats should be put in a state of better preparation, and that they (the troops) should immediately after be put in motion. The different regiments retired to their respective quarters: General Porter marched his volunteers to Buffalo, but the enemy was actively employed in remounting his guns upon the batteries. On Sunday, the 29th, an order was issued from the headquarters of the commanding-general for the march of the troops to the navy-yard, to embark on the following morning at nine o'clock. The time and manner proposed in this order were disapproved of by all the officers; and those of the highest rank addressed the general and stated their objections to the plan. The repaired state of the enemy's batteries rendered it inexpedient to cross at the point *above* the island, which covers the navy-yard; *below* that point he lay much augmented, in consequence of the gallant affair of the 28th, and occupied a line of shore of nearly a mile, from which he would have a full view of the American movement, if made by daylight. To avoid the fire of the British flying artillery and infantry, it was proposed to General Smyth that the troops should be landed five miles below the navy-yard, at an hour and a half before day on the morning of Tuesday, so that this dangerous shore might be passed in the dark; when, if the boats were discovered, the troops would suffer less from the enemy's fire. The place which was thus recommended was, of all others, peculiarly favourable to a safe and orderly landing, and the proposal was accordingly adopted, and the army were to embark at three o'clock and to land at half-past four, in the order of battle prescribed on the 28th.

On Monday evening seven boats for Colonel Swift's regiment, and eight for the new volunteers, were brought up the river and placed at different points, so that the noise and confusion of embarking the whole at one place might be avoided. At half an hour after three, these boats were occupied and took their station opposite the navy-yard. The regulars were to proceed on the right, General Tannehill's volunteers in the centre, and the New York volunteers on the left. General Porter, with a chosen set of men, was appointed to proceed in front to direct the landing, and to join the New York volunteers when on the opposite shore. On the arrival of the boats which were to compose the van, Gene-







Indignation of the Troops



ral Porter found that the artillery were embarking in the scows with as much haste as possible ; but one hour elapsed before the regular infantry attempted to follow, when Colonel Winder, at the head of the 14th, entered the boats with great order and silence. Every thing seemed to promise a speedy and successful issue ; the troops to be embarked were now nearly all in readiness to proceed : General Porter dropped to the front of the line with a flag to designate the leading boat, and the word only was wanted to put off. The front of the line was one-fourth of a mile from the shore, when the rear was observed to be retarded, and General Porter received orders from General Smyth to disembark immediately. He was at the same time informed that the invasion of Canada was abandoned for the season, that the regulars were ordered into winter-quarters, and that, as the services of the volunteers could now be dispensed with, they might stack their arms and return to their homes. Previously to this order an interview had taken place between General Smyth and a British major, who came over with a flag.

The scene of discontent which followed was without parallel. Four thousand men, without order or restraint, indignantly discharged their muskets in every direction. The person of the commanding general was threatened. Upwards of one thousand men, of all classes of society, had suddenly left their homes and families, and had made great sacrifices to obey the call of their country under General Smyth's invitation. He possessed their strongest confidence, and was gaining their warmest affections : he could lead to no post of danger to which they would not follow. But now, the hopes of his government, the expectations of the people, the desires of the army, were all prostrated, and he was obliged to hear the bitter reproaches and the indignant epithets of the men whom he had promised to lead to honour, to glory, to renown. The inhabitants refused to give him quarters in their houses, or to protect him from the rage of those who considered themselves the victims of his imbecility or his deceit. He was obliged constantly to shift his tent to avoid the general clamour, and to double the guard surrounding it ; and he was several times fired at when he ventured without it. An application was made to him by the volunteers to permit *them* to invade the enemy's



territory under General Porter, and they pledged themselves to him to take Fort Erie if he would give them four pieces of flying artillery. This solicitation was evaded, and the volunteer troops proceeded to their homes, execrating the man whom they had respected, and the general on whose talents and whose promises they had placed the most generous reliance.

General Smyth, however, found those who gave their approbation to his measures, and who thought that he had saved his army by relinquishing the invasion of Canada. The public mind was for a long time agitated with doubts about the propriety of his conduct, in not prosecuting the campaign and breaking up the enemy's strong posts along the Niagara. Few, however, have hesitated to declare his culpability in inducing men to leave their homes for a month's incursion into the British territory, unless he intended to effect it at every hazard which they might be willing to encounter. But he has alleged that his orders from the commander-in-chief were to cross with "three thousand men at once," and that he could not ascertain the number of troops which would go over but by seeing them actually embarked, and that when they were embarked they did not amount to more than fifteen hundred and twelve men, exclusive of the staff, being but half the number with which only his instructions authorized him to assail the opposite shore. That many of the militia not only refused to go when ordered into the boats by his brigade major, but that more than half of General Tannehill's brigade had deserted. In his official letter to General Dearborn, he stated that he had called together a council of his officers, agreeably to his instructions in all important cases, and that they decided against the contemplated operations upon the ground of the insufficiency of force. That he then informed the officers that the attempt to invade Canada would not be made until the army should be reinforced, and directed them to withdraw their troops and cover them with huts immediately. That the volunteers and the neighbouring people were dissatisfied, and that it had been in the power of the contracting agent (alluding to General Porter) to excite some clamour against the course pursued, as he found the contract a losing one, and would wish to see the army in Canada that he might not be bound to supply it. That the situation of

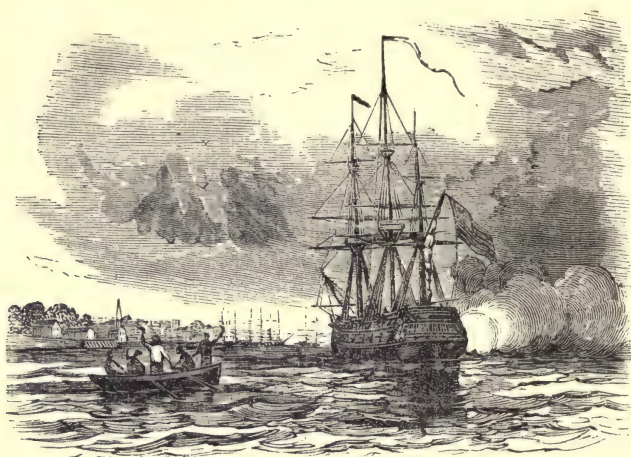


the force under his (General Smyth's) command had not been such as to make the propriety of a forward movement obvious to all : that circumstanced as he was, he thought it his duty "to follow the cautious counsels of experience, and not precipitation, to add to the list of our defeats."

Whether General Porter's anxiety to see the army in Canada arose from so interested a motive as General Smyth has alleged, or whether he was actuated by a desire to see the campaign of 1812 closed with some brilliant achievement of the American arms, the reader will be better able to judge by remembering the indefatigable exertions which that gentleman made use of to enlarge the forces at Buffalo, by which the supplies of the army would be *increased*, and of the personal share which he was disposed to take in the most dangerous part of the enterprise

On the 2d of December the enemy again opened his batteries upon Black Rock, probably with a view to inform General Smyth that his guns were unspiked and replaced, and that he was again in a state to resist the invasion. His fire was returned from several six-pounders, one of which, under Captain J. N. Barker, was so well directed that the ball entered an embrasure, dismounted a heavy gun, and disabled the carriage.

The troops were now all quartered ; barracks were erected at Batavia for the reception of the largest proportion, and no operations took place until the close of the year. The armies were distinguished by titles derived from their situations. That which was commanded by General Smyth being the Army of the Centre, and that upon the St. Lawrence and in its vicinity being the Northern Army. This latter, which consisted of an active force of five thousand seven hundred and thirty-seven men, of infantry, cavalry, field and horse artillery, and militia, had also gone into winter-quarters, and the hopes of the nation rested now only on the North-western army, which we left in the neighbourhood of the Rapids of the Miami, the head-quarters of its commander at Sandusky, making vigorous preparations for a push upon the British and Indians at Detroit, and resolved upon quartering for the winter in one of the enemy's garrisons.



## CHAPTER VII.

*Naval Campaign of 1812 continued.*



THE American arms on the ocean were all this time continuing to be triumphant. One naval victory succeeded another, until the people of the United States were astonished at the ceaseless prowess of their tars, and the nations of Europe stood in admiration, and began to look upon the rising naval establishment of America as a future rival to the formidable enemy against whom it was already successfully contending.

The United States frigate the *United States*, Captain Stephen Decatur, of forty-four guns, having separated from the squadron under Commodore Rodgers, with which she left Boston on the 18th of October, cruised in the track of the British frigates until the 25th, when in lat. 29 deg. N., long. 29 deg. 30 min. W., she fell in with the British frigate *Macedonian*, Captain John Carden, of thirty-eight guns, but carrying forty-nine, the odd one being a shifting gun. The *Macedonian* was to windward, and entered the engagement at her own distance. For half an hour after the

commencement of the action the United States had no opportunity of using her carronades, the enemy keeping out of their reach, and never once coming within the range of grape or musketry. The action, therefore, was of greater length than usual, and continued under every advantage to the enemy until the United States neared him. The fire from her then became so vivid that the enemy's crew imagining her to be on fire, gave many demonstrations of their joy, and expected every instant to see her blown up. But the Macedonian's mizzen-mast was shot away by the board, her fore and topmasts by the caps, her lower masts badly wounded, her main-mast destroyed, and all her rigging cut up. Most of her guns were disabled, the largest part of her crew killed and wounded, and having become a perfect wreck, she surrendered after an action of an hour and a half, at the moment when the United States was about to rake her.

The enthusiasm of the American crew on discovering the enemy, and during the battle, was perhaps unprecedented; the precision of their fire was never surpassed in any other naval engagement. Captain Carden being brought on board, presented his sword to Captain Decatur, who, in testimony of the gallantry of his enemy, declined accepting it, saying that "he could not receive the sword of a man who had defended his ship so bravely." The enemy's loss amounted to one hundred and four; thirty-six in killed, and sixty-eight wounded: among the latter, his first and third lieutenants. The loss of the United States was five killed and seven wounded, making a total of twelve. Among the latter was Lieutenant John Musser Funk, of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, who afterwards died of his wounds, regretted for his worth, and admired for his constant coolness and courage. The United States received no damage whatever, and returned to port only to see her prize safe in. The superiority of gunnery was decidedly, in this action, on the side of the American seamen, who fired seventy broadsides, whilst the enemy discharged but thirty-six.

The Macedonian was an entire new ship, and had been out of dock but four months. She was brought into the port of New London, and thence through the Sound to New York, where she was fitted out as a thirty-eight gun frigate, and as such bought



into the service of the United States at the value of two hundred thousand dollars.

Captain Decatur every where received the congratulations of the citizens. The legislatures of Pennsylvania and Virginia voted him an elegant sword; the Congress of the United States a gold medal. The corporation of New York voted him the freedom of the city in a gold box, and had his portrait set up in their gallery; and the select and common councils of Philadelphia, (in which city he was born,) voted him a superb sword, and appointed a committee, of which Captain John Mullooney, formerly of the United States navy was one; who in conjunction with Major-General John Barker, then mayor of the city, were to procure it to be made of American materials. This sword was presented to Captain Decatur by the mayor, accompanied by a concise and appropriate address, to which he made a pertinent and manly reply. Lieutenant Allen, first of the ship, and Lieutenant Nicholson, received the same honours from the legislature of Virginia.

On Lake Ontario the naval operations were becoming every day of more consequence. Arrangements had been made for the augmentation of the fleet, and a large ship was already on the stocks, nearly completed, and to be called the Madison. About the 6th of November, Commodore Chauncey, who commanded the fleet on this station, had some suspicion that three of the enemy's squadron had proceeded from Kingston, up the lake, with troops to reinforce Fort George. The vessels supposed to have sailed in this direction, were the Royal George of six, the Duke of Gloucester of ten, and the Prince Regent of fourteen guns. Commodore Chauncey immediately sailed with the brig Oneida of fourteen guns; the Governor Tompkins, Lieutenant Brown, of six guns; the Growler, Lieutenant Mix, of five guns; the Conquest, Lieutenant Elliot, of two guns; the General Hamilton, Lieutenant M'Pherson, of six guns; the Pert, Arundle, of two guns; and the Julia, Frant, of one long thirty-two-pounder—making in all thirty-six guns. As the enemy's vessels were expected to return to Kingston for more troops, it was intended to intercept them at the False Ducks, a collection of islands which they would be obliged to pass.

On the 8th the squadron fell in with the *Royal George*, and chased her into the bay of Quinti, where she was lost sight of in the night. On the morning of the 9th she was discovered in Kingston channel. Signal was immediately made for a general chase, but by the alternate prevalence of squalls and calms, the squadron was led in close pursuit into the harbour of the enemy at Kingston. The commodore being determined on boarding her, though she was anchored under the enemy's batteries, with springs on her cables, that she might get all her guns to bear, gave his signal to that effect. At three o'clock the batteries opened their fire on the fleet, and sent forth a tremendous shower of shot and grape. Lieutenant Elliot, of the *Conquest*, pushed forward, and went in in the handsomest style. He was followed by the *Julia*, the *Pert*, and the *Growler*, in succession; then came up the brig, with the commodore, then the *General Hamilton*, and the *Governor Tompkins*. At twelve minutes after three Lieutenant Elliot opened his fire; at fifteen minutes after three the *Pert*, *Julia*, and *Growler*, opened theirs. At twenty minutes after three the whole of the batteries fired on the brig, and she sustained most of the fire during the remainder of the action. A little while after, the commodore gave the signal "engage closer," which was instantly obeyed. The *Pert's* gun about this time bursted and wounded her commander, who refusing to leave the deck, was knocked overboard by the boom and drowned. At forty minutes past three the brig opened her fire on the *Royal George*, and the *Royal George* on the *Hamilton*. The firing became now very hot, and was kept up with the greatest alacrity until four o'clock, when the *Royal George* cut her cables and ran away further up the bay.

The squadron became exposed to the cross fire of five batteries of flying artillery, in all about forty guns, and the guns of the ship the *Royal George*, which having taken a more advantageous position, set new springs and recommenced her fire. Round and grape were now falling around the squadron in heavy showers. At half an hour after four the whole hauled by the wind and beat out of the bay; two miles from which they anchored, in full sight, until the 10th, and after remaining there nearly all that day, they returned to Sackett's Harbour, with the

Loss of one man killed and three wounded on board the Oneida. Whilst at the mouth of Kingston harbour, the commodore captured a schooner, and as she could not beat out with the squadron, he ordered the Growler to take her under convoy, to run down past Kingston, and anchor on the east end of Long Island, under an expectation that the Royal George would be induced to come out to recapture her; but her commander, fearing that the squadron might be close at hand, would not leave his moorings. The Royal George suffered very severely in her hull, as a number of thirty-two-pound shot pierced her through and through. The Growler having in vain tried to induce the enemy to come out, sailed with the prize schooner for Sackett's Harbour. On her way she discovered the Prince Regent and the Earl Moira, of eighteen guns, conveying a sloop to Kingston. She immediately ran in and placed herself behind a point with her prize, until the armed vessels had passed her, when she ran out again, pressed down upon the sloop, captured and brought her into Sackett's Harbour, having on board about twelve thousand dollars in specie, and Captain Brock, cousin and private secretary to General Brock, together with that general's private property and baggage. The commodore immediately put off in a snow storm, with a hope of cutting off the Earl Moira at the False Ducks. Captain Brock expressed great surprise on learning that the Americans had been in the British harbour, and that they had got out again with so little loss, the place being so strongly defended. Commodore Chauncey not having succeeded in intercepting the Earl Moira, returned again to the harbour, and made preparations for completing the new ship Madison, which, being finished on the 26th of November, was launched into her destined element without accident.

About this time the American privateers were floating in every direction on the ocean. They cruised before the entrances of most of the British colonial ports, and relying on the swiftness of their sailing, many of them had ventured into the chops of the British Channel. The alarm which was in consequence excited among the merchants of Great Britain, and the vast number of captures which were making by these vessels, induced the English government to fit out several sloops of war for the protection

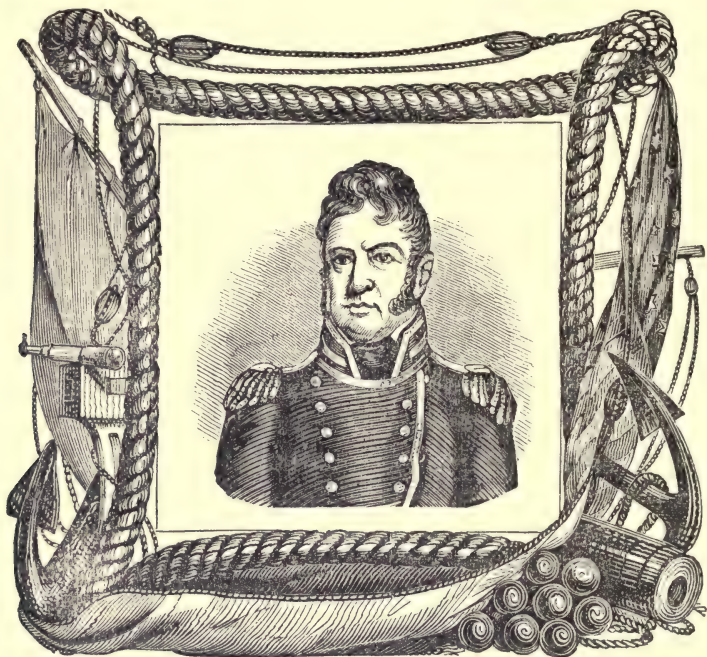


of their coast. The brig *Charybdis*, of eighteen thirty-two-pounders, and the *Opossum* sloop of war, were ordered to cruise for several privateers which were then known to be in the neighbourhood of the coast, and which it was confidently expected would be brought in by one or the other of these armed vessels. The *Charybdis* fell in with the privateer *Blockade* of New York, of eight guns; and after an obstinate engagement of one hour and twenty minutes, in which the *Charybdis* lost twenty-eight of her officers and men killed and wounded, and the *Blockade* eight men only, the latter was carried and taken into port. The *Opossum* encountered the "*Orders in Council*," a small privateer, who fought her until they had exchanged seven broadsides, when, finding the enemy's force to be too powerful, she abandoned the contest and effected her escape.

The privateer *Tom*, Captain Wilson, of Baltimore, on the 23d of November descried a sail, gave chase, overhauled and brought her to an action, which terminated in the surrender of the enemy with the loss of her captain and four men killed, and several wounded. She proved to be the British packet *Townsend*, M'Coy, from Falmouth for Barbadoes. Her mail had been thrown overboard, but was picked up by the *Tom's* boats, and after being ransomed she was suffered to proceed.

The *Bona* privateer, of Baltimore, having discovered a British ship of eight hundred tons, and twenty-two guns, then on a voyage from Madeira, ran up and engaged her, when the great gun bursted, and Captain Dameron put twenty-nine officers and men into his boats, and despatched them to board her. After a severe fight upon her decks, they carried her with little loss. Two strange sail at this moment coming up in chase, the *Bona* left the prize in possession of those on board, and bore away to draw the chasing vessels after her.

The privateer *Dolphin*, Captain W. S. Stafford, of ten guns and sixty men, also of Baltimore, being off Cape St. Vincent, engaged a ship of sixteen guns and forty men, and a brig of ten guns and twenty-five men, at the same instant, and after a long and gallant action made prizes of both. The *Dolphin* had four men wounded; the enemy nineteen killed and forty wounded, among them the captain of one of the vessels. Instances of the



Commodore Bainbridge.

bold and daring intrepidity of the crews of the private armed vessels of the United States are so numerous, that the recital of them would swell this work very far beyond the limits which have been assigned to it. The enemy's commerce was every where assailed by them, and the British government was obliged to protect their merchant ships by large convoys of vessels of war.

A plan had been matured at the navy department for a cruise in the South Seas, and the frigate *Constitution*, now commanded by Commodore William Bainbridge, the *Essex*, Captain Porter, and the *Hornet*, Captain Lawrence, were selected to prosecute the voyage in company. On the 27th of October the *Essex* sailed from the Delaware, and on the 30th the *Constitution* and *Hornet* from Boston; several places of rendezvous having been assigned, at either of which this force was to be united to proceed upon the cruise. On the 29th of December the union of these vessels had not yet been effected, and on that day the *Constitution*







Constitution and Java.

descried a sail at meridian, in lat. 13 deg. 6 min. S., long 38 W., ten leagues from St. Salvador, which she soon discovered to be a British frigate. Commodore Bainbridge tacked sail and stood for her. At fifty minutes past one P. M. the enemy bore down with an intention of raking the Constitution, which she avoided by wearing. Much manœuvring took place on both sides, the object of the enemy being to rake, and of the Constitution to avoid being raked, and to draw the enemy from the neutral coast. At two P. M. the enemy was within half a mile of the Constitution, and to windward, having hauled down his colours, except the union jack, which was at the mizzen-masthead. A gun was then fired ahead of him to make him show his colours; but this gun was answered by a whole broadside. The enemy's colours were then hoisted, and the action began with round and grape; but he kept at so great a distance that the grape had little effect, and to bring him nearer would expose the Constitution to severe raking. At thirty minutes past two, both ships were within good canister distance, when the Constitution's wheel was shot away. At forty minutes past two, the fore and mainsail were set, and Commodore Bainbridge being now determined to close with him, luffed up for that purpose, and in ten minutes after the enemy's jibboom got foul of the Constitution's mizzen rigging, and in another ten minutes his bowsprit and jibboom were shot away. At five minutes past three his main-topmast was shot away just above the cap. This was followed by the loss of his gaff and spanker boom, and soon after his mainmast went nearly by the board. At five minutes past four the enemy was completely silenced, and his colours at the main being down, it was thought he had surrendered. The Constitution therefore shot ahead to repair damages, which being done, and the enemy's flag being discovered to be still flying, she wore, stood for the enemy in handsome style, and got close athwart his bows in an effectual position for raking, when his mainmast having also gone by the board, and seeing that further resistance would be useless whilst he lay so unmanageable a wreck, he struck his colours, and was immediately taken possession of by Lieutenant Parker, and found to be his majesty's ship Java, of thirty-eight guns, but mounting forty-nine, commanded by a distinguished officer, Captain Lambert, who was

mortally wounded, and having on board at the commencement of the engagement upwards of four hundred men, and one hundred supernumerary seamen which she was carrying out to the East Indies for different ships there. The Constitution had nine men killed and twenty-five wounded. The Java sixty killed and one hundred and seventy wounded. She had on board despatches for St. Helena, Cape of Good Hope, and the different establishments in the East Indies and China, and copper for a seventy-four, building at Bombay. She had on board also, a number of passengers, among whom were Lieutenant-General Hislop, governor of Bombay, Major Walker, and one staff major, Captain Marshall, a master and commander in the royal navy, and several officers appointed to ships in the East Indies.

The conduct of both officers and crew in this engagement, was not less conspicuous for gallantry than in that of the *Guerriere*, and the same principles of humanity influenced their deportment to the prisoners. Among the wounded were the commodore and Lieutenant Aylwin, the latter of whom received a ball immediately under the collar bone, (within an inch of his former wound,) of which he died at sea, on the 28th January. Upon the call for boarders, he had mounted the quarter-deck hammock cloth, and was in the act of firing his pistols at the enemy when the ball passed through his shoulder-blade and threw him upon the deck. Midshipman Delany, who had been at his side in both the actions of the Constitution, bore him to the side of the mast, and ordered two men from his own division to carry him below, but such was his zeal for the success of the ship, that he would not suffer a single man to be taken from his station, nor would he consent to leave the deck until he saw the issue of the battle. Among the officers who distinguished themselves, were Lieutenant Parker, the first officer of the ship, and Midshipmen James Delany, of Pennsylvania, and John Packet, of Jefferson county, Virginia; the latter of whom was intrusted with the despatches from Commodore Bainbridge to the navy department, and has since been promoted to a lieutenancy. Many of the seamen exhibited a most uncommon degree of heroism; one of them, John Cheves, after being mortally wounded, remained on deck apparently dying, until the termination of the engagement, when the



word being passed that the enemy had struck, he raised himself up with one hand, gave three cheers, and fell back and expired. His brother was also severely wounded.

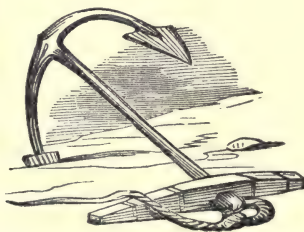
On the 1st of January, (nautical time,) Commodore Bainbridge, upon being informed by Lieutenant Parker that the prize was in such a condition that many repairs would be required to render her at all manageable, and knowing the immense distance at which he then was from any port in the United States, and how much he would be obliged to weaken his crew to man the prize properly, determined on blowing her up, which he accordingly did at 3 P. M., with every valuable article on board of her, except the prisoners' baggage. To these he administered every comfort which his means could afford, and at St. Salvador, at which place he landed the remaining crew of the Java, he received the public acknowledgments of Lieutenant-General Hislop to that effect, accompanied by the presentation of an elegant sword. Captain Lambert had received a mortal wound in the early part of the engagement, and was in so languishing a situation that he could not be removed from the Java until her destruction was resolved on, after which the commodore directed his course to St. Salvador to land and parole him. On arriving in that port, he landed the private passengers without considering them prisoners of war, and released the public passengers and the officers and crew, amounting to three hundred and fifty-one men, on their parole, on condition of their returning to England and remaining there, without serving in any of their professional capacities until they should be regularly exchanged.

At St. Salvador the Constitution met the sloop of war the *Hornet*, with whom she had parted a few days before the engagement, and leaving that vessel to blockade the British sloop of war the *Bonne Citoyenne*, Commodore Bainbridge broke up the intended cruise in the South Seas and returned to the United States. Here he was greeted with the applauses of his countrymen, and received the freedom of the city of New York in a gold box; a piece of plate from the citizens of Philadelphia, the thanks of many of the state legislatures, and a medal from Congress, with fifty thousand dollars for himself, officers, and crew. The legis-

lature of Virginia voted a handsome sword to Midshipman Packet of their state, and their approbation to the officers generally.

The comparative force of the two vessels has been a subject of much prevarication, as well as of the number of men in each. Captain Lambert having expired at St. Salvador, it became the duty of Lieutenant Chads, first officer of the *Java*, to make an official communication of the affair to his government. That officer, unmindful of the generous magnanimity with which he had been treated, endeavoured to take away from the credit of the American commodore by underrating the number of the British crew and the actual force of the British ship, and by very largely overrating the force and crew of the *Constitution*. He reported her force to be thirty-two long twenty-four-pounders, sixteen carronades, (thirty-two pounders,) and one carronade eighteen-pounder, being in all fifty-eight guns. The actual force of the *Constitution* was thirty twenty-four-pounders on her gun-deck, sixteen thirty-two-pound carronades on her quarter-deck, and eight guns on her fore-castle, making in all fifty four guns. The *Java* carried twenty-eight twenty-four-pounders on her gun-deck, fourteen thirty-two-pounders, carronades, six guns on the fore-castle, and one shifting gun, making in all forty-nine guns, which the lieutenant stated at forty-six.

Assurances were given to Commodore Bainbridge by the officers of the *Java*, that the ship left England with a crew which did not exceed three hundred and twenty men; but the prisoners received on board the *Constitution* very far exceeded that number, and when the muster-book of the *Java* was found and examined, it called for four hundred and nine officers, petty officers, seamen, and marines, so that their loss in killed must have been greater than they reported.





## CHAPTER VIII

### Operations of Winchester and Harrison in the North-west.



EXASPERATED at the successes of the American volunteer troops, in their repeated assaults upon the Indian posts along the north-western frontier, the enemy resolved upon an immediate movement of his combined forces, to the village of Frenchtown, with a view to intercept the American expedition, in its further approaches towards Detroit. In the event of this movement, which was now (January) every day looked for, the inhabitants of Frenchtown were apprehensive of being massacred, and they therefore implored General Winchester to march to their protection, though the troops at that time under his command, were far inferior in numbers to the collected force, by which in all probability they would be assailed. Without any previous concert with General Harrison as to the plan of operations, and without his knowledge or authority, General Winchester, yielding to the solicitation of the inhabitants, determined upon marching with his small force, then reduced to eight hundred by the discharge of those regiments whose term of service



had expired, to prevent, if possible, the destruction of the village and the threatened murder of its inhabitants. On the 17th, Lieutenant-Colonel William Lewis was ordered to proceed with a detachment to Presque isle, where he was to wait the arrival of a reinforcement of another detachment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Allen, which would soon after be followed by the main body of the troops. On the morning of the 18th, the two detachments concentrated at Presque isle; when Colonel Lewis, having been informed that an advance party of the British and Indians, amounting to about five hundred, were already encamped at Frenchtown, immediately determined on attacking them. A rapid march brought him within their view at about three o'clock. At three miles distance he was apprized of their being prepared to receive him, and, lest they should sally out and suddenly encounter him, he arranged his men in the order of battle, and approached with caution to the margin of the river.

The command of the right wing, composed of the companies of Captains M'Cracken, Bledsoe, and Matson, was assigned to Lieutenant-Colonel Allen. The command of the left, composed of the companies of Captains Hamilton, Williams, and Kelly, to Major Graves. Major Madison was placed in the centre, with the companies of Captain Hightower, of the 17th United States infantry, and Captains Collier and Sabrie. Captain Ballard, acting as major, was sent in advance with two companies, commanded by Captains Hickman and Graves.

Thus organized, the whole body came within a quarter of a mile of the enemy. The river only separated them. The line was then displayed, and the passage of the river was attempted, under a fire from a howitzer which the enemy directed against the volunteers with little effect. The line remained firm, and marched across the ice to the opposite shore, at the very moment when the signal was given for a general charge.

Majors Graves and Madison were instantly ordered to assail the houses and picketing, in and about which, the enemy had collected and arrayed his cannon, before this charge could be made. The two battalions advanced with great velocity, under an incessant shower of bullets, carried the picketing with ease, dislodged the British and Indians, and drove them into the woods.

Lieutenant-Colonel Allen made a simultaneous movement upon the enemy's left, then at a considerable distance from the remainder of his troops, and after one or two spirited charges, compelled him to break, and drove him more than a mile; after which he took shelter in the same wood, to which the right had retired. Here the two wings concentrated, and, being covered by the fences of several inclosed lots and a group of houses, with a thick and brushy wood, and a quantity of fallen timber in the rear, they made a stand with their howitzer and small arms. Colonel Allen was still advancing with the right wing of the American detachment, and was exposed to the fire of the whole body of the enemy. Majors Graves and Madison were then directed to move up with the left and the centre, to make a diversion in favour of the right. Their fire had just commenced when the right wing advanced upon the enemy's front.

A sanguinary fight immediately followed; the houses were desperately assailed, the British, who were stationed behind the fences, were vigorously charged, and the enemy a third time fled. Rapid pursuit was instantly given to him. The British and Indians drew the Americans into the wood in their rear, and again rallying their forces, several times intrepidly attempted, under the direction of Major Reynolds, to break the American line. The fight became close and extremely hot upon the right wing, but the whole line maintained its ground, repulsed every attempt, followed up the enemy each time as he fell back, and kept him two miles on the retreat, under a continual charge. At length, after having obstinately contended against the American arms upwards of three hours, the British and Indians were entirely dispersed, and carrying off all their wounded and as many of their dead as they could collect, they retired from the field, leaving fifteen of their warriors behind.

The American loss amounted to twelve killed and fifty-five wounded. The gallantry of the officers of the detachments left no chance of discrimination to the commandant. Most of them have been already mentioned in reference to their conduct on other occasions. The coolness of the men was such, that whilst they were assaulting and driving the enemy from the houses, not a woman or child inhabiting them was hurt. Colonel Lewis

encamped upon the same ground which had been previously occupied by the enemy. He had captured some public property, and protected the inhabitants thus far from the apprehended cruelty of the Indians, and he now made preparations to maintain his position until he should be joined by General Winchester.

On the 20th the troops under General Winchester arrived, and when the whole were concentrated they did not exceed seven hundred and fifty men. Six hundred were posted in pickets, and one hundred and fifty composing the right wing were encamped in an open field. On the morning of the 22d, at reveille, a combined force under Tecumseh and Colonel Proctor, of two thousand one hundred men attacked the encampment. The alarm gun was immediately fired, and the troops ready for the reception of the assailants. The attack commenced with a heavy fire of small arms, and the discharge of six pieces of artillery, directed immediately at the temporary breastwork, behind which the left wing was stationed. The right wing was attacked with great violence and sustained the conflict about twenty minutes, but being outnumbered and overpowered, was obliged to retreat across the river. Two companies, of fifty men each, sallied out of the breastwork to their assistance, but retreated with them. A large body of Indians had been stationed in the rear of the encampment before the attack commenced, who either made prisoners of, or cut off the retreating party. The left wing maintained its ground within the pickets.

Three furious onsets were made upon it by the British 41st, each of which was received with distinguished coolness, and each of which terminated in the repulse of the enemy. In the desperate resistance which was made to the charges of this regiment, thirty of its men were killed, and between ninety and one hundred wounded. When the right wing was discovered to be retreating, every effort was used to form them in some order of action, either to repel the pursuers, or to regain the temporary breastwork, from behind which the remaining part of the troops were still gallantly defending themselves.

General Winchester's head-quarters were several hundred yards from the encampment, he therefore was not in the first of the engagement, but he had no sooner arrived at the ground, than he,



Colonel Lewis, and some others, who were attempting to rally the flying right wing, were taken prisoners. The remainder of the battle was fought in confusion, and was rather a proof of the invincible bravery of the Americans than of any regard which they had for the order of the fight. They saw the great disparity of force, and knew how much their own had been weakened by the destruction of the right wing. But they continued to repel every charge of the assailants, until eleven o'clock, when an order was received, by a flag from the enemy, by which it appeared, that General Winchester was assured, that unless the troops of his command were immediately surrendered, the buildings in Frenchtown would be set on fire, and that no responsibility would be taken for the conduct of the savages, who composed the largest part of the enemy's force; that to save the lives of the remaining portion of his brave troops, he had agreed to surrender them prisoners of war, on condition of their being protected from the savages, of their being allowed to retain their private property, and of having their side arms returned to them. Thirty-five officers, and four hundred and eighty-seven non-commissioned officers and privates were accordingly surrendered, after having fought with small arms, against artillery, for six hours; and being all that time surrounded by Indians resorting to their usual terrific yells. The loss of the Americans was twenty-two officers, and two hundred and seventy-five non-commissioned officers and privates killed and missing, and three officers and twenty-two privates wounded, who were among the prisoners surrendered. The enemy's loss, except that of the 41st regulars, could not be ascertained, every means being used to prevent a discovery. It has been supposed, however, that it was little less than that of the Americans. Colonel Proctor afterwards stated it, in his official communication, to be twenty-four killed, and one hundred and fifty-eight wounded.

The events which followed the surrender of the American arms, were of such a nature as to make the heart of man recoil from their recital, and to deprive the historian of a *later* day of that degree of temperance which ought ever to be inseparable from candid and impartial narration. Facts which have been established beyond the possibility of doubt, which have been testified by the

solemn affirmations of the officers of the captured army, and admitted by those of the enemy, which took place immediately under the eye of the conquering commander, and which were sanctioned by his presence, ought not to be withheld from the world; the fidelity of history will not allow them to be magnified, nor can they in justice be extenuated.

Destitute of the common principles of sacred humanity, and regardless of the civilized usages of honourable warfare, the allied British and Indian forces no sooner received the surrender of the vanquished, though brave defenders of the invaded territory, than they assailed them with their tomahawks and scalping-knives, and stripped them of their property and clothing.

When the right wing fell back, and about forty men, under Lieutenant Isaac L. Baker, were attempting to escape, an offer of protection was made to them on condition of their surrender. Lieutenant Baker very gladly yielded to the proposal for the safety of his men, but the proffered protection did not follow. One half of his party were butchered and left naked on the field, and himself and the remainder were marched back to Colonel Proctor's camp. They gave up their arms to the Indians, and defenseless as they were, many of them who brought up the rear as prisoners, were massacred on the march.

When General Winchester was captured, in the act of pursuing and rallying the right wing, the same solemn assurances of protection were given to him on condition of his ordering the whole detachment to surrender. His humanity induced him to comply, but when the troops were brought within the British camp, their side arms and accoutrements were taken from them and presented to the savages. They were then left in custody of the Indians, who were instructed to follow the British regulars to Malden, to which place the prisoners were to be conducted. The wounded prisoners were more likely to become the objects of Indian resentment, and the American general remonstrated, therefore, with the commanding British officer on the necessity of their being removed by the regulars. To this remonstrance a pledge was given that such prisoners should be attended to. They were left behind, however, and on the morning of the 23d, the Indians fired many houses of the inhabitants, and burnt the





Massacre at the River Ruissin.





prisoners who had been placed within them. Being then in readiness to march, they arranged other prisoners in that order, and on finding that many of them could not walk, in consequence of the severity of their wounds, they immediately stripped them, stood them up for targets, and after killing, tomahawked and scalped them. Numbers of them who attempted the march to avoid so dreadful a fate, became exhausted on the way, and received the same treatment in the presence of their afflicted fellow prisoners. Among those who were placed in this latter situation, was an officer whose case was of the most unparalleled atrocity. Captain N. G. S. Hart,\* of Lexington, who had on several occasions, but on this particularly, signalized himself by his undaunted bravery, and who received a flesh wound in the knee in the early part of the engagement, on being surrendered with the troops, was immediately recognized by Colonel Elliot, an American by birth, who had been a class-mate of Captain Hart at an American college, and who has long been notorious for his activity in exciting the savages to arm themselves against his fellow-citizens. In this action he was bearing arms against his own countrymen, and on discovering the companion of his youth in the hands of the savages, he felt that degree of national sympathy, of which no man, however vile, can entirely divest himself; and without being solicited, made a promise of his protection, and of providing a conveyance to Malden, which would place Captain Hart under his superintendence until his recovery should be effected. But Colonel Elliot's promise was forgotten, or was made only to be broken. He departed, and a band of Indians entered the house in which Captain Hart lay and tore him from his bed, one of his brother officers then conveyed him to another apartment, where he was again assailed. He at length induced the Indians to take him to Malden, under the promise of a large reward. They proceeded but five miles on the road before they shot him while on his horse, and took his scalp. The fate of Colonel Allen, Captains M'Cracken, Woodfolk, Hickman, and other officers, was no less unfortunate than that of Captain Hart.

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\* Captain Hart was brother-in-law to Mr. Henry Clay, one of the American commissioners at Ghent.

When the surviving prisoners, officers and men, arrived at Malden, the savages were allowed to sell them, and many of the American citizens who had been permitted to remain in the town of Detroit for temporary purposes, stepped forward to ransom them, but when Colonel Proctor discovered that by this means they obtained their release, he issued an order forbidding any future exchanges of prisoners for money. Most of the officers, and many of the men among the volunteers, were of the first respectability, holding offices of high trust, members of the Congress of the United States, and accustomed to those refinements which result from wealth and education. They had left the ease and affluence with which their homes abounded, to obey the voice of their invaded country, and had encountered all kinds of hardships in their different marches. These men, while prisoners at Malden, were treated with that haughty superciliousness, which belongs not to the noble soldier, nor to the enlightened man.

Judge Woodward, of the Supreme Court of the Michigan territory, rendered every assistance to the prisoners within the power of an individual, and by the influence which he had acquired over the British commander greatly alleviated their misfortunes. He boldly charged the enemy with the enormities which had been committed, and informed Colonel Proctor, after having supplied him by his own directions with affidavits which substantiated all the facts, that "*the truth would undoubtedly eventually appear, and that that unfortunate day must meet the steady and impartial eye of history.*"

Colonel Proctor extenuated the facts, made no denial of their occurrence, but alleged that no capitulation was entered into; that the prisoners surrendered at discretion, and that therefore it was not necessary to control the Indians. The battle was officially announced to the Canadian people from the head-quarters of the commander-in-chief, the governor-general. His communication informed them that another brilliant action had been achieved by the division of the army under Colonel Proctor, and admitted that the loss of the Americans was great, because the Indian warriors had cut off all who attempted to escape. The Indian chief Round Head, he said had rendered essential services by his bravery and



good conduct, and Colonel Proctor had nobly displayed his gallantry by his humane and unwearied exertions in rescuing the vanquished from the revenge of the Indians ; for which good conduct he was promoted, until the pleasure of the Prince Regent should be known, to the rank of a brigadier-general in Upper Canada. The general order concluded by ordering "a salute of twenty-one guns to be fired on this glorious occasion."



GENERAL HARRISON having heard of the exposed situation of General Winchester's troops, had ordered a detachment from General Perkins's brigade to march under Major Cotgroves to his relief; but they did not reach Frenchtown before the battle, and immediately on their return to the Rapids, at which place General Harrison was then stationed, he fell back eighteen miles to

the carrying river, in order to force a junction with the troops in the rear, and to cover the convoy of artillery and stores then coming from Upper Sandusky. From this place he despatched a flag of truce, with a surgeon, to Malden to attend to the captured sick and wounded; his flag was not respected, however, and one of the surgeon's companions was killed, and himself wounded and taken prisoner.

A strong desire now prevailed among the troops to avenge the loss of their brave brethren in arms, and Governor Meigs having promptly forwarded two regiments of Ohio militia to reinforce General Harrison, he again advanced to the Rapids and commenced building a fort, which has since been rendered memorable under the name of Fort Meigs. Fortifications were at the same time constructed at Upper Sandusky, under the direction of General Crooks. Whilst these precautionary measures were adopted for the protection of the troops, and the defense of the territory, detached parties were frequently indulged in short excursions, none of which resulted in any material advantage. In one of these, the commander-in-chief himself, marched to Presque isle at the head of a detachment, upon hearing that a body of Indians had collected at that place; but the Indians fled

at his approach too rapidly to be overtaken, and he returned to his encampment, after having marched sixty miles in twenty-one hours.

A few days after, Captain Langham was despatched to destroy the Queen Charlotte, then lying near Malden; but the decayed state of the ice defeated the object of the expedition. In the commencement of April a desperate affair took place between an equal number of Frenchmen and Indians, who fought each other in canoes, until the greater part on both sides were either killed or wounded; but no event of any consequence occurred during the remainder of the winter, the unauthorized movement of General Winchester was entirely subversive of General Harrison's plans, and so contrary to his arrangements, that the whole system of organization was again to be gone over. General Harrison therefore left the troops strengthening the posts of Fort Meigs, Upper Sandusky, and Fort Stephenson, whilst he returned to Ohio to consult with the governor, to accelerate the march of the reinforcements, and to expedite the transportation of additional stores. He had not been long absent from Fort Meigs, before the garrison was threatened with an attack. New levies were hastily made from Ohio and Kentucky, but as they did not arrive in time to resist the enemy, now collecting in large numbers in the neighbourhood, the Pennsylvania brigade voluntarily extended its term of service, which had just then expired.

General Harrison was apprized of this circumstance by despatch, and returned with all possible expedition to the garrison. He arrived on the 20th April, and made instant preparation for an approaching siege. Patroles and reconnoitering parties were constantly kept out, and on the 26th they reported the enemy—on that day the advance of the enemy made its appearance on the opposite shore, and were discovered viewing the works; after reconnoitering a short time they retired. On the following day they appeared again; but a few eighteen pound shot soon obliged them to retreat.

The fort was situated on a commanding eminence, and was well supplied with every necessary munition of war, but General Harrison being desirous of putting his men in the best possible state of security, was every day erecting fortifications of different

descriptions. The troops in the garrison were animated and zealous in the cause of their country, and their exertions were without parallel. On the 28th, Captain Hamilton was sent out with a patrolling party. About three miles down the river he discovered the enemy in great force, approaching Fort Meigs, and immediately communicated his discovery to the general.

An express was then sent to General Green Clay, who commanded a brigade of twelve hundred Kentuckians, with an order for his immediate march to Fort Meigs. General Harrison addressed the troops, informed them of the vital importance of every man's being vigilant and industrious at his post, and received assurances that none of them would abandon their duty. A few British and a body of Indians commenced a very brisk fire from the opposite shore, but the distance was too great to do injury. Their fire was returned from two eighteen pounders, and they retired and concealed themselves from the view of the fort. In the evening, the enemy crossed the river in boats, and selected the best situations about the fort to throw up works for the protection of their battering cannon. The garrison was completely surrounded, and preparations were active upon one side to storm the fort, and on the other to repel the most vigorous assault. Several dragoons, who had offered to reconnoiter the enemy's camp, had not proceeded far from the fort, when they were fired on, and one of them was shot through the arm. Early on the morning of the 29th, the Indians fired into the fort with their rifles, and mortally wounded a man who was talking with the general—a constant firing was kept up on both sides during the whole day. Several men in the garrison were slightly wounded, and a number of the enemy were killed. His batteries had been so far constructed during the night, that sufficient protection was afforded to him to work by daylight. Numbers of shot were thrown into the breastworks to impede their progress, but before night, he had three batteries erected, two with four embrasures each, and one bomb battery.

On the morning of the 30th, the besiegers were discovered to have extended their batteries, and to be preparing them for the cannon. Their progress in doing this was retarded by a well-directed and constant fire from the besieged. They were observed



to carry away men from the batteries, by which it was supposed that the fire from the fort had either killed or wounded many of them.

General Harrison, having a suspicion that the enemy intended to surprise and storm the garrison in its rear, from the circumstance of a number of boats having repeatedly crossed from the old British garrison to the side on which stood the American fort, each loaded with men, he gave orders for one-third of the troops to be constantly on guard, and the remainder to sleep with their muskets in their arms, and to be in readiness to fly to their posts at any moment. The Indians occupied all the advantageous positions around the fort, and to this and many other discouraging circumstances was added the want of water, which was supplied only from the river, whence a few men were each night obliged to obtain enough for the garrison for the succeeding day. This they did at an imminent risk of their lives, the Indians being always on the alert. During this day there were several killed and wounded on both sides. In the night, a gun-boat which had been towed up the river by the enemy, was placed near the fort, and kept up a fire at intervals upon it. No one ball entered it, however, and on the morning of May 1st she moved off, after having discharged thirty shot without effect.

This morning the grand traverse, at which the men had been some time engaged, was nearly finished, and several inferior ones were commenced in different directions. The American garrison was now in very excellent condition, and as soon as the well should be finished, would defy the utmost power of the besiegers. At about ten o'clock the enemy had one cannon prepared. With that he kept up a brisk fire. In the course of the day he opened several pieces on the fort, and before night he had in operation one twenty-four-pounder, one twelve, one six, and a howitzer, from which he fired two hundred and fifty-six shot during the day, and four at night, without doing any material injury to Fort Meigs; though one man was wounded mortally, two badly, and five slightly, and a ball struck a bench upon which General Harrison was sitting. One of their pieces was silenced several times.

On the second of May the firing commenced very early with

bombs and balls, and continued until four hundred and fifty-seven discharges were made in the day, and four at night. American loss this day, one killed and ten wounded, besides several slightly touched. Numbers of the enemy's warriors were carried away from their batteries in blankets. On the 3d, a fierce and vigorous fire of bombs and cannon balls commenced with the day. Two batteries, one of which was a bomb-battery, were opened upon the rear right-angle of the American fort, at a distance of two hundred and fifty yards. Their fire was promptly returned, and several times silenced, but they continued it at intervals during the day. Six men were killed in the fort and three wounded, by the cannon and bombs, from which during this day and at night there were five hundred and sixty-three shot and shells discharged.

The Indians ascended the trees in the neighbourhood of the fort and fired into it with their rifles, only one man, however, was killed by a bullet. On the 4th no firing took place until eleven o'clock. It was at first supposed that the enemy had exhausted himself, but at nine o'clock it was discovered that he was erecting an additional battery, to guard against which, General Harrison ordered a new traverse to be constructed. A heavy rain, which fell in the early part of the day, retarded the firing on both sides. The rifle was used oftener on this than on any other day. The cannon shot did not exceed two hundred and twenty-two. Several men were slightly wounded, and two killed in the course of the night. The principal part of the British were at the old batteries on the opposite side of the river, one of their officers of rank crossed over within musket-shot of the fort, and was shot by Lieutenant Gwynne.

On the 5th, the fire from the besiegers was very slow, they killed three men with bombs, and discharged their pieces one hundred and forty-three times in all. General Clay had put his troops in motion as soon as he received General Harrison's orders of the 28th ultimo, and had marched with great expedition. At two o'clock on this day, M. Oliver, who had been sent with the despatches, arrived at the fort with forty-seven men of General Clay's brigade, and informed General Harrison that the whole detachment was within a few hour's march. Orders were imme-

diately sent to General Clay to land eight hundred men on the opposite shore, to storm the enemy's batteries, spike his cannon, and destroy his carriages, whilst a sortie would be circuitously made from the fort for the purpose of attacking his new works at the same instant, and compelling him to raise the siege. Colonel Dudley was charged with the execution of this order, and Colonel Miller of the 19th United States infantry was to command the sortie. Colonel Dudley landed his men from the boats in which they had descended the river, and marched them resolutely up to the mouth of the British cannon. The four batteries were instantly carried, eleven guns spiked, and the British regulars and Canadian militia put to flight.

In pursuance of General Harrison's orders, Colonel Dudley, after having effected the object of his landing, ought to have crossed the river to Fort Meigs, but his men were so much elated at the success of their first battle, that they were desirous of pursuing and capturing the retreating enemy. An immense body of Indians were at that time marching to the British camp, who were met by the regulars as they retired. With these they formed, and putting the Indians in ambush, they made a feint to draw Colonel Dudley's men into the woods, in which they too well succeeded. The Indians came out from their ambuscade, and attacked the brave but indiscreet Kentuckians. A severe engagement took place, which terminated in the death or capture of almost the whole detachment, and which was followed by the same kind of massacre, though not to the same extent, which succeeded the surrender at Raisin.

The British intercepted the retreat of Colonel Dudley to the river, where he would have been protected by the guns of Fort Meigs, and only one hundred and fifty men, out of eight hundred, effected their escape. Forty-five were tomahawked, and Colonel Dudley, their gallant leader, was among the killed. He is said to have shot one of the Indians after being himself mortally wounded. The remainder of General Clay's brigade assailed a body of Indians in the wood near the fort, and would have been also drawn into an ambush had not General Harrison ordered a party of dragoons to sally out and protect their retreat to the fort.

The contemplated sortie was intended to have been simulta-





Siege of Fort Meigs.

neous with the attack on the opposite side of the river; but the impetuosity of Colonel Dudley's troops defeated this project, and Colonel Miller, with part of the 19th and a body of militia, in all three hundred and fifty men, sallied forth after the Indians were apprized of the attack upon the old batteries. He assaulted the whole line of their works, which was defended, as has since been ascertained, by two hundred regulars, one hundred and fifty militia, and four or five hundred Indians, and after several brilliant and intrepid charges, succeeded in driving the enemy from his principal batteries and in spiking the cannon. He then returned to the fort with forty-two prisoners, among whom were two lieutenants.

The first charge was made on the Indians and Canadians by the battalion of Major Alexander, the second on the regulars and Indians by Colonel Miller's regulars, the officers of which were Captains Croghan, Langham, Bradford, Nearing, and Lieutenant Campbell, and a company of Kentuckians, commanded by Captain Sabrie, who distinguished himself in the first affair at Frenchtown. This company maintained its ground with more firmness than could have been expected from a hasty levy of militia, and against four times its number. It was at length,

however, surrounded by Indians, and would have been entirely cut off, had not Lieutenant Gwynne of the 19th charged the Indians with part of Captain Elliot's company and released the Kentuckians.

On the 6th, hostilities seemed to have ceased on both sides. The besieged sent down a flag by Major Hukill to attend to the comforts of the American wounded and prisoners, which returned with the British Major Chambers, between whom and the garrison some arrangements were made about sending home the prisoners by Cleveland. On the 7th there was a continuation of bad weather. Flags were passing to and from the two armies during the whole day, and arrangements were entered into by which the American militia were to be sent to Huron, to return home by that route, and the Indians were to relinquish their claim to the prisoners taken on the opposite shore, and to receive in exchange for them a number of Wyandotts, who had been captured in the sallies of the 5th. During the 8th the exchange and intercourse of flags continued, and a promise was made by the British to furnish General Harrison with a list of the killed, wounded, and prisoners, which, however, was not complied with. On the 9th the enemy was observed to be abandoning his works, a sloop and several gun-boats had been brought up in the night and were receiving the cannon—on being discovered a few guns from Fort Meigs obliged them to relinquish their design, and by ten o'clock the siege was raised, and the whole of the enemy's forces were on their retreat.

Thus terminated a siege of thirteen days, in which the British commander, General Proctor, promised the Indian allies, that the American garrison should be reduced, and its defenders delivered over to them as prisoners of war. Eighteen hundred shells and cannon balls had been fired into the fort, and a continual discharge of small arms had been kept up, yet the American loss was only eighty-one killed, and one hundred and eighty-nine wounded. Seventeen only of the former during the siege, the remainder in the sortie, and the different assaults of the 5th. Of the latter, one hundred and twenty-four were wounded in the sortie, and sixty-six during the siege. The loss of the United States regulars was one hundred and fifty-six in killed and

wounded, that of the Kentucky and Ohio militia and the twelve months volunteers, one hundred and fourteen.

But Kentucky, as on other occasions, suffered the most severely, her loss in killed and wounded amounting to seventy-two. The daring intrepidity of the citizens of that state, had continually, and too often with an indiscreet impetuosity, led them into the most dangerous situations. It was to this that their defeat under Colonel Dudley was to be attributed, and because of this, that they lost in that affair two hundred and upwards in killed and missing. But it was to this, also, that the gratitude of the whole nation was due, when, regardless of the blood which in the first stage of the war she had already freely and profusely shed, her citizens came forward with unabating alacrity, and volunteered their services on every hazardous expedition.

The force under General Proctor was reported by deserters to be five hundred and fifty regulars, and eight hundred militia. The number of the Indians was greater beyond comparison than had ever been brought into the field before. They were much dissatisfied at the failure of the repeated attacks upon the fort, the spoils of which had been promised to them—yet they several times during the sortie, prevented the capture of the whole of their allies, the British regulars. In one of the assaults, commanded by Captain Croghan, upon a battery which was defended by the grenadier and light infantry companies of the 41st regiment, the enemy suffered severely, and, but for the immediate assistance of the Indians, could not have effected a retreat, which the vigour of the assault compelled them to make.

General Harrison caused not only the ground upon which the enemy's batteries had been erected in the neighbourhood of the fort, but that on which Colonel Dudley's battle had been fought, to be strictly examined; on the latter, the body of that unfortunate officer was discovered dreadfully mangled. The bodies of several of his detachment were also found, and the whole were collected and buried with the honours and solemnities due to their rank and the occasion. Offensive preparations were now for a time suspended. The naval equipments on Lake Erie were in active forwardness, and until these were completed, the troops were to remain at Fort Meigs and Sandusky. The forces at



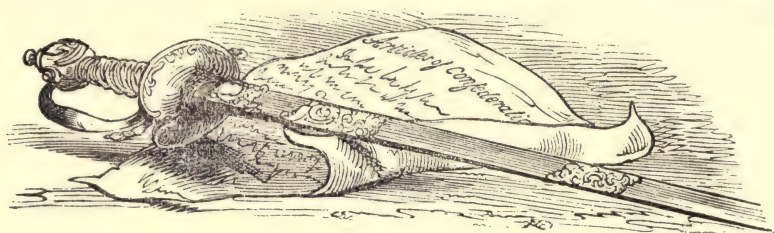
either were adequate to its defense, and General Harrison left General Clay in command of the former, whilst he set out for the latter, and thence intended to repair to Franklinton to forward new reinforcements. In the month of June a general council of Indian chiefs was assembled in the neighbourhood of Seneca town, Lower Sandusky, to which place the head-quarters of General Harrison had been transferred. The result of their deliberations was an offer to take up arms in behalf of the United States, and they proposed to accompany General Harrison into Canada. But the incursions of the hostile chiefs were now more frequent than before. Their depredations were extended along the shores of the lake, and many of the inhabitants were killed or made prisoners. But a temporary check was given to their inroads, by a squadron of dragoons, who encountered and cut to pieces a party of the most ferocious of the savages.

Colonel Ball was descending the Sandusky with twenty-two men, when he was fired upon by about twenty Indians from an ambush. He charged upon and drove them from their ambuscade, and after an obstinate contest upon a plain, favourable to the operations of cavalry, he destroyed every chief of the party. During the warmest of the engagement, he was dismounted, and in personal fight with a warrior of great strength. They fought with desperation until the colonel was relieved by an officer who shot down the Indian. The savages then became furious, and after giving their customary signal to receive no quarter, they made a vigorous onset, and kept up the contest until their whole band was destroyed. This affair produced some terror among the Indians, and the persons and property of the inhabitants were secured for awhile from outrage and plunder.

The conduct of this vigilant and able officer has been frequently spoken of in general orders. At the repulse of the besiegers of Fort Meigs, he was among the most conspicuous of those officers, who vainly strove to surpass each other in the acquittal of their duty. To Majors Ball, Todd, Sodwick, and Ritzer, and Major Johnson of the Kentucky militia, the commander-in-chief gave a public expression of his warmest approbation. Of Captain Wood, of the engineers, who has since that time so nobly distinguished himself in a sortie from another garrison, the general

said, that in assigning to him the first palm of merit, as far as it related to the transactions within the works, he was convinced that his decision would be awarded by every individual in camp, who witnessed his indefatigable exertion, his consummate skill in providing for the safety of every point, and in foiling every attempt of the enemy ; and his undaunted bravery in the performance of his duty in the most exposed situation. In speaking of the Kentuckians, he said, that it rarely happened that a general had to complain of the excessive ardour of his men, yet, that such always appeared to be the case whenever the Kentucky militia were engaged, and that they appeared to think that valour alone could accomplish any thing. The general was led to make this remark from the conduct of Captain Dudley's men, of one of the militia regiments, as he understood that that gallant officer was obliged to turn his esponton against his own company, to oblige them to desist from a further pursuit of the enemy. This declaration referred to the conduct of his company in the sortie.

On the sixth or seventh day of the siege, General Harrison received from General Proctor a summons to surrender, which was delivered in the usual form, by Major Chambers, who informed the general that the British commander was desirous of saving the effusion of blood. General Harrison expressed great astonishment at this demand. As General Proctor did not send it on his arrival, he supposed that the British officers believed he was determined to do his duty. Major Chambers then in vain attempted to persuade him of the high respect which General Proctor entertained for him as a soldier, and informed him that there was now a larger body of Indians assembled than had ever been known to have been at one time organized. General Harrison dismissed him with assurances that he had a very correct idea of General Proctor's force ; that it was not such as to create the least apprehension for the result of the contest ; that General Proctor should never have that post surrendered to him upon any terms ; and that if it should fall into his hands, it should be in a manner calculated to do him more honour, and to give him larger claims upon the gratitude of his government, than he could possibly derive from any capitulation.



## CHAPTER IX.

### Commencement of the Campaign of 1813.



ARRANGEMENTS having been entered into between the American and British commissaries to that effect, a mutual exchange of prisoners took place, which restored to the army of the United States all the distinguished officers who had fallen into the hands of the enemy during the campaign of 1812. Vigorous preparations had, in the mean time, been making by the northern army and the army of the centre, for opening the campaign of 1813. Reinforcements of regulars from most of the recruiting districts, and the necessary supplies of provisions and military equipments, had been forwarded with the utmost celerity, and every thing seemed to promise a successful issue to the contemplated operations.

Captain Forsythe and his company, consisting now of about one hundred and eighty-five men, were still stationed at Ogdensburg where he was in command. Deserters from the Canada side of the St. Lawrence were continually surrendering themselves to him at this post, until their numbers became at length so extensive, that the vigilance of the enemy was strongly excited. British guards were repeatedly sent over to the American shore in search of them, and though they succeeded in taking about sixteen, they committed so many aggressions upon the persons and property of the citizens, that Captain Forsythe determined on attacking them in the village of Elizabethtown, and releasing the deserters whom they had thus taken and imprisoned at that place. On the 6th of February, he therefore drafted a part of his own



company, and accepted the services of a sufficient number of volunteers to make his command amount to two hundred men. With these, accompanied by Colonel Benedict and several private gentlemen, he proceeded up the river to Morristown, where he formed his men, and at three o'clock on the morning of the 7th he crossed over to Elizabethtown, surprised the guard, took fifty-two prisoners, among whom were one major, three captains, and two lieutenants, and captured one hundred and twenty muskets, twenty rifles, two casks of fixed ammunition, and some other public property, without the loss of a single man. He then released the deserters from the jail, recrossed the river, and returned to Ogdensburg, where he negotiated with two British officers sent over for that purpose, for the parole of the prisoners.

Soon after this, the movements of the enemy at Prescott were indicative of an intention to attack Ogdensburg. Colonel Benedict was therefore induced to call out his regiment of militia, and arrangements were immediately made for the defense of the place. On the 21st of February the enemy appeared before it with a force of twelve hundred men, and succeeded in driving out Captain Forsythe and his troops. The British attacked in two columns, of six hundred men each, at eight o'clock in the morning, and were commanded by Captain M'Donnell of the Glengary light infantry, and Colonel Fraser of the Canadian militia. The American riflemen and militia received them with firmness, and contended for the ground upwards of an hour; when the superiority of numbers compelled them to abandon it, and to retreat to Black Lake, nearly nine miles from Ogdensburg, after losing twenty men in killed and wounded. The loss of the enemy, from the deliberate coolness with which the riflemen fired, was reputed to have been thrice that number. The British account, which claimed the capture of immense stores, none of which had ever been deposited there, admitted the loss of five distinguished officers. In consequence of this affair, a message was sent by the commandant of Fort George to Colonel M'Feely, the commandant of Fort Niagara, informing him that a salute would be fired the next day in honour of the capture of the American village. Colonel M'Feely having received intelligence in the course of the same evening of the capture of his majesty's frigate the



Commodore Chauncey.

Java, returned the message to the British commandant by communicating to him his intention of firing a salute at the same hour from Fort Niagara in celebration of this brilliant event.

On the 26th of March the batteries on Black Rock were opened upon the enemy, and the fire continued with little intermission until night. The sailors' battery completely silenced the lower battery of the enemy, but what damage was done to his troops has not been ascertained. One man was killed, and several hurt by accidents at the Rock.

Reinforcements were now every day arriving, and the concentration of a large force at Sackett's Harbour was effected about the middle of April. Many of the troops from Champlain and the shores of the St. Lawrence, among whom was Captain Forsythe's command, were ordered to that point, and it was confidently expected that the campaign would be commenced by the invasion of Canada in or before the following month of May. Orders had been given to Commodore Chauncey, by the navy department, to receive on board the squadron the commanding



general Dearborn, and any force which he might destine to proceed against the posts on the British Niagara frontier. A plan had been conceived and organized by General Dearborn, by which, in co-operation with the fleet, he was to storm and carry the works at Little York, the capital of Upper Canada, and to proceed thence to the assault of Fort George, the great bulwark of that country.

The capital of Upper Canada was formerly known by the name of Toronto, and is situated at the bottom of a harbour of the same name, which is formed by a long and narrow peninsula called Gibraltar Point, on the extremity of which stores and block-houses are constructed. The garrison stands on a bank of the main land opposite to the point. To the westward of the garrison formerly stood the old French fort Toronto, of which scarcely any vestiges remain, and adjoining this situation is a deep bay which receives the river Humber. The town of York was projected to extend to a mile and a half in length, from the mouth of the harbour along its banks. The government-house, and the houses for the distinct branches of the legislature were handsome, and the view from the latter highly diversified.

Agreeably to a previous arrangement with the commodore, General Dearborn and his suite, with a force of seventeen hundred men, embarked on the 22d and 23d of April, but the prevalence of a violent storm prevented the sailing of the squadron until the 25th. On that day it moved into Lake Ontario, and having a favourable wind, arrived safely at seven o'clock on the morning of the 27th, about one mile to the westward of the ruins of Fort Toronto, and two and a half from the town of York. The execution of that part of the plan which applied immediately to the attack upon York, was confided to Colonel Pike, of the 15th regiment, who had then been promoted to the rank of a brigadier-general, and the position which had been fixed upon for landing the troops was the site of the old fort. The approach of the fleet being discovered from the enemy's garrison, General Sheaffe, the British commandant, hastily collected his whole force, consisting of upwards of seven hundred and fifty regulars and militia, and one hundred Indians, and disposed them in the best manner to resist the landing of the American force.



A body of British grenadiers were paraded on the shore, and the Glengary fencibles, a corps which had been disciplined with uncommon pains since the commencement of the war, were stationed at another point. Bodies of Indians were observed in groups in different directions, in and about the woods below the site of the fort, and numbers of horsemen were stationed in the clear ground surrounding it. These were seen moving into the town, where strong field-works had been thrown up to oppose the assailants. The Indians were taking post at stations which were pointed out to them by the British officers with great skill, from which they could annoy the Americans at the point which the water and the weather would compel them to land. Thus posted, they were to act as *tirraillieurs*. The regulars were discovered to be moving out of their works in open columns of platoons, and marching along the bank in that order into the woods.

At eight o'clock the debarkation commenced; at ten it was completed. Major Forsythe and his riflemen in several large batteaux, were in the advance. They pulled vigorously for the designated ground at the site, but were forced by a strong easterly wind a considerable distance above. The enemy being within a few feet of the water, and completely masked by the thickness of a copse, commenced a galling fire of musketry and rifle. To have fallen further from the clear ground at which he was first ordered to land, would have subjected, not only his own corps, but the whole body of the troops, to great disadvantages; and by landing at a greater distance from the town, the object of the expedition might be frustrated. Major Forsythe therefore determined upon making that part of the shore on which the enemy's principal strength was stationed, and desired his men to rest a moment on their oars, until his riflemen should return the shot.

General Pike was at this moment hastening the debarkation of the infantry, when, as he was standing on the ship's deck, he observed the pause of the boats in advance, and springing into that which had been reserved for himself and staff, he called to them to jump into the boat with him, ordered Major King of the 15th (the same who had distinguished himself in carrying

the enemy's batteries opposite Black Rock,) to follow him instantly with three companies of that regiment, and pushed for the Canadian shore. Before he reached it, Forsythe had landed and was already engaged with the principal part of the British and Indian force, under the immediate command of General Sheaffe. He contended with them nearly half an hour. The infantry under Major King, the light artillery under Major Eustis, the volunteer corps commanded by Colonel M'Clure, and about thirty men, who had been selected from the 15th at Plattsburg, trained to the rifle, and designed to act as a small corps of observation, under Lieutenant Riddle, then landed in rapid succession, and formed in platoons.

General Pike took command of the first, and ordering the whole body to prepare for a charge, led them on to the summit of the bank, from which the British grenadiers were pouring down a volley of musketry and rifle shot. The advance of the American infantry was not to be withstood, and the grenadiers yielded their position and retired in disorder. The signal of victory was at the same instant heard from Forsythe's bugles, and the sound had no sooner penetrated the ears of the Indians, than they gave a customary yell and fled in every direction. The Glengary corps then skirmished with Forsythe's, whilst a fresh body of grenadiers, supposed to have been the 8th or King's regiment, made a formidable charge upon the American column, and partially compelled it to retire. But the officers instantly rallied the troops, who returned to the ground, and impetuously charged upon, and routed the grenadiers. A reinforcement of the remainder of the 15th then arrived, with Captain Steel's platoon, and the standards of the regiment, and the Americans remained undisputed masters of the ground. A fresh front, however, was presented by the British at a distance, which gave way and retired to the garrison, as soon as the American troops were again formed, by Major King, for the charge.

The whole body of the troops being now landed, orders were given by General Pike to form in platoons, and to march in that order to the enemy's works. The first line was composed of Forsythe's riflemen, with front and flank guards; the regiments of the first brigade, with their pieces; and three platoons of

reserve, under the orders of Major Swan; Major Eustis and his train of artillery were formed in the rear of this reserve, to act where circumstances might require. The second line was composed of the 21st regiment, in six platoons, flanked by Colonel M'Clure's volunteers, divided equally as light troops, and all under the command of Colonel Ripley. Thus formed, an injunction was given to each officer, to suffer no man to load; when within a short distance of the enemy, an entire reliance would be placed on the bayonet; and the column moved on, with as much velocity as the streams and ravines which intersected the road along the lake would permit. One field-piece, and a howitzer, were with difficulty passed over one of these, the bridges of which had been destroyed, and placed at the head of the column, in charge of Lieutenant Fanning, of the 3d artillery.

As the column emerged from the woods, and came immediately in front of the enemy's first battery, two or three twenty-four-pounders were opened upon it, but without any kind of effect. The column moved on, and the enemy retreated to his second battery. The guns of the first were immediately taken, and Lieutenant Riddle, having at this moment come up with his corps, to deliver the prisoners which he had made in the woods, was ordered to proceed to take possession of the second battery, about one hundred yards ahead, the guns of which, Lieutenant Fraser, aid-de-camp to the general, reported to have been spiked by the enemy, whom he discovered retreating to the garrison. General Pike then led the column up to the second battery, where he halted to receive the captured ammunition, and to learn the strength of the garrison. But as every appearance indicated the evacuation of the barracks, he suspected the enemy of an intention to draw him within range of the shot, and then suddenly to show himself in great force. Lieutenant Riddle was sent forward with his corps of observation, to discover if there were any, and what number of troops, within the garrison.

The barracks were three hundred yards distant from the second battery, and whilst this corps was engaged in reconnoitering, General Pike, after removing a wounded prisoner from a dangerous situation, had seated himself upon a stump, and commenced an examination of a British sergeant, who had been taken in the



woods. Riddle having discovered that the enemy had abandoned the garrison, was about to return with this information, when the magazine, which was situated outside the barrack yard, blew up, with a tremendous and awful explosion, passed over Riddle and his party, without injuring one of his men, and killed and wounded General Pike, and two hundred and sixty of the column. The severity of General Pike's wounds disabled him from further service, and the command of the troops devolved upon Colonel Pearce of the 16th regiment, who sent a command to the town of York for an immediate surrender.

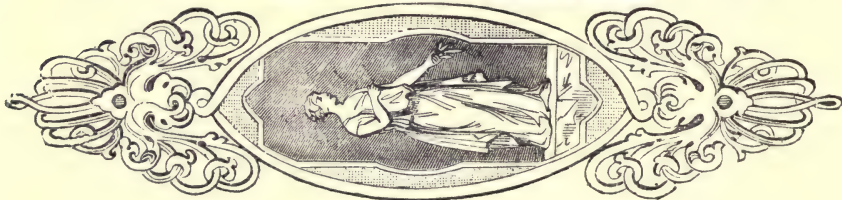
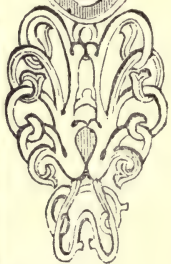
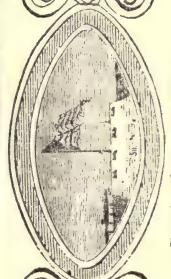
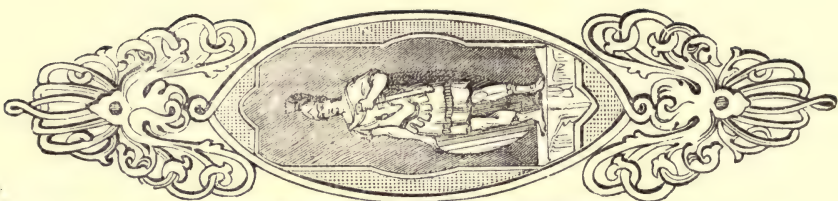
The plan of the contemplated operations was known only to General Pike, and, as General Dearborne had not yet landed, the future movements of the troops would depend upon the will of their new commander. He ordered them immediately to form the column, and to march forward and occupy the barracks, which Major Forsythe, who had been scouring the adjoining wood, had already entered. Meanwhile the British regulars were retreating across the Don, and destroying the bridges in their rear. After the explosion, which killed about fifty of the enemy who had not retired in time from the garrison, Lieutenant Riddle with his party, then reinforced by thirty regulars under Lieutenant Horrell of the 16th, pursued the enemy's route, and annoyed his retreating guard from the wood. This was the only pursuit which was made. Had a more vigorous push followed the abandonment of the enemy's garrison, his whole regular force must have been captured, and the accession of military stores would have been extensively great. The majority of the officers were well aware of this, and as it was known that the stores were deposited at York, they urged the necessity of an immediate approach of the whole column, to prevent their removal.

Colonel Pearce then marched towards the town, which was distant three-quarters of a mile. About half way between York and the garrison, the column was intercepted by several officers of the Canadian militia, who had come out with terms of capitulation. Whilst these were discussing, the enemy was engaged in destroying the military storehouse, and a large vessel of war then on the stocks, which in three days might have been

launched, and added to the American squadron on Lake Ontario. Forsythe, who was on the left in advance, being aware of this, despatched Lieutenant Riddle to inform Colonel Pearce. Colonel Ripley was at the same time urging a rapid march, and the troops again proceeded. Colonel Pearce enjoined the observance of General Pike's orders, that the property of the inhabitants of York should be held sacred, and that any soldier who should so far neglect the honour of his profession, as to be guilty of plundering, should, on conviction, be punished with death. At four o'clock in the afternoon, the Americans were in possession of the town, and terms of capitulation were agreed upon, by which, notwithstanding the severe loss which the army and the nation had sustained by the death of the general; the unwarrantable manner in which that loss was occasioned; and the subtlety with which the militia colonels offered to capitulate at a distance from the town, so that the column might be detained until General Sheaffe should escape, and the destruction of the public property be completed, although one of its articles stipulated for its delivery into the hands of the Americans; the militia were freed from all hardship, and not only their persons and property, but their legislative hall and other public buildings were protected. The terms of capitulation were, "that the troops, regulars and militia, and the naval officers and seamen, should be surrendered prisoners of war. That all *public stores, naval and military, should be immediately* given up to the commanding officers of the army and navy of the United States, and that all private property should be guaranteed to the citizens of the town of York. That all papers belonging to the civil officers should be retained by them, and that such surgeons as might be procured to attend the wounded of the British regulars and Canadian militia, should not be considered prisoners of war." Under this capitulation, one lieutenant-colonel, one major, thirteen captains, nine lieutenants, eleven ensigns, one deputy adjutant-general, and four naval officers, and two hundred and fifty-one non-commissioned officers and privates, were surrendered. The American infantry were then ordered to return to, and quarter in, the barracks, while the riflemen were stationed in the town.







Death of General Pike.



General Pike.

When General Pike's wound was discovered to be mortal, he was removed from the field, and carried to the shipping, with his wounded aids. As they conveyed him to the water's edge, a sudden exclamation was heard from the troops, which informed him of the American having supplanted the British standard in the garrison. He expressed his satisfaction by a feeble sigh, and after being transferred from the *Pert* schooner to the commodore's ship, he made a sign for the British flag, which had then been brought to him, to be placed under his head, and expired without a groan. Thus perished in the arms of victory, by the ungenerous stratagem of a vanquished foe, a soldier of tried valour and invincible courage;—a general of illustrious virtues and distinguished talents.

When the British general saw the American column advancing from the woods, he hastily drew up the articles of the capitulation, and directed them to be delivered to a colonel of the York militia. This colonel was instructed to negotiate the terms, after the regulars should have retreated. General Sheaffe, therefore, considered the garrison to be as much surrendered, as if



the articles had been actually agreed upon and signed. Yet he treacherously ordered a train to be laid, which it was so calculated, that the explosion of the magazine should be caused, at the time when the Americans should arrive at the barracks. Had not General Pike halted the troops at the enemy's second battery, the British plan would have attained its consummation, and the destruction of the whole column would have been the natural consequence. The train had been skilfully laid, and the combustibles arranged in a manner to produce the most dreadful effect. Five hundred barrels of powder, several cart-loads of stone, and an immense quantity of iron, shells, and shot, were contained in the magazine. The calamity which followed the explosion, caused no discomfiture among the troops.

A number of their officers of high rank, and of equal worth, were either killed or wounded, and they became actuated by a desire to revenge their fall. "*Push on, my brave fellows, and avenge your general,*" were the last words of their expiring commander. They instantly gave three cheers, formed the column, and marched on rapidly. Had they been led directly to York, the issue of the expedition would have been fruitful with advantages. As it was, however, the enemy's means were crippled, his resources cut off, and the military stores of the captors, extensively multiplied. Most of the guns, munitions of war, and provisions, necessary to carry on the campaign by the enemy, had been deposited at York, and notwithstanding the firing of the principal storehouse, an immense quantity fell into the hands of the Americans. The baggage and private papers of General Sheaffe were left at York, in the precipitation of his flight, and proved to be a valuable acquisition to the American commander. These and the public stores were the only articles of capture. The conduct of the troops needed no restraint. Though their indignation was highly excited, by the circumstances of a scalp having been found suspended near the speaker's chair, in the legislative chamber, neither the ornaments of the chamber, the building itself, nor the public library, were molested. A large quantity of flour deposited in the public stores, was distributed among the inhabitants, on condition that it should be used for their own consumption; and those whose



circumstances were impoverished, were supplied with many other articles of the captured provisions. The balance was taken on board the fleet, with the naval stores, or destroyed upon the shore.

Immediately after the fall of General Pike, the commander-in-chief landed with his staff, but he did not reach the troops until they had entered York. He there made arrangements to expedite their departure for the other objects of the expedition, and they were soon after re-embarked.

The co-operation of the squadron was of the greatest importance to the attack upon the enemy's garrison. As soon as the debarkation was completed, Commodore Chauncey directed the schooner to take a position near the forts, in order that the attack of the army and navy, might if possible, be simultaneous. The larger vessels could not be brought up, and in consequence of the wind, the schooners were obliged to beat up to their intended position. This they did, under a very heavy fire from the enemy's batteries, and having taken their station within six hundred yards of the principal fort, opened a galling fire, and contributed very much to its destruction. The loss on board the squadron, was three killed and eleven wounded. Among the killed were midshipmen Thompson and Hatfield, the latter of whom, in his dying moments, had no other care than to know if he had performed his duty to his country.

In the action the loss of the American army was trifling; but in consequence of the explosion, it was much greater than the enemy's loss in killed and wounded. Fourteen were killed and thirty-two wounded in battle, and thirty-eight were killed and two hundred and twenty-two wounded by the explosion, so that the total American loss amounted to three hundred and twenty men. Among those who fell by the explosion, besides General Pike, were seven captains, seven subalterns, one aid-de-camp, one acting aid, and one volunteer aid. The enemy's loss in killed and wounded amounted to - - - - 200

Militia prisoners, - - - - - 500

Regulars, prisoners, - - - - - 50

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Total, - - - - - 750

His wounded were left in the houses on the road leading to, and in the neighbourhood of, York, and were attended to by the American army and navy surgeons. The prisoners were all paroled, and the troops withdrawn from York immediately after its capture.

The officers of the 15th greatly distinguished themselves throughout the day. The death of their gallant leader, who had personally organized that regiment, and had already successfully led detachments of it to the field, inspired them with a more determined spirit to revenge the barbarous act of a defeated enemy, than could be felt by any other corps. Animated by this desire, with hearts panting for its fulfilment, they anxiously pressed forward, and had they been permitted to pursue the retreating column of the English, under the distinguished officer (Major King) who now commanded them, General Sheaffe and his regulars could not have effected their escape. Several platoon officers of this and the 16th regiment were killed. Captains Nicholson and Lyon by the explosion—Captain Hoppock, as his company were landing. Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell of the 3d regiment of artillery, acted as a volunteer on the expedition, and by his indefatigable exertions, at every post of danger, gave strong presages of that gallantry, by which he has since identified himself with the bravest officers of the army. Major Eustis, Captains Scott, Young, Walworth, and M'Glassin, and Stephen H. Moore of the Baltimore volunteers, who lost a leg by the explosion, and Lieutenants Fanning and Riddle, were among the most conspicuous officers of the day. The latter had been expressly selected by General Pike, from his own regiment, to command the corps of observation, and was always appointed to the most hazardous enterprises.

Lieutenant Bloomfield of the 15th, and nephew to Brigadier-General Bloomfield, was also killed. The army sustained another loss in the death of this brave young officer. The 21st regiment, under Colonel Ripley, though it formed part of the reserve, and did not participate in the action at the place of landing, was in a state of strict discipline, and manœuvred with great skill.

On the 1st day of May the Canadian territory in the neighbourhood of York, was entirely evacuated. The troops were all

placed in the vessels to which they had been respectively assigned, and a small schooner was despatched to Niagara to apprise General Morgan Lewis, then in command at that place, of the result of the expedition against York, and of the intended approach of the troops toward Fort Niagara.

But the fleet, which consisted of about seventeen sail, did not leave the harbour of York until the 8th, in consequence of the prevalence of contrary winds. Late on that day they arrived at Four Mile Creek, which empties into the lake at that distance below Fort Niagara, and thence takes its name. Here the troops were landed.

On the 9th, two schooners, under command of Lieutenant Pettigrew of the navy, were ordered to proceed to the head of Lake Ontario, with one hundred regulars, commanded by Captain Willoughby Morgan, of the 12th regiment, to destroy or capture the public stores, which were then known to be deposited there. On their arrival, the enemy's guard, of about eighty men, retired, the public buildings were destroyed by the detachment, the stores brought away, and the expedition returned on the 11th without loss.

On the 10th Commodore Chauncey sailed with the remainder of the fleet, to convey the wounded officers and men to Sackett's Harbour, and to obtain reinforcements there for the army. Between the time of his arrival at the harbour and the 22d of May, detachments of the squadron sailed on different days for Niagara, with such reinforcements as could be spared. Having directed the schooners *Fair American* and *Pert*, commanded by Lieutenants Chauncey and Adams, to remain near the harbour, and to watch the enemy's movements from Kingston, the commodore sailed on the 22d with three hundred and fifty of Colonel Macomb's regiment of artillery, and a number of additional guns, and arrived at the Niagara on the 25th. Arrangements were immediately made between Commodore Chauncey and General Dearborn, for an attack upon Fort George and its dependencies.

On the 26th the commodore reconnoitered the position at which the troops were to be landed, and at night sounded the shore, and placed buoys at stations for the small vessels. The weather, which had been for several days extremely boisterous, now moderated,



and it was agreed that a conjoint attack, by the army and navy, should be made on the following morning. A sufficient quantity of boats, to land the troops in the order of attack, had been by this time provided, and a considerable number which had been for several days building at the Five Mile Meadows, above the fort, were now in readiness to be launched into the Niagara river.

On the afternoon of the 26th, the enemy, having observed the preparations for launching the boats, opened a small battery, which had been erected immediately opposite the Meadows, for the purpose of annoying the workmen and of destroying the boats. The fire from this battery produced a premature cannonade between Forts George and Niagara, which was followed by a bombardment between all the batteries in the neighbourhood of the two forts. The battery which stood directly opposite Fort George, did great injury to that garrison, and its guns were directed with such precision that the halyards of the enemy's flag staff were shot away. No block house or wooden building of any description, in or near that fort, escaped injury; whilst on the American side, not the most trifling loss was sustained. The boats, in the mean time, succeeded in passing Fort George, and proceeded to the encampment at Four Mile creek.

On the same night all the artillery, and as many troops as could possibly be accommodated, were put on board the Madison, the Oneida, and the Lady of the Lake. The remainder were to embark in the boats, and to follow the fleet. At three o'clock on the morning of the 27th, signal was made for the fleet to weigh anchor. In consequence of the calmness of the weather, the schooners were obliged to resort to sweeps to attain their positions; which they did in the following order—Sailing-masters Trant, in the Julia, and Mix, in the Growler, took their stations at the mouth of the river, and silenced a battery, which, from its situation, commanded the shore where the troops were to land, about one-fourth of a mile below the town of Newark. Mr. Stevens in the Ontario, took a position to the north of the light-house, near which this battery was erected, and so close to the shore as to enfilade the battery, and cross the fire of the Julia and Growler. Lieutenant Brown in the Governor Tompkins, stationed himself near the Two Mile creek, on the enemy's side, where a

battery had been erected of one heavy gun. Lieutenant Pettigrew in the conquest, anchored to the south-east of the same battery, opened on it in the rear, and crossed the fire of the Governor Tompkins. Lieutenant M'Pherson in the Hamilton, Lieutenant Smith in the Asp, and Sailing-Master Osgood in the Scourge, took stations near the above, to cover the landing and to scour the woods and the plain. This disposition was skilfully effected, and each vessel was within musket-shot of the shore.

At four o'clock, Generals Dearborn and Lewis, with their suites, went on board the Madison, and by that hour the troops were all embarked. The whole number amounted to more than four thousand. The batteries were now playing upon each other from the opposite sides of the river, and the troops advanced at intervals in three brigades. The advance was led by Colonel Scott. It was composed of the artillery acting as infantry; of Forsythe's riflemen; and of detachments from infantry regiments; and landed near the fort, which had been silenced by the Governor Tompkins.

General Boyd, to whom the late General Pike's brigade had been assigned, commanded the first line, which was flanked by Colonel M'Clure's Baltimore and Albany volunteers. This brigade struck the enemy's shore immediately after the advance had landed. The second brigade under General Winder, followed next, and then the third under General Chandler. While the troops were crossing the lake in this order, the wind suddenly sprang up very fresh from the eastward, and caused a heavy sea directly on the shore; the boats could not therefore be got off to land the troops from the Madison and Oneida before the first and second brigades had advanced, and Macomb's regiment, and the marines under Captain Smith, did not reach the shore until the debarkation of these brigades had been completed.

When the advance, which consisted of about five hundred men, was approaching the point of landing, successive volleys of musketry were poured upon it by twelve hundred regulars, who were stationed in a ravine. A brisk exchange of shot was kept up for fifteen minutes; the advance, nevertheless, continuing to approach the enemy without faltering. Such, indeed, was the eagerness of the troops, that officers and men jumped

into the lake and waded to the shore. Captain Hindman of the 2d artillery, was the first man upon the enemy's territory. The troops were now formed with celerity, and led to the charge. They drove the enemy from their strong hold, and dispersed them in every direction; some of their forces taking to the wood for shelter, and others retreating to the fort. The former were vigorously pursued by Forsythe's riflement, and the latter by the advance corps, and the first brigade. Few shot were fired from the fort, the panic being instantly communicated to the garrison. Fort Niagara and its dependent batteries were still throwing in their shot, and Fort George having become untenable, the enemy hastily laid a train to the magazines, abandoned all their works, and moved off with the utmost precipitation in different routes. Colonel Scott with his light troops continued the pursuit, until he was recalled by an order from General Boyd. Lieutenant Riddle had been sent by Colonel Scott with his detached party, to annoy the rear of the enemy, but not being ordered back, at the time when the light troops were recalled, he followed his route to Queenstown, and took up several of his straggling parties. The dragoons under Colonel Burn, crossed the Niagara river above Fort George, at the moment the pursuit was stopped. The light troops now took possession of Fort George; Colonel Scott, and Captains Hindman and Stockton, with their companies, entering first and extinguishing the fires, which were intended to explode the magazine: one had, however, already been blown up. General Boyd and Colonel Scott mounted the parapet, and cut away the staff, whilst Captain Hindman succeeding in taking the flag which the enemy had left flying, and which he forwarded to General Dearborn. The American ensign was then hoisted in the town and fort, and all the troops were called in and quartered. At twelve o'clock Newark, and all its surrounding batteries, were in quiet possession of the American army—and such was the speed with which the enemy retreated, that very few of his troops were overtaken. General Dearborn's forces had been under arms eleven hours, and were too much exhausted to pursue him with as much rapidity as he moved off.

At the time the enemy abandoned his works, the wind had





Capture of Fort George.



increased so much and the sea had become so violent toward the shores that the situation of the fleet at the stations which the different vessels had taken, was thought to be dangerous in the extreme. Commodore Chauncey therefore made signal for the whole fleet to weigh, and to proceed into the river, where they anchored between the Forts George and Niagara. Although the action was fought by inferior numbers on the American side, the advance, and part of Boyd's brigade only being engaged, the loss of the enemy was excessive. He had in killed one hundred and eight, in wounded one hundred and sixty-three, one hundred and fifteen regulars were taken prisoners, exclusive of his wounded, all of whom fell into the hands of the Americans. So that the loss of the enemy in killed, wounded, and prisoners, of his regular force, amounted to three hundred and eighty-six. The militia prisoners who were paroled to the number of five hundred and seven, being added to their loss, makes a total of eight hundred and ninety-three. The American army lost thirty-nine in killed, and one hundred and eleven in wounded. Among the former only one officer, Lieutenant Hobart of the light artillery. Among the latter were Major King of the 15th, Captain Arrowsmith of the 6th, Captain Steele of the 16th, Captain Roach of the 23d, (who had been wounded at the battle of Queenstown heights, and was promoted to the rank of captain for his good conduct there,) and Lieutenant Swearingen of Forsythe's riflemen. The British 49th (Invincibles) was in this action, and Colonel Myers, who commanded it, was wounded and taken prisoner.

In speaking of the conduct of the soldiers and seamen, both General Dearborn and Commodore Chauncey alleged that all behaved too well to suffer the election of any one for commendation. The former, however, in a second despatch to the war department, stated that the whole of the officers and men discovered that readiness and ardour for action, which evinced a determination to do honour to themselves and their country—that the animating examples set by General Boyd and Colonel Scott, deserved particular mention, and that he, the commander-in-chief, was greatly indebted to Colonel M. Porter, of the light artillery; to Major Armistead, of the 3d regiment of artillery;



and to Captain Totten, of the engineers, for their skilful execution, in demolishing the enemy's forts and batteries. Lieutenant-commandant Oliver H. Perry had joined the squadron on the night of the 25th, volunteered his services in the contemplated attack, and rendered great assistance in arranging and superintending the debarkation of the troops. On board the squadron, the loss was one killed and two wounded. Commodore Chauncey was indefatigable in his co-operations with the army, in all its important movements. In this affair many of the advantages which were obtained, were to be attributed to his judicious plan of silencing the enemy's batteries. General Dearborn had been confined for several days by a violent indisposition; but he refused to yield the command of the expedition, and issued his orders regularly from his bed.

Captain Perry was despatched to Black Rock the day after the battle, with fifty seamen to take five vessels to Lake Erie as soon as possible, and to prepare the whole squadron for the service by the 15th of June. Two brigs had been launched at Erie, and two or three small schooners, had been purchased into the service. The squadron was daily expected to be in readiness to proceed to Presque isle, to co-operate with the north-western army.

On the 28th, General Dearborn having received information that the enemy had made a stand on the mountain, at a place called Beaver Dam, where he had a deposit of provisions and stores; and that he had been joined by three hundred regulars from Kingston, landed from small vessels, at the head of the lake, immediately ordered General Lewis to march to that place, with Chandler's and Winder's brigades, the light artillery, dragoons, and riflemen, to cut off his retreat. Although the enemy's troops from Fort Erie and Chippewa, had joined his main body at Beaver Dam, he precipitately broke up his encampment on the approach of the Americans, and fled along the mountains to the head of the lake. General Lewis's army moved on, and took possession of the different posts between Fort George and Fort Erie, the latter of which was entered by Lieutenant-Colonel Preston, of the 15th, in the evening of that day; the post having been previously abandoned, and the magazines blown up

by the enemy. Two days before, the Queen Charlotte, and three others, of the enemy's vessels, came down to that fort, but on hearing of the capture of Fort George, they proceeded up the lake to Malden.

The enemy, having abandoned all his positions along the Niagara, General Lewis returned with his division to Fort George; but as it was rumoured that General Proctor intended to march from the north-western frontier, to join General Vincent, who had already marched from that place; and to retrieve the misfortunes of the British arms, it became necessary to press forward with a force competent to prevent the union of the British generals, or at least to intercept them in their contemplated route. General Winder was, therefore, despatched on the 1st day of June, with his own brigade and one regiment of General Chandler's. He was followed on the 3d, by the remainder of Chandler's brigade, the dragoons and artillery, under the orders of that general, to whom the chief command was assigned. They proceeded to the Forty Mile Creek, where they gained intelligence of General Vincent's having taken a stand Burlington Heights, near Stony Creek, being about forty-eight miles distant from the Fort George.

In the vicinity of Stony Creek the Americans encamped; but in so careless a manner that they were surprised by the enemy at midnight, and several of their principal officers made prisoners. General Vincent, it has been supposed, became possessed of the American countersign—and having discovered that the weakest part of the camp was its centre, he made an attack upon it, at that point, at two o'clock on the morning of the 6th. Profiting by the example of the Americans at York, he ordered that no musket should be loaded, lest a precipitate fire might apprise his unsuspecting enemy of his advance, and led up the 8th or King's regiment, and the 49th, with fixed bayonets, to charge upon the sentinels.

The American advanced guard, under command of Captain Van Vechton, were first alarmed by the groan of a dying sentinel, and were surprised and made prisoners. Five pieces of light artillery, near the front were captured, and turned upon the encampment, before the alarm became general. The two

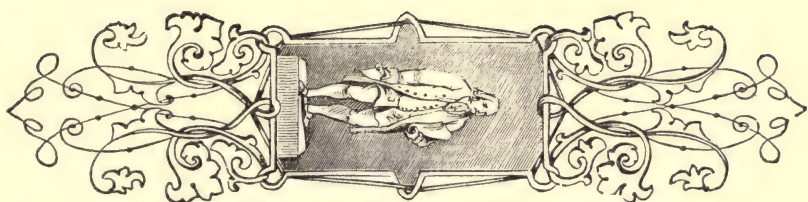
brigadiers, Chandler and Winder, who had but an hour before separated from a council, were instantly mounted, and the men formed with as much facility as the extreme darkness of the morning would permit. General Chandler took post in the rear of the left flank of the right wing—General Winder commanded the left wing. Such was the momentary confusion which prevailed, that the contending parties could not distinguish each other. When the five pieces of artillery were fired into the encampment, Generals Chandler and Winder both rode up to the battery, to prevent another discharge, under an impression that the American troops had mistaken the enemy. They were both consequently captured.

The other officers were ignorant of the loss of their generals, and each chose his own plan of resisting the assailing party. The advanced corps, the 5th, 25th, and part of the 23d, were engaged; those in the rear did not get to the assistance of the front. The 16th, which because of the illness of its colonel, and the absence of its lieutenant-colonel, and other field-officers, was commanded by Captain Steel, was forming on its standards, when the cavalry, under Colonel Burn, having cut their way through the British 49th, with such impetuosity, that they could not stop, pierced through the centre of that regiment. The confusion increased. The different companies of the 16th, were firing on each other; the artillery were engaging the infantry; and the cavalry the artillery; each corps being under an impression, that it was contending with the enemy.

This state of things continued, until Captain Towson opened his artillery, which, being stationed more in the rear than any of the other pieces, he brought against the enemy with such effect, that the confusion and disorder, which had taken place in the American lines, prevailed also within the British. The companies of the 2d artillery, which were then acting as light corps, under Captains Hindman, Nicholas, Biddle, and Archer, kept up an incessant fire, until the dawn of the day enabled the troops to distinguish each other. An attempt was then made to form the line, Colonel Burn now commanding.

The 5th regiment, which had been annoying the enemy from the commencement of the action until daybreak, did not lose





Battle of Stony Creek.



one man, and was found at that time formed in line, and sustained on its left flank by part of the 23d, under Major Armstrong. The firing from the encampment became brisk, and irresistible. The enemy gave way, rallied, and broke again. The dragoons charged upon, and completely routed them. They fled in every direction, and their commanding officer was missing before day. His horse and accoutrements were found upon the ground. He was discovered by his own people, in the course of the same day, almost famished, at a distance of four miles from the scene of action.

Several desperate efforts had been made, before the enemy fled, to take the artillery. Lieutenant Machesney's gallantry recovered one piece, and prevented the capture of others. Lieutenant M'Donough of the 2d artillery, pursued a retreating party, and recovered another. The good conduct of these brave young men, as well as that of Captains Hindman, Nicholas, Archer, Steele, and Leonard, of the light artillery, has been spoken of in general orders, in terms of strong commendation. Colonel Burn and Colonel Milton, gallantly distinguished themselves, and were said to have saved the army.

The American loss in this affair was sixteen killed, thirty-eight wounded, and two brigadier-generals, one major, three captains, and ninety-four men missing; making in all, one hundred and fifty-four. The whole of the missing fell into the hands of the enemy—whose loss was excessively severe, but particularly in officers. One hundred prisoners, mostly of the 49th, were captured, and transported to Fort George. Captain Manners, of that regiment, was taken in his bed, by Lieutenant Riddle, who, from a principle of humanity, put him on his parole, on condition of his not serving the enemy, until he should be exchanged. An engagement which that officer violated by appearing in arms against the American troops, immediately after the recovery of his health.

In the course of the morning, the British sent a flag of truce, to obtain permission to bury their dead, and to remove their wounded. The latter, however, had been placed in the neighbouring houses, under the care of the American surgeons, and the army having given up the pursuit of the enemy, had fallen



back to Forty Mile Creek, being about ten miles in the rear of the field of battle. Here it encamped, on a plain of a mile in width, its right flank on the lake, its left on a creek, skirting the base of a perpendicular mountain, and was joined on the same evening, by a detachment of the 6th and 15th regiments, and a park of artillery under Colonel James Miller. On the 7th, Generals Lewis and Boyd arrived at the encampment, and the former assumed the command.

Intelligence had been immediately forwarded by General Vincent, to Sir James L. Yeo, then commanding the British fleet on Lake Ontario, of the affair at Stony Creek, and of the position at which the Americans had encamped. In the evening of the 7th, the fleet appeared within sight of the encampment. Its character was not known, however ; but lest an attack might be again made upon the army in the night, the troops were ordered to lay on their arms. At daylight, on the 8th, the enemy's squadron were stationed abreast of the encampment, and within one mile of the shore. A large schooner was warped in, and opened her fire on the boats, which had been employed to transport the American baggage, and which at that time lay upon the beach. Captains Archer and Towson, were ordered down, with four pieces of artillery, to resist her attempts to destroy the boats, and Captain Totten, of the engineers, prepared a temporary furnace, for heating shot, and had it in operation in less than half an hour. The fire of the schooner was then returned with such vivacity and effect, that she was very soon obliged to retire.

At this moment, a party of Indians showed themselves upon the brow of the mountain, and commenced a fire on the camp. General Lewis despatched a party from the 13th regiment, under Colonel Christie, to dislodge them, but that service was performed by his adjutant, Lieutenant Eldridge, who seeing the necessity of driving off the Indians, had gallantly gained the summit of the mountain, with a few volunteers, without orders, and repulsed the enemy before Colonel Christie could reach that point. Sir James then demanded the surrender of the army, on the ground of its having a fleet in its front, a body of savages in its rear, and a powerful army of British regulars on its flanks. To this demand it was deemed unnecessary to make a reply : but

as General Dearborn had sent an express to call the troops to Fort George, upon seeing the British fleet pass that post, General Lewis prepared to retire in obedience to this order. The camp equipage and baggage were placed in the boats, and were ordered to proceed to Fort George, under protection of Colonel Miller's command, which was competent to resist any attack which might be made—but they put from the shore before the detachment came up; and after proceeding about five miles, were dispersed by an armed schooner of the enemy. Twelve of them fell into the hands of the British squadron, and the remainder either escaped, or ran ashore, and were deserted by their crews. At ten o'clock the encampment was broken up, and the troops took up their march for Fort George, having the enemy's Indians on their flank until they arrived within a short distance of the garrison.

The British fleet continued to cruise in the neighbourhood of the Niagara, and intercepted the supplies for the American army. Two vessels, having each a valuable cargo of hospital stores, were chased into Eighteen Mile Creek, and after making a short but obstinate resistance, were carried by boarding, and the stores immediately transferred to the enemy's vessels. A party of seventy-five men had been forwarded by General Lewis to repel the enemy's attack, but did not reach the place in time to prevent the capture.

The official account given by General Vincent of the surprise of the encampment, claims a decisive and brilliant victory on the side of the British; and announces that the whole body of the American troops had been resolutely driven from the field; but the same general was known to have abandoned the command of the enterprise as soon as the alarm was given in General Chandler's encampment, and to have consigned its execution to Lieutenant-Colonel Harvey and Majors Ogilvie and Plenderleath, each of whom acknowledged a numerous loss of their most valuable officers and men. General Vincent's report to his government could not, therefore, have been given on his own responsibility. On whatever side the victory may have been gained, however, great want of knowledge in military movements had been previously betrayed by the officers who succeeded to the command

of the American forces at Little York and Fort George, in suffering a beaten enemy to escape from each of those places. At the former General Sheaffe and his regulars effected a retreat through the palpable tardiness of the victorious army. At the latter, the same troops which attacked the encampment at Stony Creek, were so closely pressed that they must inevitably have been captured, had not the light troops, under Adjutant-General Scott and Colonel Miller, been called in from the pursuit. The result of these errors was fruitful with the most evil consequences. The recapture of all the important posts on the British Niagara, which had been taken at the expense of so much blood, and the destruction of the garrisons on the American side of that river, which happened not many months after, were among the least pernicious of a long train of disasters. A development which can only be produced by the gradual lapse of time may enable a future historian to throw the censure on the proper objects. No discovery has yet been made which will allow the present recorder of these events to form any other idea than that which is founded on uncertainty and conjecture, which do not go to the constitution of such an authentic history of the war, as it has been his utmost endeavour to compile.

Whilst the troops were preparing to embark at York for the expedition against Fort George, the British at Kingston having gained intelligence of their absence from Sackett's Harbour, of the batteries at that place having been principally dismantled, and of the smallness of the force which had been left for its protection, hastily collected all their disposables and embarked on board their fleet under the command of Sir George Prevost. The fleet was commanded by Sir James Yeo. On the night of the 27th of May, five hours after the capture of Fort George, the British appeared off the entrance to the harbour. The American force consisted of two hundred invalids, and two hundred and fifty dragoons, then newly arrived from a long and fatiguing march. Two small vessels, under Lieutenant Chauncey, were stationed at its mouth and gave instant signals of alarm at the approach of the British squadron. Expresses were immediately forwarded to General Brown, then at his seat eight miles from





Defense of Sackett's Harbour.

the harbour, and he immediately repaired thither to take the command.

The tour of duty of the militia of his brigade had expired many weeks before, but he had been requested by General Dearborn to take command of the harbour at any time when the enemy should approach it, and to provide for its defense. Immediately on his arrival dispositions were made to that effect. The movements of the enemy indicated his intention to land on the peninsula called Horse island. General Brown, therefore, determined on resisting him at the water's edge with the Albany volunteers, under Colonel Mills, and such militia as could be instantly collected. Alarm guns were therefore fired, and expresses sent out for that purpose. Lieutenant-Colonel Backus, of the 1st regi

ment United States dragoons, who commanded at Sackett's Harbour in the absence of the officers who had proceeded to Fort George, was to form a second line with the regulars. The regular artillerists were stationed in Fort Tompkins, and the defense of Navy Point was committed to Lieutenant Chauncey.

On the 28th, the Wolfe, the Royal George, the Prince Regent, the Earl of Moira, and one brig, two schooners, and two gun boats, with thirty-three flat bottomed boats and barges, containing in all twelve hundred troops, appeared in the offing, at five miles distance. They were standing their course for the harbour, when, having discovered a fleet of American barges, coming round Stony Point, with troops from Oswego, the whole of their boats were immediately despatched to cut them off. They succeeded in taking twelve of them, after they had been run on shore and abandoned by their crews, who arrived at the harbour in the night. The remainder, seven in number, escaped from their pursuers, and got safely in.

The British commanders, being then under an impression that other barges would be sailing from Oswego, stood into South Bay, and despatched their armed boats to waylay them. In this they were disappointed; and during the delay which was caused by this interruption of their intended operations, the militia from the neighbouring counties collected at the harbour, and betrayed great eagerness to engage in the contest with the invading enemy. They were ordered to be stationed on the water side, near the island on which Colonel Mills was posted with his volunteers. The strength at that point was nearly five hundred men. But the whole force, including the regulars, effectives, and invalids, did not exceed one thousand.

The plan of defense had been conceived with great skill, and if the conduct of the militia had proved to be consistent with their promises, it would have been executed with equal ability. Disposed of as the forces were, in the event of General Brown's being driven from his position at Horse Island, Colonel Backus was to advance with his reserve of regulars, and meet the head of the enemy's column, whilst the general would rally his corps, and fall upon the British flanks. If resistance to the attack of the enemy should still fail, Lieutenant Chauncey was to destroy

the stores at Navy Point, and to retire with his two schooners, and the prize schooner, the Duke of Gloucester, which had been a few weeks before captured from the enemy, to the south shore of the bay, and east of Fort Volunteer. In this fort the regulars and militia were to shut themselves up, and make a vigorous stand, as their only remaining resort. Every thing being thus ordered, General Brown directed his defensive army to lay upon their arms, whilst he continued personally to reconnoiter the shores of the harbour, during the whole night of the 28th. At the only favourable point of landing, he had caused a breastwork to be thrown up, and a battery *en barbette*, to be erected. Behind this most of the militia were stationed.

At the dawn of the 29th, the enemy was discovered with his vessels drawn up in line, between Horse Island and Stony Point; and in a few minutes all his boats and barges approached the shore under cover of his gun-boats, those being the heaviest of his vessels, which, in consequence of the lightness of the wind could be brought up. The troops with which the boats were filled, were commanded by Sir George Prevost in person. Commodore Yeo directed the movements of the barges. General Brown instantly issued his orders, that the troops should lie close, and reserve their fire until the enemy should have approached so near that every shot might take effect. This order was executed, and the fire was so destructive, that the enemy's advance boats were obliged to make a temporary pause, and numbers of their officers and men were seen to fall.

Encouraged by the desired effect of the first fire, the militia loaded their pieces with the utmost quickness, and the artillery was ordered to be opened at the moment of their second. But, before the second round had been completely discharged, the whole body of the militia, none of whom had ever seen an enemy until now, and who were entirely unaccustomed to subordination, though they were well protected by the breastwork, rose from behind it, and abandoning those honourable promises of noble daring which they had made but a little while before, they fled with equal precipitation and disorder. A strange and unaccountable panic seized the whole line, and with the exception of a very few, terror and dismay were depicted in every countenance.



Colonel Mills, vainly endeavouring to rally his men, was killed as he was reminding them of the solemn pledges which they had given; but the fall of this brave officer served rather to increase their confusion than to actuate them to revenge it.

General Brown seeing that his plan was already frustrated, and fearing his inability to execute any other, without the vigorous co-operation of the militia, hastened to intercept their retreat, and finding one company of about one hundred men, who had been rallied by the active and zealous conduct of Captain M'Nitt of that corps, he brought them up and ordered them to form in line with the regulars and volunteers who had continued to keep their ground.

In the interval which had thus elapsed, the enemy had effected his debarkation with little opposition, and drawing up his whole force on Horse island, he commenced his march for the village; on the road to which he was met by a small party of infantry, under Major Aspinwall, and a few dismounted dragoons under Major Laval, who opposed him with much gallantry. Two of the gun-boats ranged up the shore and covered the field with grape. This handful of troops then gradually retired in good order from an immense superiority of numbers, and occupied the intervals between the barracks.



LEUTENANT-COLONEL BACKUS, with his reserve of regulars, first engaged the enemy, when the militia company of Captain M'Nitt was formed on his flank, and in the vigorous fight which then followed, this company behaved with as much gallantry as the bravest of the regulars. The whole force was compelled to fall back, however, by the superior strength of the enemy's column, and resorting to the barracks for what shelter they could afford, they posted themselves in the unprotected log-houses and kept up an incessant and effective fire. From these, the most violent assaults, and the repeated and varying efforts of the British were incompetent to dislodge them. Colonel Gray, the quartermaster-general of the enemy's forces, advanced to the weakest part of the barracks at the head of a column of regulars, and after ex-



South-east View of Sackett's Harbour.







changing shots with an inferior party of militia and regulars, led his men on to the assault. A small boy, who was a drummer in Major Aspinwall's corps, seized a musket and leveling it at the colonel, immediately brought him to the ground. At that moment Lieutenant Fanning of the artillery, who had been so severely wounded by the explosion at Little York, and was yet considered to be unable to do any kind of duty, leaned upon his piece whilst it was drawn up, and having given it the proper elevation, discharged three rounds of grape into the faces of the enemy, who immediately fell back in disorder. At this instant Lieutenant-Colonel Backus fell severely wounded.

Whilst the battle was raging with its greatest violence, information was brought to Lieutenant Chauncey of the intention of the American forces to surrender. He therefore, in conformity to his previous orders relating to such an event, fired the navy barracks, and destroyed all the property and public stores which had previously belonged to the harbour, as well as the provisions and equipments which had been brought from York. The destruction of these buildings, and the conflagration which was thence produced, was thought to have been caused by the troops of the enemy, and although the undisciplined militia and volunteers, and the invalid regulars, were suspicious of being placed between the fire of two divisions of the enemy, they continued to fight on regardless of their inferiority, or the consequences of their capture.

General Brown was all this time actively superintending the operations of his little army. He now determined on making a diversion in its favour, which, if it should be successful, would be the only means of saving the place, or of relieving his exhausted troops. Having learned that the militia who had fled from their stations in the early part of the engagement had not yet entirely dispersed, and that they were still within a short distance of the scene of action, he hastened to exhort them to imitate the conduct of their brave brethren in arms. He reproached them with shameful timidity, and ordered them instantly to form and follow him, and threatened with instant death the first man who should refuse. His order was obeyed with alacrity. He then attempted a stratagem by which to deceive the enemy with regard to the



Retreat of the British from Sackett's Harbour.

forces against which he was contending. Silently passing through a distant wood which led toward the place at which the enemy had landed, General Brown persuaded the British general of his intention to gain the rear of his forces, to take possession of the boats and effectually to cut off their retreat.

This was done with such effect, at the moment when the fire of Lieutenant Fanning's piece had caused the destruction in the British line, that General Sir George Prevost was well convinced of the vast superiority of the American force to his own. He gave up all thoughts of the capture of the place, and hurrying to his boats, put off immediately to the British squadron. He was not pursued, because if the real number of the American troops had been exposed to his view, he would have returned to the contest,

might easily have outflanked, and in all human probability would still have captured the army and the village.

But the precipitation of his flight was such, that he left not only the wounded bodies of his ordinary men upon the field, but those of the dead and wounded of his most distinguished officers. Among these were Quartermaster-General Gray, Majors Moodie and Evans, and three captains. The return of his loss, as accurately as it has been ascertained, amounted to three field officers, one captain, and twenty-five rank and file found dead on the field; two captains and twenty rank and file found wounded; and two captains, one ensign, and thirty-two rank and file made prisoners. In addition to which, many were killed in the boats, and numbers had been carried away previously to the retreat. The loss of the Americans was greater in proportion, as the number of their men engaged were less. One colonel of volunteers, twenty regulars, privates, and one volunteer private were killed; one lieutenant-colonel, three lieutenants, and one ensign of the regulars, and seventy-nine non-commissioned officers and privates were wounded; and twenty-six non-commissioned officers and privates were missing. Their aggregate loss was one hundred and ten regulars, twenty-one volunteers, and twenty-five militia; making a total of one hundred and fifty-six. It was severe, because of the worth, more than of the number of those who fell. The injury in public stores sustained at Sackett's Harbour, though not by any act of the invading enemy, was extensive; but the gallantry of several individuals prevented its being more so. Lieutenant Chauncey was no sooner apprized of the error of the report which had been brought to him, than he made every exertion to save as much of the public property as it was possible to rescue from the increasing conflagration, and to that effect he ran the *Fair American* and the *Pert* up the river. The new frigate, the *General Pike*, which was then on the stocks, was saved; and Lieutenant Talman, of the army, at the imminent risk of his life, boarded the prize schooner the *Duke of Gloucester*, which was then on fire with a considerable quantity of powder in her hold, extinguished the fire and brought her from under the flames of the storehouses.

Notwithstanding this signal repulse, the British commanding



officers attempted to play off the stratagem which Sir James Yeo afterwards adopted at the Forty Mile Creek. They sent in a flag with a peremptory demand for the formal surrender of the post, which was as peremptorily refused. After a forced march of forty miles in one day, Lieutenant-Colonel Tuttle had arrived with his command of about six hundred men, just as the British were retreating to their boats, and was therefore too late to participate in the action. Other reinforcements were continually expected, and the harbour would be in a situation to make a more vigorous, though not perhaps, a more brilliant defense. The return of the enemy, even under the advantages of more favourable winds, was, therefore, not looked for with any apprehension. A second flag was received by General Brown, accompanied by a request that the killed and wounded of the British might be treated with respect. In answer to which, the most satisfactory assurances of compliance were given.

After being compelled to relinquish the further prosecution of an expedition, having for its primary object the capture and destruction of a post, the permanent possession of which only could give to the Americans any hope of a superiority on Lake Ontario; after having succeeded in his enterprise in a degree which scarcely deserves to be termed partial; and after being obliged, by the predominance of his apprehension over his bravery and foresight, to retire from the assault and precipitately to leave his dead and wounded to the mercy of his enemy, General Sir George Prevost issued an official account to the people of Canada and forwarded despatches to his government, in each of which he laid claim to a brilliant and unparalleled victory, and alleged that he had reluctantly ordered his troops to leave a beaten enemy whom he had driven before him for three hours, because the co-operation of the fleet and army could not be effected.

General Brown's stratagem had so far succeeded in deceiving him, that he reported the woods to have been filled with infantry and field-pieces, from which an incessant, heavy and destructive fire had been kept up, by a numerous and almost invisible foe, more than quadruple in numbers to the detachments which had been taken from the garrison at Kingston; and that his loss was, nevertheless, very far inferior to that of his antagonist Private

letters, however, which were, about the same time, written from officers of these detachments, after relating that Colonel Gray and two other officers had been killed, and that Majors Evans, Drummond, and Moodie, and several captains and subalterns had been wounded, admitted that their total loss amounted to upwards of one hundred and fifty.

Had the result of the expedition against Sackett's Harbour assimilated itself to that character of unparalleled brilliancy, which would have entitled it to the encomiums of its commander, and to the warmest admiration of the British nation, its effects would have been long and deplorably felt by the American government. Immense quantities of naval and military stores, which had been from time to time collected at that depot; the frames and timbers which had been prepared for the construction of vessels of war, and the rigging and armaments which had been forwarded thither for their final equipment, as well as all the army clothing, camp equipage, provisions, ammunitions, and implements of war, which had been previously captured from the enemy, would have again fallen into his hands. The destruction of the batteries, the ship then on the stocks, the extensive cantonments, and the public arsenal, would have retarded the building of another naval force, and that which was already on the lake in separate detachments, could have been intercepted, in its attempt to return, and might have been captured in detail. The prize vessel which was then lying in the harbour, and which had been taken by the Americans, and the two United States' schooners, would have been certainly recaptured, and the whole energies of the American government, added to their most vigorous and unwearied struggles, might never again have attained any prospect of an ascendancy on the lake. As it proved, however, all these impending evils were repelled, and the wisdom of the commanding officer, and the invincible firmness of those of his troops, who withstood the brunt of the action, converted that event into a splendid victory, which would otherwise have been an irretrievable disaster.



## CHAPTER X.

*Operations on the Niagara Frontier.*

THE increasing indisposition of General Dearborn having rendered him unfit for active duty, he resigned the command of the northern army, and retired to his residence. General Lewis had repaired to Sackett's Harbour, to act in concert with Commodore Chauncey, who had returned to that place, and was making active preparations to restore the batteries and buildings to their former condition. The command of Fort George and the dependencies of that place and Fort Niagara, devolved on General Boyd.

On the 14th of June, Lieutenant Chauncey was ordered to proceed in the *Lady of the Lake*, to cruise off Presque Isle, and to intercept the enemy's transport vessels. On the 16th he fell in with, and captured the British schooner the *Lady Murray*, then bound from Kingston to York, with an English ensign, and fifteen non-commissioned officers and privates. She was loaded with provisions, powder, shot, and fixed ammunition, and was brought into Sackett's Harbour on the 18th. Her crew consisted of six men.

On the same day the British fleet appeared before the town of Sodus, on the bay of that name, which is formed on the American side of Lake Ontario, between Genessee and Oswego



rivers. General Burnet, of the New York militia, suspecting that they intended to land their troops, and capture a quantity of provisions, ordered out a regiment from the county of Ontario. The militia collected in great haste, and arrived at Sodus on the following morning. But the enemy, well knowing that his appearance would excite the alarm of the inhabitants, drew off his forces until their apprehensions should be subsided, and reappeared in the evening of the 19th, a few hours after the militia had been discharged.

In contemplation of his return, the inhabitants had removed all the public stores from the buildings on the water's edge, to a small distance in the woods, and on the reappearance of the hostile squadron, a second alarm was immediately given, and expresses sent after the discharged militia, which overtook and brought them back, with a large reinforcement. Before their return, the enemy had landed, and finding that the provisions had been removed, they set fire to all the valuable buildings in the town, and destroyed most of the private property of every description. They then agreed to stipulate with the inhabitants, to desist from destroying the remaining houses, on condition of their surrendering the flour and provisions, which they knew had been deposited at that place. These articles were then not more than two hundred yards from the village, yet the enemy did not choose to attempt their capture, lest he might be drawn into an ambuscade; but he threatened the entire destruction of every house in the town, if they were not immediately delivered over to him. The appearance of the militia prevented the execution of this threat, and the enemy immediately returned to his shipping, and moved up the lake on the following morning.

On the 20th of June the whole fleet approached Oswego, and made several attempts to land their troops, but they returned each time to their shipping, upon seeing that the troops at that place were prepared to meet them. The American force at that time consisted of eight hundred militia and a small party of regulars, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Carr, by whose skilful management the enemy were persuaded that the port was garrisoned by a numerous body of troops, and they became extremely cautious in their operations. Fearful of being over

powered, they relinquished their intention of landing, and withdrew from before the place. Lieutenant Wolsey, of the Oneida, and other naval officers and seamen, were at Oswego, and had previously removed the stores from that place to Sackett's Harbour. The fleet then proceeded to the neighbourhood of Fort George, where it lay for several days.



FEW days previous to the departure of General Dearborn from that post, a body of the enemy had collected on a high ground about eight miles from Queenstown, for the purpose of procuring supplies and of harassing those inhabitants who were considered to be friendly to the United States. On the 28th, a party of troops, consisting of five hundred infantry, a squadron of dragoons, a company of New York mounted volunteers, and Captain M'Dowell's corps of light artillery, being in all about six hundred men, under command of Colonel Boerstler, were detached from the American encampment at Fort George for the purpose of cutting off the supplies of the enemy, and of breaking up their encampment at the Beaver Dams. The British force which was stationed there was composed of one company of the 104th regiment, about two hundred militia, and sixty Indians, amounting to three hundred and forty men.

At about eight o'clock on the morning of the 24th, nine miles west of Queenstown, the American detachment was attacked from an ambuscade. The action commenced with the dragoons, who were placed in the rear. The infantry was instantly brought into a position to return the enemy's fire to advantage, and very soon after drove them a considerable distance into the woods. The Indians then made a circuitous route, appeared in front, and opened a fire upon the mounted riflemen who were stationed there. They were immediately repulsed and again retired to the woods. Every attempt was then made to draw them into the open ground, but without effect. A few of the boldest of them ventured from their lurking-places, but were immediately compelled to fly to them again for shelter. The enemy's force was

now continually augmenting, and he was every instant gaining a superiority. A retreat was then ordered for a short distance, which was effected with trifling loss. Colonel Boerstler, suspecting that he was surrounded by a very superior and numerous force, despatched an express to General Dearborn for reinforcements, and informed him of his intention to maintain his position until they should arrive. Colonel Christie was ordered to proceed immediately with the 15th regiment and a company of artillery to the support of Colonel Boerstler, but he had not proceeded farther than Queenstown when he was informed that the latter had surrendered his detachment.

The express had scarcely been forwarded when Lieutenant Fitzgibbon, who commanded the British militia and Indians, rode up to Colonel Boerstler with a flag, and informed him on the honour of a British soldier, that the regular force commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Bishop was double that of the American, and that the Indians were at least seven hundred in number. Colonel Boerstler, trusting to the veracity of the officer, fearing the impracticability of escaping, and being unwilling to abandon his wounded, agreed to terms of capitulation, by which the wounded were to be treated with the utmost tenderness, the officers to be permitted to wear their side-arms, private property to be respected, and the volunteers to be paroled and permitted to return to their homes.

Lieutenant-Colonel Bishop was not on the ground at the time when this capitulation was effected, as the British lieutenant had asserted on his honour, but arrived there in time to confirm the articles of surrender. These were no sooner agreed upon than they were violated. The officers being deprived of their side-arms for the gratification of the Indians, who robbed them also of their coats, and whatever ornaments of dress they coveted. No possible account of the number of killed or wounded, on either side, could be obtained. Colonel Boerstler was slightly wounded, and Captain Machesney of the 6th, severely, in repelling the attack of the Indians.

Colonel Christie returned to Fort George with information of this disaster, and the British forces moved down upon Queenstown, occupied that place and its neighbourhood, and in a few



days afterwards invested the American camp, having been previously joined by all the British forces from the head of the lake.

General Vincent was stationed at Burlington Heights with a small force, and General De Rottenburg lay encamped at the Ten Mile creek.



THE New York mounted volunteers were detained at the head of the lake, in violation of the article which provided for their parole. On the 12th they were ordered to Kingston, to be kept there as prisoners of war. They were for this purpose embarked in two boats, under a guard of men, and a lieutenant. When within twelve miles of York, they rose upon the guard, and after a struggle of a few minutes, carried both boats, and shaped their course for Fort Niagara. After rowing nearly all night, and escaping from an enemy's schooner, with great difficulty, they arrived safely with their prisoners. In effecting this daring escape, Major Chapin, who commanded the volunteers, gave the signal to his men, by knocking down the British lieutenant, and personally encountering two of his soldiers, whom he fortunately subdued, and kept in restraint until the second boat lay along side of him.

Succeeding this event, several affairs of outposts took place, which, though not quite so important in their consequences, were equally as brilliant as any of the occurrences which had previously transpired on the Niagara frontier. Among them was a severe skirmish, brought on by an attack which had been made upon two of the outposts, of the American encampment at Fort George, on the 8th of July, by the combined force of the British and Indians. It had no sooner commenced, than adjutant Lieutenant Eldridge, of the 13th, was ordered to the support of the outposts, with a small detachment of thirty-nine men; whilst a larger body was preparing to follow him, under the command of Major Malcom.

The impetuosity of Lieutenant Eldridge led him into a thick wood, where a superior force of the British and Indians lay in

ambush, and after an obstinate, but fruitless struggle, his party were entirely defeated, five only out of the whole number escaping. Thirteen were killed or wounded, and the remainder taken prisoners. At the first onset, the enemy was repulsed; but at the second, he pressed upon, and surrounded the little party, with the whole of his numerous force. All the prisoners, including the wounded, were then inhumanly murdered, and their persons treated in so barbarous a manner, that the most temperate recital of the enemy's conduct may, perhaps, scarcely obtain belief. The feelings of the most obdurate reader, of a much more distant period, cannot but be excited to the highest degree of indignation, and those of the writer are not at all to be envied, when necessity obliges him to describe the sufferings of his countrymen, by the relation of facts which stand too well authenticated before him. The same enemy who had not long ago implored the mercy of the American officer, to be extended to his British prisoners, now fell upon the defenseless captives of this party, and scalped their heads whilst they were yet alive, split open their skulls with their tomahawks, tore the hearts out of their bodies, and stabbed, and otherwise mutilated them. Lieutenant Eldridge was supposed to have experienced the same treatment. The inhabitants of the neighbourhood having informed the garrison that he had been led, wounded, into the woods, between two Indians, a flag was sent out on the next day to ascertain his fate, which soon after returned with an answer, that Lieutenant Eldridge having killed one of the Indian chieftains, the warriors of his tribe had retaliated this supposed act of treachery, by putting him to instant death. But this reply was ascertained to have been a subterfuge of the enemy, to evade the necessity of accounting for a prisoner who was known to have been taken alive.

The commission of this, and other outrages of the same nature by the enemy, at length induced the American commander, General Boyd, to receive a party of the Seneca and Tuscorora tribes into the service of the United States, by way of intimidating the British and Indians, and of preventing a recurrence of their barbarities. Shortly after they had rendezvoused at Fort George, and had covenanted not to scalp or murder any of



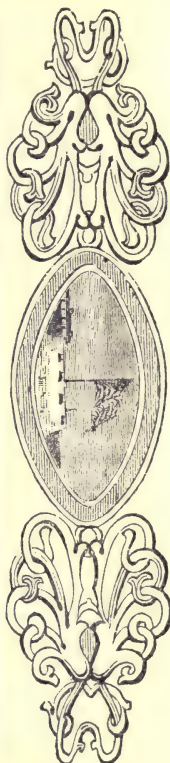
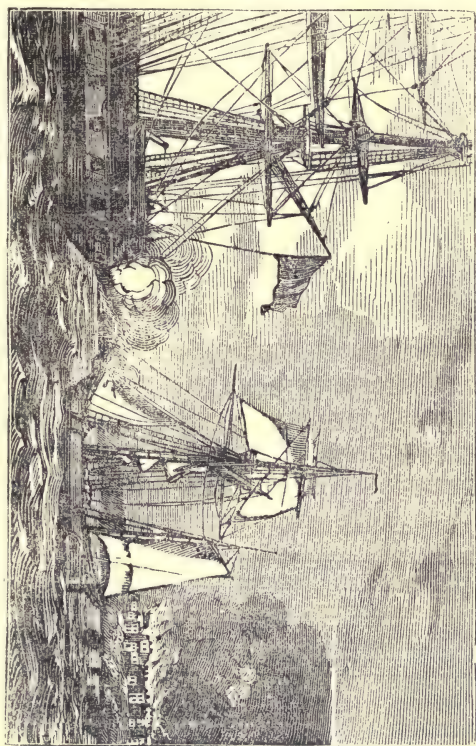
Young Cornplanter.

the enemy's prisoners, who might fall into their hands, they were joined to a party of volunteers, and sent to cut off one of the outposts of the enemy, whose principal encampment was upwards of two miles from the fort. The American Indians were commanded by Major Henry O'Ball, or Young Cornplanter, who succeeded in capturing and bringing in twelve of the British Indians, and four of their white troops, with a loss of only two Indians killed.

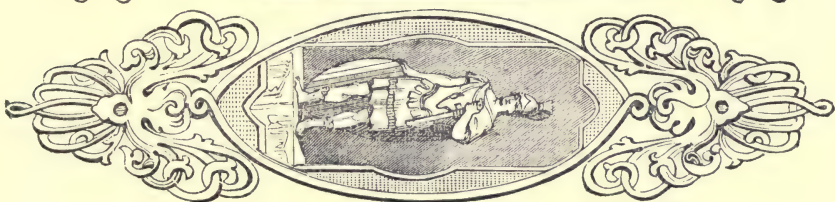
The army at Fort George was at this time in a state of inactivity—a war of outposts only being carried on, which, though resulting in various success, was of use to the undisciplined divisions of the encampment.

On the morning of the 11th of July, a British regular force crossed the Niagara, below Black Rock, and moved up, with great rapidity, to the attack of that post. The militia who were stationed there immediately fled in considerable numbers, a few of them, however, stood their ground, and emerging from a wood, at seventy yards distance from the enemy, annoyed him very severely. But this annoyance was not regarded by the British, who entered the place, set fire to the barracks, the block house, and other buildings, spiked several pieces of cannon, and





Attack on Black Rock





took off a quantity of provisions. Whilst carrying the property to their boats, they were attacked by a force of regulars, militia, and a few Indians who poured upon them a very destructive fire. The enemy's force amounted to two hundred and fifty men—nine of whom, and a captain (Sanders) of the 41st, were left upon the shore. The force which was brought against them was precisely equal to their own. They retired partially to their boats, and in putting off from the shore, lost upwards of fifty, in killed and wounded. Among the latter was Lieutenant-Colonel Bishop, mortally.

On the 17th, a small expedition of volunteers, and about forty soldiers, left Fort George in two small row-boats, proceeded to the head of the St. Lawrence, and captured a gun-boat mounting one twenty-four-pounder, fourteen batteaux loaded with property, and four officers and sixty-one men.

On the same day an outwork of the American garrison, was attacked by two hundred British and some Indians. Colonel Scott was sent out to oppose them. He took one field-piece into an open field, and assisted by Lieutenant Smith, after a contest of one hour, succeeded in driving off the enemy. Majors Armstrong, Cummings, Captains Towson, Madison, Vandalsem, and Birdsall, the former of whom was wounded, were also actively engaged. The American loss amounted to four killed, and as many wounded.

Besides the militia, under Major Chapin, who had been captured at the Beaver Dams, several parties of regulars made prisoners at the same place, also effected their escape, in consequence of the refusal of the enemy to parole them. On the 27th, a large boat arrived at Fort George, with one lieutenant and eight Canadian militia, who had been taken by three United States regulars and five New York militiamen, as the former were conducting them to Kingston. About the same time, a boat with fourteen of Colonel Boerstler's men and two of the enemy, arrived from New York. They communicated intelligence of the severe treatment which the American prisoners experienced there, and General Boyd and Commodore Chauncey determined on an expedition to that place.

On the 28th, Commodore Chauncey sailed with Colonel Scott



and about three hundred men. They landed at York, captured or destroyed the public property and stores of the enemy, and after burning the barracks, which had been spared at the capture of that place in April, under an impression that their liberality would be appreciated by the enemy, they re-embarked, and returned unmolested to Fort George, bringing with them all the sick and wounded of Colonel Boerstler's men, whom they could find.

A few weeks preceding this affair, the United States armed vessels, the Growler and Eagle, were captured after a desperate engagement of three hours and a half, with a number of British gun-boats, and detachments from the garrison at Isle aux Noix. The action took place near Ash Island, on the river Sorelle, or Richelieu, or that part of Lake Champlain which empties into the St Lawrence. The schooners were commanded by Lieutenant Sidney Smith, and were the only armed vessels, excepting a few gun-boats, and small barges, which constituted the American naval force on Lake Champlain. Their capture, therefore, gave the enemy the entire ascendancy on that lake. The British stated their loss at three men wounded. The loss on board the schooners was one killed and eight wounded.

Availing themselves of the advantages thus gained, the British equipped and refitted the captured vessels, and cruised along the shores of Lake Champlain, committing every species of depredation upon the property of the inhabitants. On the 30th of July, they crossed the line at Champlain with two sloops of war, three gun-boats, and forty batteaux, having on board a force of fourteen hundred men. On the 31st, they arrived, and landed at Plattsburg. The militia were immediately called out, but not more than three hundred collected, and there is no account of their having shown any kind of resistance to the invaders. The British troops, who were commanded by Colonel Murray, assured the inhabitants of Plattsburg that their private property should be respected. But after destroying the block-house, the arsenal, the armory, the public hospital, and the military cantonment, they wantonly burned several private storehouses, and carried off immense quantities of the stock of individuals. On the 1st of August they embarked, and stood out of the bay. Thence

they proceeded to the town of Swanton, in Vermont, landed a part of their force, and committed several outrages of the same character.



THE American and British fleets, now well appointed and equipped, were both on Lake Ontario. Commodore Chauncey being within sight of Fort George, and Sir James Yeo sailing in that direction, on the 7th of August they came within sight of each other. The British fleet consisted of six sail, the American of twelve, the majority of them being very small. Commodore Chauncey immediately weighed anchor, and manoeuvred to gain the wind. Having passed the leeward of the enemy's line, and being abreast of his van ship, the Wolfe, he fired a few guns to ascertain whether he could reach the hostile fleet. The shot falling short, the commodore wore, and hauled upon a wind on the starboard tack; the rear of his schooners being then about six miles astern. The British commodore wore also, and hauled upon a wind, on the same tack, but observing that the American fleet would be able to weather him on the next, he tacked again and made all sail to the northward. Commodore Chauncey pursued him.

The chase continued until night; the schooners could not get up, and a signal was given to give up the pursuit and to form in close order. At midnight two of the schooners were missing, which were afterwards found to be the Hamilton and the Scourge, both of which had overset and sunk in a heavy squall. Sixteen men only escaped drowning. The fleet lost by this unfortunate accident two excellent officers, Lieutenant Winter and Sailingmaster Osgood, a number of fine seamen, and nineteen guns. The enemy then gained a great superiority. On the morning of the 8th he was discovered bearing up with an intention of bringing the Americans to action. Commodore Chauncey then directed the schooners to sweep up and engage him. When the van of the schooners was within one mile and a half of the enemy, he bore up for the schooners in order to cut them off, but in this he did not succeed. He then hauled his wind and hove too.

A squall coming on, and Commodore Chauncey being apprehensive of separating from the heavy sailing schooners he ran the squadron in towards Niagara, and anchored outside the bar. Here he received on board from Fort George, one hundred and fifty soldiers, and distributed them through the fleet to act as marines. Before twelve o'clock on the morning of the 9th, discovered the enemy's fleet, and stood for him, and after manœuvring until eleven o'clock, at times pursuing him, and being pursued by him, the rear of the line opened its fire on him. In fifteen minutes the fire became general on both sides.

At half-past eleven the weather line bore up and passed to the leeward, except the Growler and Julia, which soon after tacked to the southward, and brought the British between them and the remainder of the American fleet, which then edged away to engage the enemy to more advantage, and to lead him from the Growler and Julia. Sir James Yeo having separated the two vessels from the squadron, exchanged a few shot, in passing, with the General Pike, (Commodore Chauncey's ship,) without injuring her, and pursued the schooners. A firing commenced between them, and was continued until one o'clock on the morning of the 10th, when the schooners surrendered, and the fleets lost sight of each other. Soon after daylight they again became visible; but no disposition being shown by the enemy to come down on Commodore Chauncey, he shortly after ran towards Sackett's Harbour to provision the squadron, and arrived there on the 13th.

About this time Sir George Prevost joined the army, which was then investing Fort George, and meditated an attack upon the American forces. Captain Fitzgerald of the 49th, assailed an outpost on the Niagara, and after gaining the rear of the guard, was fired on and charged by Captain Davenport, of the 16th United States infantry, who cut his way through Fitzgerald's party, rallied his own and made prisoners of ten men.

At this moment Captain Delano, of the 23d, came up and captured Fitzgerald, who was then wounded. The whole line of outposts was at this instant attacked and driven in. Captain Vandalsem, of the 15th, who commanded the outposts upon Butler's road, was cut off by the enemy; but hastily forming his small party, he desperately forced his way through a superior



body, and brought his guard safely into the garrison. The British forces gained possession of the town of Newark, and skirted the woods opposite Fort George, within gun-shot of the American camp. Brigadier-General Williams, who had a few days before arrived at that post, advanced from the works with his brigade, but after a trifling skirmish, he was ordered back by General Boyd, and the troops were directed to act only on the defensive. The British soon after retired to their intrenchments, which were then about two miles distant. The loss of the garrison, on this occasion, amounted to thirty, in killed, wounded, and missing. The capture of Captain Fitzgerald and his men, was the only loss which the enemy is known to have sustained.

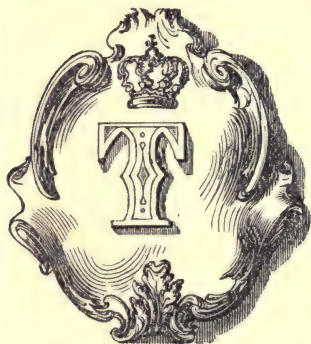
Affairs of outposts, in which the character of the American arms was not in the least diminished, were now occurring daily. Colonel Brearly, and other officers of the different regiments, distinguished themselves; and a spirit of emulation pervaded the whole American line. Orders had been issued to the sentinels, to permit no one to pass within their chain, without the knowledge of the commanding officer. But a British officer, in passing from the left to the right of his encampment, having by mistake approached the American line, induced a sentinel to violate these orders. Thomas Gray, a private of the 15th, who at this time happened to be on guard, seeing the error into which the enemy's officer was likely to fall, permitted him to enter the line of sentinels before he challenged him. When the officer immediately surrendered, proved to be Captain Gordon, of the Royal Scots, and was conducted to General Boyd, who afterwards presented the sentinel with a silver cup, engraved with inscriptions commemorative of the event by which he had won it. The American army sustained about this time, a serious loss in the death of Colonel Christie, at Fort George, and of Lieutenant-Colonel Tuttle, at Sackett's Harbour—both of whom died of severe illness.



Tecumseh.

## CHAPTER XI

*Operations of the North-western Army. Battle of Lake Erie. Battle of the Thames.*



THE combination of the British forces on the Niagara, the augmentation which they were daily receiving by reinforcements from the interior of Upper Canada, and the rumours which were thence sent forth of an intended coalition between these and the army of General Proctor, from Detroit, all contributed to persuade the American commanders that the enemy had become

regardless of the defenses of the garrisons of Detroit and Malden; and that their leading object, for the accomplishment of which they had determined to draw together every species of troops within the province, was the expulsion of the American forces from the Canadian territory. But the vigilance of the commander-in-chief of the north-western army, enabled him not only to discover the enemy's real design, but that their regulars, and

a great body of the Indians, were at that time concealed in the neighbourhood of Fort Meigs and Stephenson, and feeling confident of their expectations that the regulars of his army would be ordered forward to the aid and co-operation of the army of the north; or, that the militia would be called from a tour of duty; which would thence be deemed unnecessary to perform; General Harrison extended his defensive arrangements, and enlarged his forces by new requisitions upon the governors of the contiguous state and territory. He was still engaged at his head-quarters, at Seneca, in fixing the destination of the new troops, as they arrived, and in distributing them among the different posts.

Fort Meigs was placed in an excellent state for vigorous defense, and active exertions were making to fortify Fort Stephenson. To the entire equipment of the latter, many difficulties presented themselves, and its situation was considered to be so defenseless, that General Harrison directed the commandant to destroy the public property, and immediately to abandon the fort, if the enemy should at any time appear before it.

During the month of July, the assembled tribes of Indian warriors, under Tecumseh, (who was reported to have then received the commission and emoluments of a brigadier-general,) and a considerable force of regulars, under General Proctor, had been well trained for an expedition, the object of which was to reduce Fort Stephenson, and thence to proceed to a second investment of Fort Meigs. Tecumseh was despatched with two thousand warriors and a few regulars, to make a diversion favourable to the attack of Proctor and Dixon, upon Fort Stephenson. He approached Fort Meigs, and kept up a heavy firing at a distance, in order to persuade the garrison that an engagement had taken place between the Indian forces and a part of General Harrison's division. By the arrival at Fort Meigs, of an officer from the head-quarters, this scheme was fortunately frustrated; and Tecumseh then approached the garrison, and surrounded it with his whole force.

From Seneca Town scouting parties had been sent out in every direction along the shores of Sandusky bay, with instructions to keep up a continual communication with the commander-



in-chief. On the morning of the 1st of August, he was informed of the approach of the enemy to the mouth of the bay; Fort Stephenson, which was situated twenty miles above, evidently being their object. Early in the evening, the combined forces, consisting of seven hundred Indians, under Dixon, and five hundred regulars, under General Proctor, who commanded in chief, appeared before the fort. The gun-boats, from which they had landed, were at the same time drawn up, to bear upon one of its angles.

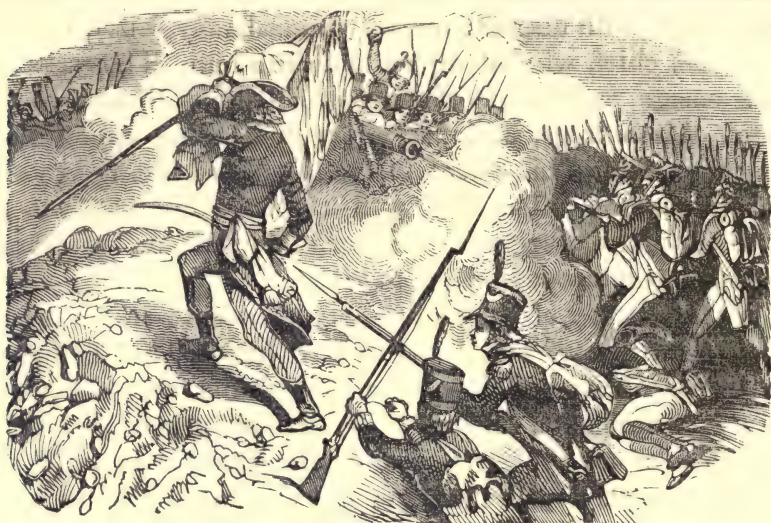
General Proctor immediately disposed his troops so as to surround the garrison, and entirely cut off its retreat. His immense superiority of numbers, enabled him to invest it so perfectly, that the American troops, whose whole effective force did not amount to one hundred and sixty men, had no probable prospect of cutting their way through, and Major Croghan, who had been promoted to the command of this post, for his gallant conduct at the siege of Fort Meigs, having already disobeyed the orders of the commander-in-chief, by not destroying and abandoning the fort, had made arrangements to repel an assault, by cutting a deep ditch, and hastily constructing a stockade work around it; and, being ably supported by his officers and men, he determined on defending the garrison, though he should sell the life of every soldier.

The British general, having completed the disposition of his army, attempted to obtain possession of Fort Stephenson by artifice. He sent forward a flag by Colonel Elliot, whose character is yet in the memory of every reader, accompanied by the same Major Chambers who had before demanded the surrender of Fort Meigs, and an Indian chief, whose enmity to the Americans was violent. This flag was met at a few paces from the garrison, by Ensign Shipp, of the 17th, to whom General Proctor's demand of an immediate and unconditional surrender was delivered, and from whom the enemy received Major Croghan's answer, of a determination not to yield, but with the loss of all his men. Colonel Elliot then attempted to seduce the ensign from his duty, by various artifices, which were followed by a threatened slaughter of the garrison, on further refusal to surrender. The young American turned from his apostate country-

man, Elliot, with disgust, and was immediately seized upon by the Indian chief, who attempted to disarm him. The resistance of the ensign, and the interference of Elliot and Chambers, prevented this outrage, and Major Croghan being apprehensive about the safety of his officer, instantly ordered him to be called into the garrison. The enemy then opened his fire from the gun-boats and a five and a half inch howitzer, and continued the cannonade throughout the night.

On the morning of the 2d, three six-pounders were discovered to have been planted at a distance of two hundred and fifty yards from the stockade, and in a few minutes after, an unsuccessful fire was opened upon the fort. The British general feeling his inability to annoy the garrison, from the situation in which his artillery was then placed, and being convinced that he could neither make an impression upon the works, nor ever hope to carry them by storm, unless a breach could be made in the north-west angle of the fort, ordered all his guns to be directed at that point. A rapid fire was kept up against it for several hours; but Major Croghan being aware of his design, detached as many men as could be usefully employed, to strengthen that angle; by means of bags of sand, of flour, and other articles, it was effectually secured. Under a supposition that his fire had shattered the stockade work, which was not at all injured, General Proctor ordered Lieutenant-Colonel Short to lead up a close column of three hundred and fifty regulars, of the 41st regiment, to storm the fort at that point, whilst a second column should make a feint upon that part of the American line, which was commanded by Captain Hunter, of the 17th. This attempt to draw the attention of the garrison from the north-west angle did not succeed. The troops posted there were ordered to remain firm; and when the column, which was advancing against them had approached within twenty paces of the lines, before which time it was so completely enveloped in smoke as not to be observed, they opened a heavy and galling fire, which threw the advancing party into confusion, and intimidated that which was reserved for the attack on the other angle of the fort. The British battery, which was then enlarged by two other six pounders, was again opened, and sustained the advance of the





Defense of Fort Stephenson.

two columns, by an incessant, though equally unsuccessful fire as the former. Colonel Short rallying his men with great alacrity, again led them up, advanced to the stockade, and springing over the pickets, into the ditch, commanded the whole column to follow and assault the works with the utmost vigour, but to give no quarter to any of the American soldiers.



At the north-western angle stood a block-house, in which a six-pounder had been heretofore judiciously concealed. It was at this instant opened, and having previously been pointed so as to rake in that situation, a double charge of leaden slugs, was fired into the ditch, and sweeping the whole column, the front of which was only thirty feet distant from the piece, killed Colonel Short, and almost every man who had ventured to obey his order. A volley of musketry was fired at the same time, and great numbers of the enemy, who had not yet entered the ditch, were severely wounded.

The officer who succeeded Colonel Short in the command of the broken column, immediately rallied and formed it anew, and led it on to the same fatal point. A second fire from the destructive six-pounder, was poured upon it, with as much success



as the first; and the small arms were discharged so briskly, that the enemy's troops were again thrown into confusion, and not all the exertions of the British officers could bring them up to another assault. They fled precipitately to an adjoining wood, and were very soon followed by the Indians. In a few minutes the firing entirely ceased; and an army much more than ten times superior to a small garrison, was compelled to relinquish an attack, the successful issue of which was not at all doubted by any one of its officers.

A strong degree of terror prevailed among the collected forces. The Indians were enraged and mortified at this unparalleled defeat; and carrying their dead and wounded from the field, they indignantly followed the British regulars to the shipping. General Proctor abandoned his wounded, and left the dead bodies of his most distinguished officers, among whom was Colonel Short, in the ditch. During the night of the 2d, Major Croghan received as many of the wounded enemy through the port-hole as were able to approach it, and to those who could not, he threw out provisions and water.

On the morning of the 3d, the gun-boats and transports sailed down the bay, and guards of soldiers were immediately afterwards sent out to collect and bring into the fort all the wounded, and to bury the enemy's dead with all the honours to which, by their rank, they were entitled. Seventy stand of arms, several braces of pistols, and a boat containing much clothing and military stores, which had been left in the hurry of the enemy's flight, were then taken. The loss of the assailants was reported to have been not less than one hundred and fifty; that of the garrison was one killed, and seven slightly wounded.

The brilliancy of this affair procured for the officers and men the thanks of the government, and the unfeigned applause of all parties in the Union. Major Croghan was soon after promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and was presented with a sword by the ladies of Chillicothe. His precaution and activity prevented a very important, though weak post, from falling into the hands of the enemy; and gave a powerful check to their plan of operations for the remaining part of the campaign. The commander-in-chief, whose positive orders he had ventured to dis



Colonel Croghan.

obey, yielded him his warmest approbation, and recommended to the early notice of the department of war, a young soldier of twenty-one years who had baffled the most ingenious efforts of the British general, and had sustained his various assaults for thirty six hours. Besides Major Croghan the garrison contained seven officers, all of whom distinguished themselves. Captain Hunter was second in command, and resisted the attacks of the second British column, as well as of the Indians. Lieutenants Johnson, Bayler, and Meeks, of the 17th, and Anthony, of the 24th, and Ensigns Shipp and Duncan, of the 17th, were stationed at different places in the garrison, and acquitted themselves with great credit.

General Harrison had no sooner been apprized of the approach of the enemy towards Fort Stephenson, than he sent orders for the immediate march of two hundred and fifty volunteers from Upper Sandusky, and put in readiness all the infantry at Seneca under Generals M'Arthur and Cass. Scouts were instantly forwarded to reconnoiter the position of the enemy, but in consequence of

the strong disposition of the Indian forces they were unable to approach the garrison, and were met by General Harrison and his dragoons between Seneca Town and Fort Stephenson. Here the retreat of the enemy under Proctor, and the investment of Fort Meigs by Tecumseh, were first heard of; and the general directed M'Arthur and Cass to fall back to Seneca Town for the protection of the sick and the provisions. But two days after, Tecumseh and his Indians followed the steps of Proctor and Dixon, and all apprehensions about the safety of the military hospitals were therefore removed.

The American fleet on Lake Erie having been completed, and with great difficulty passed over the bar, a principal part of the crew of each vessel being made up of the Pennsylvania militia, who had volunteered to go on an expedition, sailed on a short cruise for the purpose of training the guns and of exercising the sailors. In the latter part of August, Commodore Perry proceeded to the mouth of Sandusky river, to co-operate with General Harrison. At this place about seventy volunteer marines were received on board, and the fleet sailed in quest of the British squadron. The latter was, at that time, near Malden, before which place Commodore Perry appeared, and after reconnoitering the enemy, he retired to Put-in-Bay, a distance of thirty miles, in hopes of drawing out his antagonist.

On the morning of the 10th of September, the enemy was discovered bearing down upon the American squadron, which immediately got under way and stood out to meet him. The superiority of force was greatly in favour of the British, though they had not an equal number of vessels. Their crews were larger, and the length and number of their guns greater than those of the American squadron. The latter consisted of the brig Lawrence, (flag vessel,) of twenty guns; the Niagara, Captain Elliot, of twenty; the Caledonia, Lieutenant Turner, of three; the schooner Ariel, of four; the Scorpion, of two; the Somers, of two, and two swivels; the sloop Trippe, and schooners Tigress and Porcupine, of one gun each; making a fleet of nine vessels, of fifty-four guns and two swivels. The British squadron consisted of the ships Detroit, Commodore Barclay, of nineteen guns and two howitzers; the Queen Charlotte, Captain Finnis, of



seventeen and one howitzer ; the schooner *Lady Prevost*, Lieutenant Buchan, of thirteen and one howitzer ; the brig *Hunter*, of ten ; the sloop *Little Belt*, of three ; and the schooner *Chippewa*, of one and two swivels ; making a fleet of six vessels and sixty-three guns, four howitzers, and two swivels.

When the American fleet stood out, the British fleet had the weather-gage, but at ten o'clock, A. M., the wind shifted and brought the American to windward. The line of battle was formed at eleven, and at fifteen minutes before twelve the enemy's flag ship and the *Queen Charlotte* opened upon the *Lawrence* a heavy and effectual fire, which she was obliged to sustain upwards of ten minutes, without a possibility of returning it in consequence of her battery being of carronades. She nevertheless continued to bear up, and having given a signal to the other vessels to support her, at a few minutes before twelve opened her fire upon the enemy.

The wind being too light to assist the remainder of the squadron in coming up, the *Lawrence* was compelled to fight the enemy's heaviest vessels upwards of two hours. The crew were not at all depressed ; their animation increased as the desperation of the fight became greater, and the guns were worked with as much coolness and precision as if they had been in the act of training only. The slaughter on board the brig was almost unparalleled, the rigging very much injured, and the braces entirely shot away ; and at length, after every gun had been rendered useless she became quite unmanageable. The first lieutenant, Yarnall, was thrice wounded ; the second lieutenant, Forrest, struck in the breast ; the gallant Lieutenant Brookes, of the marines, and Midshipman Laub were killed, and Sailingmaster Taylor, Purser Hamilton, and Midshipmen Claxton and Swartwout, wounded. Her loss already amounted to twenty-two killed, and sixty-one wounded ; when the commodore, seeing that she must very soon strike, if the other vessels were not brought up, gave up the command of the *Lawrence* to Lieutenant Yarnall, and jumping into a boat, ordered it to be steered for the *Niagara*, to which vessel he had determined to shift his flag. In passing from the *Lawrence* to the *Niagara*, he stood up, waving his sword, and gallantly cheering his men, under a shower of balls



Battle of Lake Erie.





and bullets. He gained the Niagara unhurt, at the moment the flag of the *Lawrence* came down; and the wind having at that instant increased, he brought her into action, and at forty-five minutes past two, gave signal for the whole fleet to close.

All the vessels were now engaged, but as the superiority of the enemy had been increased by the loss of the *Lawrence*, the commodore determined on piercing his line with the *Niagara*. He therefore resolutely bore up, and passing ahead of the *Detroit*, *Queen Charlotte*, and *Lady Prevost*, poured a galling and destructive fire into each, from his starboard side, and into the *Chippewa* and *Little Belt*, from his larboard. He was then within half pistol-shot, and as he cut through the line, the commander of the *Lady Prevost*, a brave officer, who had distinguished himself at the battle of the Nile, received a musket-ball in the face, and the crew being unable to stand the fire, immediately ran below. At this moment the *Caledonia* was struggling to get closer into the action, and her commander, Lieutenant Turner, ordered her guns to be fired through the foresail, which interfered between him and the enemy, rather than lose the chance of a full share in the combat, and was only prevented from attempting to board the *Detroit*, by the prudent refusal of the officer of another small vessel, to assist him.

The action was now raging with its utmost violence; every broadside fired with the most exact precision, and the result of the conflict altogether uncertain. In addition to the loss of the *Lawrence's* guns, one of the *Ariel's* had bursted, and the enemy had then the superiority of thirty-four guns. This doubtful aspect, however, soon after changed. The *Queen Charlotte* had lost her captain, and all her principal officers; and having, by some mischance, run foul of the *Detroit*, most of the guns of both vessels became useless. In this situation, advantage of which was immediately taken by Commodore Perry, they were compelled to sustain, in turn, an incessant fire from the *Niagara*, and other vessels of the American squadron. The British commodore's flag was soon after struck, and those of the *Queen Charlotte* and *Lady Prevost*, the *Hunter* and the *Chippewa*, came down in immediate succession. The whole fleet surrendered to the inferior squadron, with the exception of the



Commodore Perry.

Little Belt, which attempted to escape, but was pursued by two of the gun-boats, and captured at a distance of three miles from the squadron.

Thus, after an action of three hours, in which the individual gallantry of either fleet, had never been surpassed by any naval event now to be found on the record of history, was the entire command of this important lake, yielded to the American arms. To the future operations of the north-western army, every prospect of success was thrown open, and the recovery of the lost territory became no longer doubtful. Commodore Perry informed his government, that it had "*pleased the Almighty to crown their arms with success,*" and attributed the issue to the gallant conduct of his officers, his men, and the volunteers on board. Among them, are to be found the names of Captain Elliott, Lieutenants Turner, Edwards, and Midshipmen Laud, Claxton, Swartwout, Clark, and Cummings—of the conduct of Lieutenants Yarnall and Brookes, and Purser Hamilton; the latter of whom worked as a

common sailor, at a gun, the best evidence has been given—the admiration of the whole squadron, as well as that of the enemy

The number of killed and wounded in both fleets was excessively great. Commodore Barclay was wounded in the hip, and lost the use of his right arm. The other had been shot off in a former action. The loss on board his squadron exceeded two hundred. The American loss amounted to twenty-seven killed, and ninety-six wounded. The captured vessels were convoyed to the bay of Sandusky; and the prisoners, six hundred, in number, conducted to Chillicothe. Among these were a few companies of the British 41st regiment, who had been taken on board to act as marines.

The result of this brilliant conflict was immediately followed by active and extensive preparations for the expulsion of the enemy from Detroit, the entire subjugation of Malden, and the overthrow of General Proctor's army. These objects achieved, the operations on the Niagara and St. Lawrence would be rapidly facilitated, and the most plausible prospects held out to an expedition against Montreal. Governor Meigs had made a call upon the militia of Ohio, as soon as he was informed of the attack upon Fort Stephenson, and upwards of fifteen thousand volunteers were very soon under arms. Many of these were not yet discharged, and General Harrison now required a proportion of them. At the mouth of Portage river, he intended that his whole army should be concentrated; and between that point and Sandusky bay he caused fences of logs to be constructed for the protection of the horses and baggage.

The governor of Kentucky, Isaac Shelby, arrived at the new head-quarters of the army on the 17th of September, with four thousand well mounted volunteers. The works at Fort Meigs being reduced, and garrisoned by a few men, General M'Arthur marched from that post with his brigade, and joined the main body also. Thus strengthened, General Harrison determined on invading the enemy's shores; and, at the dawn of the 21st, he ordered his forces to embark at the mouth of the river, and to rendezvous at the different islands, which lay in clusters between Malden and the point of embarkation. To Colonel Johnson, who commanded a Kentucky mounted regiment at Fort Meigs,





Governor Shelby.

he gave orders to proceed to Detroit by land; arrangements having been first made, by which that officer and the commander-in-chief were to be informed of each other's progress by daily expresses.

On the 27th the troops were received on board the fleet, now enlarged by the captured vessels. They were embarked at a small island, about twenty miles from Malden, called the Eastern Sister, and one of two islands to which the name of the Sisters had been given. In the afternoon of the same day, the fleet which was composed of sixteen vessels of war, and upwards of one hundred boats arrived at a point three miles below Malden. Here the troops were landed in good order, and with perfect silence, and proceeded thence to Amherstburg by eschellon movements.

The British general well aware that the American commander would early avail himself of the advantages lately gained by the capture of the fleet, had made preparations to retire into the interior of Canada, to a place of better security than Malden. He was apprized by his videttes, of the approach of General Harrison, and having first set fire to the fort, and destroyed every article of public property, he ordered his forces, which were still composed of British regulars, and Tecumseh's and Dixon's Indians, to retreat along the Thames, and thence toward its course to the Moravian towns. The fort, the barracks, and other public

buildings were still smoking, when the American army entered Amherstburg, and a number of females came out to implore protection from its commander. They received it. The guns of the batteries had been previously sunk, one only remained on an island opposite Malden, and that had been left in the confusion of the enemy's retreat to the Thames.

Amherstburg had heretofore been the repository of Indian spoil, and the principal depot of Indian presents. The tribes had been continually provided with munitions of war from the garrison there; and rewarded at that post, for the outrages committed by them, at various times, upon the people of the adjoining American territories. The previous sufferings of the citizens of the frontier, had all been derived from the activity of British traders who were proprietors of the property and soil; yet, though almost every volunteer of the American army had been affected, either in his possessions, in his own person, or that of his relatives, by the incursions and outrages of the enemy, the inhabitants of Amherstburg were protected from violence, and their individual property honourably respected. Highly, and frequently, as the indignation of these troops had been excited, they were still determined to contrast their conduct here with that of the British and Indians, at the river Raisin; and the house and grounds, therefore, of the most active officer at that scene, Colonel Elliott, suffered not the least molestation.

On the 28th the army crossed *La Riviere aux Cannards*, the bridge over which the enemy had not stopped to destroy, and arrived at Sandwich on the following day, the fleet moving at the same time, through the river Detroit, to that place. Governor Shelby's command then occupied the point at which the first invasion of Canada had been attempted, whilst the remainder of the army crossed over to the delivery of the town of Detroit out of the possession of the British Indians, who immediately abandoned the garrison, and retreated in different directions. General Harrison, knowing that large numbers of warriors, under Split-Log, were collecting in the woods near Huron of Lake St. Clair, directed General M'Arthur to remain with most of the regulars, in the occupation of Detroit, whilst he would pursue the army of General Proctor up the Thames.

Colonel R. M. Johnson's regiment had arrived at Detroit on the day after its occupation by the American army; and having concentrated this force, with a part of Colonel Ball's regiment of dragoons, and the whole of Governor Shelby's volunteers, the commander-in-chief, on the 2d of October, pursued the enemy's route. Such was the rapidity of his movement, that he encamped in the evening of the same day at the river Riscum, a distance of twenty-six miles from Sandwich. Early on the morning of the 3d, he resumed his march, and being accompanied by General Cass and Commodore Perry, as acting aids, he proceeded in the advance with Johnson's regiment, in order to secure the bridges on the rivers tributary to Lake St. Clair. By the capture of a lieutenant of dragoons and eleven privates, who had been left in General Proctor's rear, with orders to take up every bridge by which the approach of Harrison's army could possibly be facilitated, one bridge was saved, and the American general learned, that the enemy had "no certain information of his advance up the Thames." Within eight miles of this river, at Drake's farm, the army encamped for the night, and its baggage followed thus far, in the transports of the squadron.

On the morning of the 4th, the army again proceeded on its route, and having reached Chatham, seventeen miles from Lake St. Clair, found its progress obstructed by a deep and unfordable creek, the bridge of which had been partially destroyed by a body of Indians, who now made their appearance, and fired on the front guard. They had taken position on the opposite side of the creek, and flanked the American army on the right bank of the river. General Harrison made immediate arrangements to disperse or capture them. Colonel Johnson was already stationed on the right of the line, and had seized the ruins of another bridge, under a smart fire from the Indians on that flank. Major Wood was directed to bring up his artillery, and cover the pioneers who were repairing the first bridge. This he did with unexpected success. The Indians could not withstand the heavy discharges of artillery, and they therefore retired without much regard to the order of their retreat. The bridge was quickly repaired, and the army having first extinguished the flames of a farmhouse, which had been fired by the Indians,



and captured from it two thousand stand of arms and a quantity of clothing, crossed over the creek, pursued the enemy four miles up the river, annoyed his rearguard, and took from him several pieces of cannon. This skirmish continued one hour, in which time two men of the army were killed, and six wounded; whilst thirteen were killed on the side of the enemy. Besides muskets, cannon, and clothing, he lost three vessels, loaded with ordnance stores and arms, which the approach of the Americans obliged him to destroy.

On the 5th, the pursuit was eagerly renewed, and attended by the capture of two gun-boats and several barges, loaded with provisions and ammunition. Having attained the ground on which the enemy had encamped the night before, the commander-in-chief directed Colonel Johnson to hasten the march of his advance guard, and to send forward an officer to reconnoiter the situation of the combined British and Indian forces. This officer very soon after returned with intelligence that the enemy were prepared for action, in an open ground, within four miles of the American main body.

The road upon which General Harrison was then marching, entered a thick and extensive forest on the beach. A short distance from the bank of the Thames was a miry swamp, which extended to the Moravian town; and between this swamp and the river was a level plain, through which, because of the thick underwood in the forest, the army would be obliged to make its approaches. Across this plain the British line was drawn up, with its left resting on the river, supported by the greatest proportion of their artillery; its centre being protected by two heavy pieces, and its strength, in regulars, amounting to six hundred. Twelve hundred Indians were formed along the margin of the swamp.

When General Harrison had come up with the main body, and was advised of the advantageous situation of the enemy, he ordered Colonel Paul, with one hundred and fifty regulars, to occupy a space between the road and the river; to advance upon, and divert the enemy, and on an opportunity, to seize the cannon which defended his left flank. Lieutenant-Colonel James Johnson was directed to form Major Payne's battalion of the mounted

regiment, and Major Suggett's three spy companies, into six charging columns, immediately in front of the British line of regulars and an Indian flank; whilst General Henny's division of infantry should be stationed for his support in his rear. Colonel R. M. Johnson was charged with the formation of another battalion, in front of the Indians, who were arrayed on the margin of the swamp. He accordingly dismounted one company, under command of Captain Stucker, with which he stretched a line in the face of the Indians, and ordered Major Thompson to form the remaining four companies, on horseback, into two charging columns of double files, immediately in the rear of the line on foot. The left of this battalion was supported by the infantry of General Desha.

Thus disposed, with the main army in their rear, these divisions moved forward to the attack. The British gave the first fire, upon which the charge was quickly ordered, and in a few moments the enemy's line was pierced by upwards of one thousand horsemen, who, dashing through the British regulars with irresistible speed, either trampled under foot, or cut down every soldier who opposed them; and having killed and wounded upwards of fifty at one charge, instantly formed in their rear, and repeated the attack. Such was the panic which pervaded the whole line of the enemy, that an order which had been issued to fix bayonet, was not attempted to be executed; and, in a little while, Colonels Evans, Warburton, and Baubee, and Majors Muir and Chambers, surrendered with four hundred and seventy-two prisoners. The charge had no sooner been made, than General Proctor, fearing the consequences of his conduct in Michigan, if he should be taken in this battle, abandoned his command, and made his escape in a carriage, under a strong escort of dragoons.

Whilst this brilliant charge was making on the right, the action was raging with great violence on the left. Between the Indians there, and the mounted men and infantry drawn up against them, it was longer and more obstinately contended. The Indians were commanded by Tecumseh, who fought with more than his accustomed skill, and having posted his warriors in the best possible situations to repulse an attack, he indicated his willingness to receive the assault of the American cavalry. Colonel John-



BATTLE OF THE THAMES.







son, who saw that the Indians would dispute the ground with more bravery than the British regulars, placed himself at the head of his battalion, and led it up to a vigorous charge upon Tecumseh's flank. That chief at the same moment dealt out a tremendous fire, which though severe in its effect, did not retard the movement of the advancing columns. But the difficulty of penetrating the thicket and swamp threw an impediment in the way of a successful result to an onset with dragoons, and the attempt to break the Indian line in consequence failed. An engagement immediately took place, however, in which, after exchanging several rounds with Tecumseh's band, Colonel Johnson ordered both his columns to dismount, and leading them up a second time, he made a desperate, but successful effort to break through the Indians. Having gained the rear of their line, his next order directed his men to fight them in their own mode. The contest became now more obstinate. Notwithstanding their line had been thus pierced, and their warriors were falling in considerable numbers, the Indians did not think themselves yet discomfited, and quickly collecting their principal strength upon the right, they made an attempt to penetrate the line of infantry under General Desha. In this they had partially succeeded, a part of that line having faltered, when Governor Shelby brought up three companies of his volunteers to its support, and in turn threw back the Indians.

Meanwhile Colonel R. M. Johnson had been five times wounded, and in that state, covered with blood, and exhausted by pain and fatigue, he personally encountered Tecumseh. The colonel was mounted on a white charger, at which, being a conspicuous object, the Indians had continually levelled their fire. A shower of bullets had fallen round him; his holsters, his clothes, and most of his accoutrements, were pierced in several places; and at the instant when he discovered Tecumseh his horse received a second wound. Tecumseh, having discharged his rifle, sprang forward with his tomahawk, and had it already raised to throw, when Colonel Johnson's horse staggered back, and immediately the colonel drew forth a pistol, shot the Indian through the head, and both fell to the ground together.

The wounded colonel being then removed from the field, the

command of that battalion devolved on Major Thompson, who continued to fight the whole body of the Indians, (then upwards of one thousand,) more than an hour, and eventually put them to flight. In their attempt to gain the village, through the level plain, they were pursued and numbers of them cut down by the cavalry.

The Americans being now masters of the field, their gallant commander, who had been in every part of the action, directed the wounded officers and men of both armies to be taken care of, and the trophies of the victory to be collected and conveyed to the squadron. Among these were several pieces of brass cannon, which had been taken from Burgoyne at Saratoga, in the struggle for the independence of the states, and surrendered again by General Hull, thirty-five years afterwards, at Detroit.

In the battle of the Thames the number of Americans engaged did not exceed fourteen hundred. The nature of the ground rendered an operation by the whole force impracticable, and the main body, therefore, formed a corps of reserve. They sustained a loss of fifty men in killed and wounded. The number of the former, among whom was a brave old soldier of the revolution, Colonel Whitley, who now served as a volunteer private in a Kentucky regiment, amounted to seventeen. The enemy lost in regulars alone, upwards of ninety killed, and about the same number wounded, and surrendered in all six hundred prisoners. Among the Indians one hundred and twenty were killed, including their brave, but ambitious and inveterate leader.

A squadron of horse, which had been ordered in pursuit of Proctor immediately after his flight, returned to General Harrison with the baggage and private papers of the British commander, which they had taken within one hundred yards of his escort. By the speed of his horses, and his knowledge of the country, he successfully eluded his pursuers.

The result of this victory was highly advantageous, not only to the operations of the army below, but to all the north-western territories, some of whose inhabitants were released from the restraint of a conquered people, and had now a favourable prospect of future tranquillity. By this event the whole British force in that part of Canada was destroyed; the association with each



other of the different hostile tribes to the United States prevented, and their reunion with the enemy entirely cut off. By the fall of the Shawanese chief the Americans were disencumbered of their most powerful, inveterate and experienced Indian enemy, and a sudden check was given to that spirit of barbarian enterprise to which that frontier had hitherto been subject. Tecumseh was a bold, intrepid, and active leader, whose undeviating practice it was never to make a prisoner. He was ever ready to conceive a daring and inhuman design, and would execute it with unprecedented and remorseless perseverance. His ruling passion was the plunder and annihilation of the people, whom he believed had encroached upon, and gradually deprived his ancestry of their soil. But, when he undertook an expedition accompanied by his tribe, he would relinquish to them the spoil, though he would never yield the privilege of destroying the victim. To the Indians of all other tribes, as well as to that among whom he was born, the loss of a leader like Tecumseh, on whose capacity and conduct as a warrior they could always rely, and who would encourage and assist in their cruelties, was, therefore, irreparable. Such indeed, was the effect of his death, upon the tribes generally, that many of the chiefs of most of the nations, having no confidence in any other leader, gave themselves up to the conquering general, and negotiated with him terms of peace, which released his government from the necessity of subsisting their warriors.

On the day following that on which the battle of the Thames was fought, General Harrison destroyed the Moravian town, and commenced his march for Detroit, where he negotiated terms of peace with other tribes, and received a flag from General Proctor, accompanied by a request, that humane treatment might be extended to the British prisoners. This request had been anticipated by the American general, who had already given up the simple comforts of his own tent, to the wounded British colonels; and had instructed his troops before the battle, that the person even of General Proctor should be respected, if, by the fortune of the day, it should be thrown into their hands.

At Detroit, Governor Shelby's volunteers, and the twelve months' men, were all honourably discharged. The fort was

garrisoned by one thousand men, under General Cass, who was appointed provisional governor of the Michigan territory; and the civil law was restored to the condition in which it was at the time when General Proctor instituted other ordinances for the government of the inhabitants.

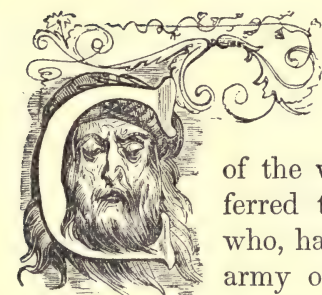
In the event of his success against Proctor, the commander-in-chief had been directed by the war department, to join the northern army on the Niagara; and accordingly, having, besides these arrangements, stationed a respectable force at Malden and Sandwich, on the 23d of October he embarked in the squadron of Lake Erie, with all his disposables, and sailed for the village of Buffalo, where he arrived before the beginning of November.



General Harrison crossing the Thames.



## CHAPTER XII.

*Operations on the Niagara Frontier.*

CORRESPONDENT with these movements of the north-western army, a plan of operations on the St. Lawrence had been concerted by the united talents of the war department, which had been transferred to the frontier, and General Wilkinson, who, having succeeded to the command of the army of the north, had established his headquarters at Fort George. By this plan, the capture and occupation of Montreal and Kingston, the grand rendezvous of the British land forces, and the only secure harbour for their naval armaments, was contemplated; and the result of its successful execution could not fail of being fruitful with advantages to the future movements of the army, and the contemplated conquest of the province of Lower Canada. The late overthrow of General Proctor, in the upper province, increased the expectations of the department and the army, and held out to each, the most certain prospects of eventual success. Two obstacles, however, presented themselves to the entire fulfilment of these expectations. The lateness of the season; which, in a



country where the winter commences with great severity, would raise up insurmountable obstructions to the movements of the troops ; and the difference of opinion between the commanding general and the secretary at war, as to which post should be the first object of assault. Each being tenacious of his own opinion, and both anxious for the consummation of the concerted scheme, it became necessary to hasten the impending operations, by the adoption of one or the other. The deliberation of a council of war was proposed. To obviate the first difficulty, the removal of the second was indispensable, and the necessity of an immediate decision, upon a question involving the interests of the expedition, became more obvious. A council was therefore organized, and conceiving that the success of the design depended on an early movement of the designated force, they decided without hesitation on a descent upon Montreal.

Arrangements were then adopted to collect and concentrate the different regiments on Grenadier island, a point between Kingston and Sackett's Harbour, which had been assigned as the best rendezvous, because of its contiguity to the head of the St. Lawrence. Orders were forwarded to Fort George, to Colonel Scott of the artillery, who had been left by General Wilkinson in command of that post, to embark his artillery and Colonel Randolph's regiment of infantry, on board a vessel of the squadron, and to proceed to the island. The general had left the garrison of Fort George on the 2d of October, with the largest portion of the troops, who were now awaiting the remainder at the rendezvous, and had been actively employed in providing clothing and other equipments necessary to the soldiers in the course of their movement down the river. Between Grenadier island and Sackett's Harbour, he had made frequent voyages, to see that the troops were well bestowed at the former, and that the different detachments which almost daily arrived at the latter, were immediately despatched thence. He had caused a sufficient number of boats to be prepared to convey the artillery through the St. Lawrence ; and having assigned the command of Sackett's Harbour to Lieutenant-Colonel Dennis, he thence proceeded to put the troops in motion at the island.

By this time, the 23d, the force at that place amounted to

nearly eight thousand men, and was composed of Colonel Moses Porter's light artillery ; a few companies of Colonel Scott's (2d) regiment of artillery ; Colonel Macomb's (3d) regiment of artillery ; the 5th regiment of infantry ; the 6th, commanded by Captain Humphreys ; the 11th ; the 12th, Colonel Coles ; the 13th, commanded by Colonel Preston of the 23d ; the 14th, Lieutenant-Colonel Dix ; the 15th, Colonel Brearly ; the 16th, Colonel Pearce ; the 21st, Colonel Ripley ; the 22d, Colonel Brady ; the 25th ; and Major Forsythe's rifle corps.

Having issued the necessary orders, General Wilkinson resolved on moving on the 25th ; and although the gales which had prevailed for several days continued with unabated violence, and were now attended with heavy rains, his anxiety to promote the issue of the expedition induced him to order the embarkation of the troops ; and, buffeting with a disorder which had rendered his health extremely precarious, he remained on the island until the embarkation was nearly completed, directing the boats to take advantage of the momentary pauses of the storm to slide into the St. Lawrence.

A few days before, intelligence had been forwarded by Colonel Scott, of the enemy's having evacuated the intrenchments in the neighbourhood of Fort George, and of their having burnt and otherwise destroyed all their camp equipage and many stand of arms, in order to facilitate the march of their troops to Kingston ; to which place they had been ordered as soon as General Wilkinson's contemplated movement was discovered. They had been apprized of the intentions of the American general previous to the 9th, and on that day they abandoned the whole peninsula on the Niagara, and directed their attention to the defense of Kingston, against which they supposed the Americans would move. To keep that impression alive, and to confine their plans to the protection of Kingston only, General Wilkinson fixed on French creek, which lies immediately opposite the point at which the British suspected he would land, as the general rendezvous of the troops after their entrance into the St. Lawrence. Brigadier-General Brown (now of the United States regulars) was ordered forward to command the advance of the army at that place, and the rear was soon after strengthened by the arrival

at Grenadier island of the 20th regiment, under Colonel Randolph.

On the 1st of November the enemy appeared at French creek with a squadron of four large vessels, and a number of boats filled with infantry, and attacked the detachment at that place in the evening. General Brown hastily made arrangements to defend his position, and after a short cannonade the enemy's vessels were compelled to retire, by a battery of three eighteen-pounders, which had been erected and managed with great spirit by Captains McPherson and Fanning of the artillery. The enemy fell down to a convenient harbour, and renewed his attack on the following morning. By the same judicious arrangements he was again repulsed, and a few hours afterwards the American squadron entered the St. Lawrence, and took a position near French creek, to command the north and south channels. On the 3d and 4th the rear of the army arrived at the general rendezvous. On the 5th the flotilla of transports got under way, and arrived without accident below Morrisville.

On the 6th the commander-in-chief ordered the flotilla to descend with the whole army, to a point within three miles of Prescott, and directed the powder and fixed ammunition to be debarked, and transported by land, under cover of the night, below the enemy's batteries. Before either of these orders was put in execution, he proceeded in his gig to reconnoiter the place, and having concluded that the safest passage of the troops would be effected on shore, he ordered the debarkation of every man, except the number necessary to navigate the boats, and the army marched by night, two miles below Prescott. Arrangements were also made for the passage of the flotilla, to the same point; and General Brown being the general officer of the day, was charged with the superintendence. Availing himself of a heavy fog which came on at eight o'clock in the evening, the commander-in-chief, believing he could pass the enemy's fort unobserved, put the flotilla and the marching columns in motion at the same instant, and proceeded in his gig, followed by his passage boat and staff, ahead of the former. An unexpected change of the atmosphere enabled the enemy's garrison to discover the boats, and the columns upon land, whose movements had been simultaneous.



Nearly fifty twenty-four-pound shot were fired at the general's passage boat, and the columns were assailed with great numbers of shot and shells. Neither of these attacks were successful, nor did the Americans sustain the slightest degree of injury. The flotilla had been halted by General Brown as soon as the firing was heard, and it did not resume its course until the setting of the moon; when, in attempting to pass, at the same place, it was attacked also. It nevertheless pursued its passage to the place of destination, under a heavy, though ineffectual fire of three hours. During all this time, of three hundred boats of which the flotilla was comprised, not one was touched by a ball; and before ten o'clock of the 7th, they all safely arrived at the designated rendezvous. From this place the commander-in-chief forwarded an order to General Hampton, commanding the left division of the northern army to form a junction with the division then descending the St. Lawrence.

On the 7th the difficulties in this descent increased. The indisposition of the general became alarming. The passage of the troops was delayed half a day in extricating two schooners from the river near Ogdensburg, which were loaded with provisions, and had been driven to that place by the enemy's fire. In the course of the morning, the commander-in-chief had been informed that the coast below was lined with posts of artillery and musketry, at every narrow pass of the river. He therefore detached Colonel Macomb, with the elite corps of about twelve hundred men, to remove these obstructions. At three in the afternoon the army followed. Immediately after passing the first rapid of the St. Lawrence, the passage boat of the general was again attacked by two pieces of light artillery, which Colonel Macomb had not observed in his march. No other injury was done, however, than the cutting of the rigging, the attention of these pieces being diverted from that object by Lieutenant-Colonel Eustis and a few light gun-barges, between whom and the enemy a cannonade was kept up, without effect on either side. But Major Forsythe, who was in Macomb's rear, having landed his riflemen, and advanced upon the enemy, three pieces were precipitately carried away. About six miles below the town of Hamilton, the flotilla came to, and the general received intelligence of Colonel Ma

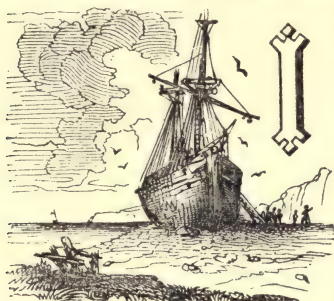


General Macomb.

comb's having routed the enemy at a block-house, two miles lower. The dragoons, which were attached to the first division of the army, had by this time assembled at a place called the White House, situated at a contraction of the river. On the morning of the 8th the flotilla proceeded to this point, and after having ordered General Brown to go forward with his brigade, to reinforce Colonel Macomb, and to take command of the advance of the army, General Wilkinson directed the transportation of the dragoons across the St. Lawrence. This business was completed in the course of the night.

Not long after the descent of this river was commenced by the American army, the British troops, who had been concentrated in the vicinity of Kingston, having discovered that that post was not the object of the expedition, immediately proceeded to Prescott. The day following that on which the Americans had passed this village, the British commandant sent a flag over to Ogdensburg, with a demand for the delivery of all the public property there, under the penalty of the immediate destruction of the town. Without waiting, however, for a compliance with this demand, the enemy embarked about fifteen hundred troops, and followed General Wilkinson's descent, with an intention of annoying his rear. On the 9th they had so far gained upon it,

as to bring on a skirmish between the American riflemen and a party of British militia and Indians. After having killed one man, the enemy were completely repulsed.



ON the course of this day, the cavalry, with four pieces of artillery, under Captain McPherson, were attached to the command of General Brown, who was ordered to clear the coast below, as far as the head of the "*Longue Saut*." After being obliged to halt several hours, by the rapidity of the current, to enable General Brown to make good his march, in time to cover the movements of the flotilla, General Wilkinson arrived at a point called the Yellow House, which stands near the *saut*.

On the morning of the 10th he ordered General Brown to prosecute his march with all the troops under his command, except two pieces of artillery and the 2d dragoons. A regard for the safety of the men, induced the commanding general to *march* as many of them as possible, as the passage of the *Longue Saut* would be long and dangerous. This regiment, therefore, as well as all the men of the other brigades, with the reservation of a proper number to navigate the boats, were assigned to General Boyd, who was ordered to take necessary precautions to prevent the enemy, hanging on the rear, from making an advantageous attack; and if attacked, to turn upon, and if possible to beat them.

General Brown, in obedience to these orders, marched with the advance, then consisting of about eighteen hundred men, and composed principally of Colonel Macomb's artillery, some companies of Colonel Scott's regiment, part of the light artillery, the riflemen, and the 6th, 15th, and 22d regiments. At a block-house near the *saut*, which had been erected to harass the flotilla in its descent, he was engaged by a strong party of the enemy, with whom he contended for a few minutes, and at length compelled them to retire. This repulse was effected entirely by Major Forsythe, who was severely wounded in the engagement. General Brown then took a position near the foot of the *saut*



At the same time a number of British galleys and gun-boats approached the flotilla, now at the shore, and commenced a cannonade. The galley mounted a long twenty-four-pounder, which materially injured the American barges and it became necessary to run two eighteen-pounders on shore, and form a battery to resist the enemy's attack. One shot from this battery obliged the British to retire up the river; and it being then too late to trust the flotilla to the *saut*, the current in which allows no chance to land, or to pursue any other than its own course, the barges lay too until the morning of the 11th.

At ten o'clock on that day the flotilla was prepared to sail; and the division under General Boyd, consisting of his own and Generals Covington and Swartwout's brigades, was already formed in marching order, when an alarm was heard from the gun-boats, and the commanding general was apprized that the enemy were advancing in column. The increasing indisposition of General Wilkinson rendered him incapable of taking the field; General Lewis having declined the command in consequence of being ill also, General Boyd was ordered to turn upon and attack the British force. The enemy's gun-boats were advancing at the same time, with a view to attack the rear of the flotilla as soon as it should move off. The officers having it in charge were therefore directed not to leave the shore. General Boyd advanced upon the enemy, with his detachment formed in three columns, and forwarded a body of General Swartwout's brigade, consisting of the 21st regiment, to meet and bring the enemy to action. Colonel Ripley, with this regiment, ranged through the woods, which in a semicircle skirted Chrystler's fields, and drove in several parties of the skirmishers. Upon entering the open field, he discovered the British advance, consisting of the 49th and Glengary regiments, With these he immediately commenced an action, in which he twice charged these united regiments, either of which being more than equal to the 21st, and drove them over the ravines and fences by which Chrystler's field was intersected, when they fell upon their main body.

Meanwhile General Covington had advanced upon the enemy's right, where his artillery had been planted, and at the moment



General Ripley.

when the 21st assailed the British left flank, this brigade forced the right by a vigorous onset, and the result of the action was now looked to with great certainty. The gallant conduct of General Covington attracted the attention of a party of sharp shooters stationed in Chrystler's house, one of whom levelled his piece, and shot him from his horse. The wound proved to be mortal, and in two days after the general died. The fall of their commander threw that brigade into confusion, and it very soon broke before the enemy's artillery, and, together with the 16th, took shelter behind the 21st, which was still engaged with the British left and centre. Four pieces of artillery had been planted to enfilade the enemy's right, but out of reach of support; and when Covington's brigade fell back, the British commander wheeled part of his line into column to attack and capture them.

A body of dragoons, under the Adjutant-General Walbach, attempted, in a very gallant manner, to charge the British column, but the nature of the ground prevented its being checked, and the intervention of the 21st between the cannon and the enemy alone retarded his advance. The British then fell back with much precipitation. The 25th, which had been disordered, was at this time in a ravine; and on all parts of the field skirmishes and detached battles were kept up with various success. The 21st

being out of ammunition, was withdrawn from the exposed positions of the ground, and a second attempt was soon after made upon the cannon. The death of Lieutenant William W. Smith, of the light artillery, who commanded one piece, enabled the enemy to capture the only trophy they obtained. The coolness and bravery of Captain Armstrong Irvine, saved the remaining pieces, which he brought off the field. The action immediately after ceased. It had been fought with distinguished gallantry by about seventeen hundred undisciplined men, against the same number of British veterans, and its duration was upwards of two hours. The enemy's force consisted of detachments from the 49th, 84th, 104th, the voltigeurs, and the Glengary regiment. These retired to their encampment, and the Americans to their boats.

The American loss on this occasion amounted to three hundred and thirty-nine. One hundred and two of whom were killed. Among these were Lieutenants Smith, Hunter, and Olmstead. The loss in wounded was swelled by the rank and worth of the officers on that list. General Covington, Colonel Preston, Majors Chambers, Noon, and Cummings; Captains Foster and Townsend, of the 9th; Myers and Campbell, of the 13th; Murdoch, of the 25th; and Lieutenants Heaton, of the 11th; Williams, of the 13th; Lynch, of the 14th; Pelham, of the 21st; and Brown and Crary, of the 25th, were the officers composing it.

In this battle the victory was claimed on both sides. An impartial examination of the result, however, will either lead to the conclusion that it was a drawn battle, or that if any advantages occurred to either party, they were decidedly gained by the Americans. The front of the enemy had been forced back more than a mile in the early part of the action, and it never regained the ground thus lost. To use the words of the American general, his views and those of the British commander "were precisely opposed. The first being bound by the instructions of his government, and the most solemn obligations of duty, to precipitate his descent of the St. Lawrence by every practicable means; and the last, by equally imperative duties, to retard, and if possible, to prevent such descent. If then, he (the British commander) found himself victorious on this day, it was certainly in his power to





General Wilkinson.

have effected the one or the other object, and as he made no attempt to effect either, it follows incontestibly, that he had no fair ground on which to claim a victory." So far from obstructing the further descent of the river, the enemy never again assailed the column upon land, or the barges of the flotilla. Early on the morning of the 11th the army proceeded on its route, and reached Barnhart, near Cornwall, where it rejoined the advance. At this place General Wilkinson received a letter from General Hampton, in which he declined a meeting at St. Regis, the place named in the orders which had been sent to him on the 6th, and informed the commander-in-chief that he intended to march to Lake Champlain, and thence to co-operate in the attack upon Montreal. General Wilkinson immediately concluded that it would be useless to prosecute his route to Montreal any further, and that every prospect of a desirable termination to the campaign was destroyed. He therefore summoned together the principal

officers of that division of the army with which he was acting, who determined that the receipt of this despatch rendered it expedient that the army should quit the Canadian side of the St. Lawrence and go into winter quarters at French Mills, on Salmon river, which it accordingly did on the 13th instant. After having surmounted many perilous difficulties in the descent of a river crowded with various obstructions, the further prosecution of its passage was entirely abandoned by the united determination of the commander-in-chief and his council of war.

Whether the refusal, on the side of General Hampton, to form a junction with General Wilkinson at the St. Regis, instead of adopting his own plan of marching by Champlain and Cognawago, should have prevented the prosecution of the campaign to its original object, does not come within the province of these sketches to discuss. It is the business of the writer of them to be studiously impartial; and he does not hesitate to acknowledge his belief, that many circumstances are yet to transpire before the public opinion can be regulated. The order of the commander-in-chief, and the answer to that order, are the only papers which can, at this early day, be procured; and the reader has an opportunity of making up his own judgment from them.\*

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\* HEAD-QUARTERS OF THE ARMY, DISTRICT No. 9, SEVEN MILES ABOVE OGDENSBURG, }  
*Nov. 6th, 1813, in the evening.* }

SIR:—I address you at the special instance of the secretary of war, who, by bad roads, worse weather, and ill health, was diverted from meeting me at this place, and determined to tread back his steps to Washington from Antwerp, on the 29th ultimo.

I am destined to, and determined on, the attack of Montreal, if not prevented by some act of God; and to give security to the enterprise, the division under your command must co-operate with the corps under my immediate orders. The point of rendezvous is the circumstance of greatest interest to the issue of this operation, and the distance which separates us, and my ignorance of the practicability of the direct or devious roads or routes on which you must march, make it necessary that your own judgment should determine that point. To assist you in forming the soundest determination, and to take the most prompt and effectual measures, I can only inform you of my intentions and situation in one or two respects of first importance. I shall pass Prescott to night, because the stage of the season will not allow me three days to take it; shall cross the cavalry at Hamilton, which will not require a day, and shall then press forward, and break down every obstruction to the confluence of this river, with Grand river, there to cross to the isle Perrot, and with my scows, to bridge the narrow inner channel, and thus obtain foothold on Montreal island, at about twenty miles from the city; after which our artillery, bayonets, and swords, must secure our triumph, or provide us honourable graves. Inclosed you have a memorandum of my field and battering train,

Whilst General Wilkinson was engaged in concentrating the left division of the army at Grenadier island, preparatory to the

pretty well found in fixed ammunition, which may enable you to dismiss your own; but we are deficient in loose powder and musket cartridges, and therefore hope you may be abundantly found. On the subject of provisions, I wish I could give as favourable information; our whole stock of bread may be computed at about fifteen days, our meat at twenty. In speaking on this subject to the secretary of war, he informed me that ample magazines were laid up on Lake Champlain; and therefore I must request you to order forward two or three months supplies, by the safest route, in a direction to the proposed scene of action. I have submitted the state of our provisions to my general officers, who unanimously agree, that it should not prevent the progress of the expedition; and they also agree in opinion, that if you are not in force to face the enemy, you should meet us at St. Regis, or its vicinity.

I shall expect to hear from, if not to see you, at that place on the 9th or 10th inst.

I am, &c.

JAS. WILKINSON.

MAJOR-GENERAL W. HAMPTON.

P. S. I was preparing an express, which I should have despatched to-morrow, but for the fortunate call of Colonel King.

HEAD-QUARTERS, FOUR CORNERS, }  
Nov. 8, 1813. }

SIR:—I had the honour to receive, at a late hour last evening, by Colonel King, your communication of the 6th, and was deeply impressed with the sense of responsibility it imposed, of deciding upon the means of our co-operation.

The idea suggested as the opinion of your officers, of effecting the junction at St. Regis, was most pleasing, as being the most immediate, until I came to the disclosure of the amount of your supplies of provisions. Colonel Atkinson will explain the reasons that would have rendered it impossible for me to have brought more than each man could have carried on his back; and when I reflected, that in throwing myself upon your scanty means, I should be weakening you in your most vulnerable point, I did not hesitate to adopt the opinion, after consulting the general and principal officers, that by throwing myself back upon my main depot, where all the means of transportation had gone, and falling upon the enemy's flanks, and straining every effort to open a communication between Plattsburg and Cognewago, or any other point you may indicate, on the St. Lawrence, I should more effectually contribute to your success, than by a junction on the St. Regis.

The way is in many places blockaded and abatised, and the road impracticable for wheels during winter; but by the employment of pack-horses, if I am not overpowered, I hope to be able to prevent you from starving.

I have ascertained, and witnessed, the plan of the enemy is, to burn and consume every thing in our advance. My troops, and other means will be described to you by Colonel Atkinson. Besides their rawness and sickness, they have endured fatigues equal to a winter campaign, in the late snows and bad weather, and are sadly dispirited and fallen off: but upon this subject I must refer you to Colonel Atkinson.

With these means what can be accomplished by human exertion, I will attempt, with a mind devoted to the general objects of the campaign.

W. HAMPTON

TO MAJOR-GENERAL WILKINSON.



descent of the St. Lawrence, General Hampton had determined on moving the right division from Champlain down the Chateaugay, for the purpose of obtaining a situation from which it could with more facility co-operate in the contemplated movements against Montreal. On the 21st of October he put his troops in motion, having first arranged a line of communication as far up the St. Lawrence as Ogdensburg. An extensive wood, filled with hewn timber, and covered with Indians and the enemy's light troops, threw an impediment in the way of the engineers who were to cut a road for the passage of the artillery and stores. General Izard had been detached with the light troops and one regiment from the line, to turn them in flank, and to seize on the open country below. In this he succeeded, and the main army advancing on a circuitous road, reached the advanced position on the evening of the 22d.

At a distance of seven miles from the ground on which the army encamped, was a wood which had been formed into an abatis, and was filled with a succession of breastworks, the rear-most of which was well supplied with ordnance. Behind these the disposable force of the enemy was placed, in front of them the light troops and Indians. Sir George Prevost was supposed to be the commander-in-chief of the forces and breastworks thus arranged. It was resolved to attack and dislodge him. Colonel Purdy, who commanded the first brigade, was ordered on the 25th to ford the river, and march down on its opposite side until he should reach the enemy's rear, where he was to recross the river and attack him in his breastworks; whilst the second brigade, under General Izard, was to assail him in front. The fire from one was to be the signal of attack for the other. Colonel Purdy accordingly marched down on the opposite bank, but had not proceeded far when he received a countermanding order from General Hampton, issued in consequence of a communication from the quartermaster-general's department, which the general deemed unfavourable to the prosecution of his plan.

In attempting to return to the place at which he had previously crossed the river, Colonel Purdy was attacked by the enemy's infantry and Indians, who were repulsed after a short contest, though they had thrown the American column into partial con-

fusion. The British at the same time came out of their works to attack the second brigade on the opposite side. They were repulsed at this point also, and General Izard drove them rapidly behind their defenses. The first brigade attempted the construction of a bridge of logs, and though it was assailed by a considerable force of the British regulars, and received a sharp fire across the river, the bridge was completed and Colonel Purdy recrossed his men. He was again attacked, and several times resisted the charges of the enemy. The army commenced a retreat after losing about fifty men; and as General Hampton received an account of the enemy's being continually reinforced, he resolved, on the advice of a council, to retreat to the Four Corners. The army accordingly, on the 31st, returned to a position which it held many days before. In these various skirmishes, Majors Snelling and Wool were particularly distinguished.

A *petite guerre* was kept up on the lines by Colonel Clark, who commanded a regiment of infantry acting as riflemen, which had already, on several important occasions, been of great annoyance to the enemy. But this incursive warfare was stopped soon after the return of General Hampton's division, and all the troops under his command were put into winter quarters in the course of the month of November, and the command resigned to General Izard.

Not long after the departure of General Wilkinson from Fort George, that post fell successively to the command of Colonel Scott, General Harrison, and General M'Clure of the New York militia; under each of whom frequent skirmishes took place. In one of these, Colonel Wilcocks, with the Canadian volunteer mounted regiment, behaved with personal bravery, and gave an augury of the services which the American government might expect from this new species of troops.

On the 10th of December it was ascertained that the enemy had collected a force of fifteen hundred regulars, and at least seven hundred Indians, and were proceeding on their march to Fort George, to expel the Americans from the garrison and the shores. The remnant of an army, of which the garrison was at that time composed, rendered the post altogether untenable, and General M'Clure determined on destroying the town of Newark and the

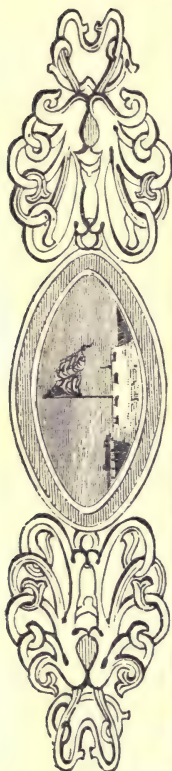
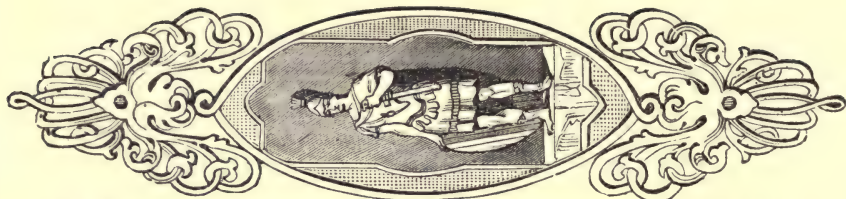
batteries by which it was protected, and evacuating Fort George, with a view to posting himself at Fort Niagara. Accordingly, having first given the inhabitants full notice of his intentions, he put them into execution, and crossed his force over to the American shore. Newark was left in flames, and the guns of Fort George were rendered useless. The British forces arrived only in time to find themselves without shelter, and were obliged to fall back to Queenstown. From this place General M'Clure attempted to dislodge them by the batteries at Lewistown, but without effect.

The British commander became highly incensed at the destruction of the town of Newark, and secretly resolved on the conflagration of Buffalo, Schlosser, and Lewistown, and the capture of Fort Niagara; the garrison of which they destined to be put to the sword. A surmise of these intentions of the enemy induced the American commander to transfer his head-quarters to Buffalo; to which place he immediately set out to provide for the protection of its citizens, and called forth the neighbouring militia *en masse*.

Fort Niagara was at this time garrisoned by three hundred and twenty-four sick and effective men, and was commanded by Captain Leonard, of the artillery, who, notwithstanding the notorious fact of the enemy's being within two hour's march of the fort, neglected to provide against an assault by night; and on the evening of the 18th took up his quarters at a farm two miles distant from his command. At four o'clock on the morning of the 19th, the enemy, four hundred in number, crossed the Niagara under Colonel Murray, and approached the principal gate, which was then open. Accompanied by his Indian warriors, he rushed furiously in upon the garrison, and in a few minutes put an end to all opposition. The only resistance which was made he received from the guard in the south-east block-house, and the sick who crawled out from their beds. What officers were within the fort, exhausted every means of defense of which the suddenness of the attack had not deprived them. On entering the garrison Colonel Murray received a wound in the arm; soon after which he yielded the command to Colonel Hamilton—under whose superintendence the women of the garrison were stript of their







Burning of Lewistown.

clothing, and many of them killed, and the persons of the dead officers treated with shocking indignity. In the mean time Captain Leonard arrived and was made prisoner, and out of the whole number of troops in the garrison, twenty only effected their escape. The British flag was immediately after unfurled, and the enemy had the entire command of the entrance to the Niagara.

In the course of the same morning about seven hundred Indians made an attack upon Lewistown, which was defended by a small detachment of militia under Major Bennett, who resisted the assailants until he was entirely surrounded, and then desperately cut his way through with the loss of eight men, and effected his retreat. This village, and those of Young's town, Manchester, and the Indian Tuscarora, were speedily reduced to ashes.—Whilst the Indians were engaged in firing Lewistown, Major Mallory boldly advanced from Schlosser, and attacked their outer guard at Lewistown heights, and compelled it to fall back to the foot of the mountain. The Indians were soon reinforced however, and the gallant Mallory was in turn obliged to retire. He retreated gradually to Tantawanty creek, occasionally turning upon, and fighting their advance guard, for two days, at the end of which time the Indians gave up the pursuit. In these affairs Major Mallory lost Lieutenant Lowe, of the 23d infantry, and eight men.

General M'Clure having collected nearly three thousand militia at Buffalo, left them under command of General Hall, and repaired himself to the village of Batavia, about twenty-eight miles from Buffalo, to provide for its protection against a sally from Fort Niagara. He had previously sent Lieutenant Riddle to that place, with all the regulars in the vicinity, amounting in the whole to eighty men, to secure the public arsenal. On his arrival at Batavia, after having organized a body of militia there, he ordered the regulars back to Buffalo, to encourage, by their example, the undisciplined troops of his division.

On the 30th the British landed six hundred and fifty men at Black Rock, and immediately proceeded to the village of Buffalo. Before they reached it, however, they were obstinately opposed by Colonel Bleeksly and two or three hundred raw and undisciplined militia. General Hall had fallen back about three miles



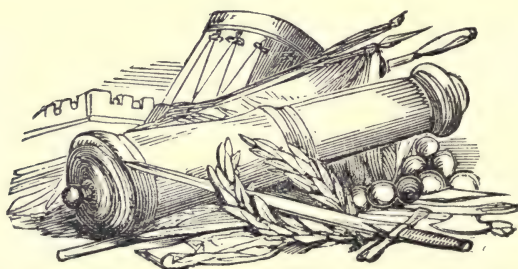
from Buffalo, when his force was met by Lieutenant Riddle and his regulars. The British had already entered the village, and the militia fled with the greatest precipitation. Riddle offered to march with his regulars in front, and thus to excite the timid militia to repulse the enemy, and drive him from the village. But the general, yielding to the unwillingness of his men, declined the proposal of the regular officer, who thereupon rode towards the village, to reconnoiter. He advanced within half a mile of its suburbs, and seeing that with a handful of spirited men, he could himself save the place from destruction, he returned to General Hall, and entreated him to place two hundred men under his command, with whom he promised at least to rescue the women and children, who would otherwise be sacrificed by the Indians, if not to drive out the enemy. General Hall was of opinion that this plan was impracticable. Lieutenant Riddle, therefore, was prevented from attempting it. By the exertion of Major Staunton and Major Norton, each of whom belonged to the village, about two hundred men were collected, and expressed their willingness to combat the British and Indians. These were advised that it was in vain to attack their enemy, and this advice was sanctioned by the general. At length, having become quite indignant at the timidity of the militia, Lieutenant Riddle took upon himself the responsibility of going forward with his own men, and of rescuing as much public property as they could bear away. He entered the upper part of the village, where he was informed by a citizen, that Colonel Chapin, who had, long before the flight of the militia, been ordered to take post at Conejokeda creek, had surrendered the place to the enemy, under the condition that they were to plunder, but not to burn it. The Indians were at that moment firing the houses. Lieutenant Riddle, with thirty men, then took from the arsenal, which had not been discovered by the enemy, about three hundred stand of arms, and some other public property, and having made two Indian prisoners, returned to the position occupied by General Hall.

On the following day, January 1st, (1814,) a small party of dragoons were ordered in advance of the whole militia, which General Hall marched to the vicinity of the village, in order to

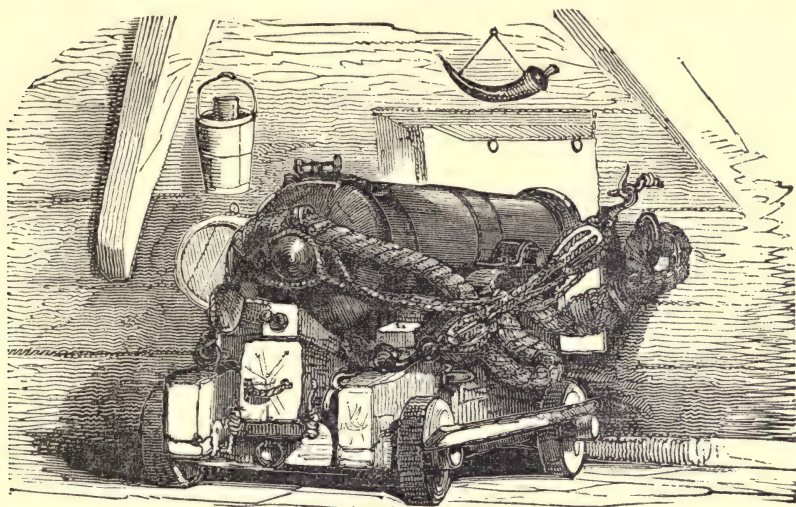
make a show of force. Captain Stone, who commanded the advance, accompanied by Lieutenant Riddle, Lieutenant Totman, of the Canadian volunteers, and Lieutenant Frazer, of the 15th regiment, infantry, made several prisoners on the margin of the village, and having delivered them to the general, the latter immediately ordered his whole force to retire, and called in the advance for that purpose. Riddle and Totman, not knowing that the dragoons had fallen back, were left in the near neighbourhood of the enemy, and upon being discovered by a squadron of the British horse, they immediately put spurs to their own, and attempted to escape toward the rendezvous of General Hall's brigade. They very soon outstripped their pursuers, and were congratulating themselves upon their supposed escape, when another squadron of the enemy were perceived coming out of the road leading from Black Rock, and directing their course for Buffalo, between which and that road Riddle and Totman then were. Thus hemmed in on a narrow highway, with a superior enemy in front and in the rear, they saw no probable prospect of escaping, and would have given themselves up, but for the treatment which other prisoners on the Niagara had recently received, and the practice, which had about this time commenced, of making hostages. No alternative seemed to present itself, but that of cutting their way through the party in their front; and on this they mutually resolved. On their attempting to dash through, with violent impetuosity, the whole party discharged their pistols at them, one only of which took effect, and the unfortunate Totman fell from his horse. Riddle cut through with his sword, and having gained their rear, pushed his horse through a narrow lane on the left, and rode into a thick swamp, terminated by a forest. Through this the enemy did not choose to follow him, and he arrived at the head-quarters of the general on the same day, without having met with other obstacles.

In a few days after, the British evacuated all the positions they had captured except Fort Niagara. This they put in a better state of defense, and from it they made frequent incursions, which were ever attended by acts of violence upon the neighbouring inhabitants.

The campaign of 1813, in the north, was now drawn to its final close; and though a high degree of fulgency was thrown around the American arms, no one advantage was obtained to atone for the blood and treasure which had already been exhausted. The capital of Upper Canada had been taken. It was scarcely captured before it was abandoned. The bulwark of the province, Fort George, had been gallantly carried; but an inferior foe was suffered to escape, after being beaten, and the conquerors were soon after confined to the works of the garrison, and closely invested upwards of six months. The long contemplated attack upon Montreal was frustrated; Kingston still remained a safe and advantageous harbour in the hands of the enemy; and a fortress, which might have been long and obstinately, and effectually defended, was yielded with scarcely a struggle, and under circumstances mysterious in the extreme, to the retaliating invaders of the American Niagara frontier. In the course of the summer of 1813, the American army possessed every position between Lake Ontario and Lake Erie, on both sides of the Niagara. In the winter of the same year, after having gradually lost their possessions on the British side of the stream, they were deprived of their possessions on their own. Another day may bring forward a developement of the causes which led to such unfavourable results; and posterity will be much better enabled to throw the censure on the proper officers than those who are their contemporaries.







## CHAPTER XIII.

## Commencement of the Naval Campaign of 1813.



THE United States sloop of war *Hornet*, having challenged to a combat the sloop of war *Bonne Citoyenne*, Captain Green, who declined an acceptance of the invitation, she was left before the port of St. Salvador, by Commodore Bainbridge, with orders to blockade the enemy's vessel of war, containing upwards of half a million of dollars, and two armed British merchantmen, then lying in that harbour. This blockade was vigilantly kept up until the 24th of January, 1813, on which day the *Montague* seventy-

ty-four, hove in sight, and chased the *Hornet* into the harbour, whence, however, she escaped in the night. Captain Lawrence, who still commanded her, then shifted his cruising ground; and after having captured a vessel of ten guns, laden with specie,

and having run down the coast for Maranham, thence off Surinam, and thence for Demarara, outside of the bar of the river leading to which place, and with the fort bearing south-west, about two and a half leagues distant from him, he discovered a man-of-war brig, which he immediately attempted to near, by beating round the Carabana bank. In making this effort, a second sail, of equal size to the other, was also discovered, at about half past three, P. M. At twenty minutes past four, the strange sail, the British sloop of war Peacock, Captain Peake, of eighteen guns, and one twelve-pounder carronade, a shifting gun, showed the English flag, and the Hornet was immediately cleared for action, and Captain Lawrence made every attempt to get the weather-gage. The Peacock was edging down fast. All the efforts of the Hornet to weather her proved fruitless, and at twenty-five minutes past five, the American ensign being then up, in passing each other the two vessels exchanged broadsides, within half pistol-shot. The effect of this fire on board the enemy's vessel was extremely severe; on board the Hornet no loss whatever was sustained. The Peacock, being then discovered in the act of wearing, Captain Lawrence bore up, received her starboard broadside, run her close on board on the starboard quarter, and poured into her so heavy, constant, and well-directed a fire, that in fifteen minutes she surrendered, with her hull and rigging totally cut to pieces. At the moment of her surrender, she hoisted a signal of distress, and in the next moment her mainmast went by the board.

Lieutenant Shubrick, whose gallantry on this occasion was not less conspicuous than in the actions with the *Guerriere* and *Java*, in each of which he gave unequivocal proofs as well of his humanity as of his bravery, was despatched to bring her officers on board the Hornet. He soon returned with her first officer, and a report that the Captain had been killed in the latter part of the action, that a great number of her crew were either killed or wounded, and that she was sinking fast, having already six feet water in her hold. Both vessels were brought to anchor, and all the boats immediately despatched to bring off the wounded, and as much of their baggage as could be found. All the shot-holes which could be got at were then plugged, the



Hornet and Peacock.







guns thrown overboard, and every possible exertion used to keep her afloat, by pumping and bailing, until the prisoners could be removed. All efforts appearing to be entirely unavailing, the body of Captain Peake was inclosed in his own flag, and the ship sunk in five and a half fathom water, carrying down thirteen of her own, and three of the Hornet's crew. With the utmost difficulty, Acting-Lieutenant Conner and Midshipman Cooper, who were superintending the removal of the prisoners, effected their escape, by jumping into a boat which was lying on her booms, at the moment when the Peacock sunk.

The loss of the enemy amounted to thirty-three in wounded, three of whom afterwards died. The number of killed could not be ascertained, but four men, besides the captain were found dead on the Peacock's deck; and four men, in addition to the thirteen who sunk, were drowned. The loss on board the Hornet was one man killed, two slightly wounded in the action, and two severely, by the bursting of a cartridge. Her hull was scarcely injured, though the rigging and sails were cut, her foremast pierced through, and her bowsprit slightly injured.

The officers and crew of the Hornet were not behind those of any other ship, in emulating the example of Captain Hull and his brave companions; and the course and consequence of this engagement bore a striking similitude to that with the *Guerriere*. Acting Lieutenants Conner and Newton, and Midshipmen Cooper, Mayo, Gets, Smoot, Tippet, Boerum, and Titus, behaved with that bravery which had now become almost inseparable from the American name. Lieutenant Stewart, the first officer of the ship, was unfortunately too ill to keep the deck, and Captain Lawrence was therefore deprived of the services of a meritorious and valuable officer.

This engagement took place in view of the ship of war which lay in Demarara river, the *Espeigle*; and Captain Lawrence, being apprehensive that she would beat out to the assistance of her consort, the *Peacock*, the greatest activity prevailed on board the *Hornet*, to repair damages, as soon as they were sustained, and by nine o'clock all the boats were stowed, new sails bent, and the ship completely prepared for another action. The *Espeigle*, of equal force with the *Peacock*, did not come out.

Captain Lawrence's crew had been on two-thirds allowance of provisions for several days; and the number of souls now on board amounting to two hundred and seventy, including those of the merchant prize, it became necessary that she should return to the United States. She shaped her course for New York, where she arrived about the twentieth of March. On the passage, her officers divided their clothing with the prisoners, who had lost their baggage; the crew of the ship gave up each a portion of theirs to the crew of the Peacock; and the private wardrobe of the captain, whose attentions to the wants of those whom the fortune of war had placed in his hands, and whose exertions to ameliorate their condition were unceasing, was given up to her officers. At New York, Captain Lawrence was received with universal joy; and his reception in other cities was similar to that which had been given to other naval commanders.

Many days had not elapsed after the arrival of the *Hornet* at New York, when the United States frigate *Chesapeake*, Captain Evans, of thirty-six guns, returned to the harbour of Boston, from a cruise of one hundred and fifteen days. During that time she had run down by the *Madeiras*, *Canaries*, and *Cape de Verds*, and thence down on the equator, where she cruised six weeks. Hence she proceeded down the coast of South America, and passed within fifteen leagues of *Surinam*. On the 25th of February, the day after the conquest of the *Peacock*, she passed over the place at which that vessel had been sunk, and thence proceeded down by *Barbadoes*, *Antigua*, and most of the windward islands, thence on the coast of the United States, between *Bermuda* and the capes of *Virginia*, by the capes of the *Delaware* within twelve leagues, by *New York* within twenty, and thence by the east channel to *Boston*, where she terminated a cruise, on the 10th of April, marked by the capture of four valuable merchantmen, the chase of a British sloop of war, and an escape from two line of battle ships.

The command of this ship was then given to Captain Lawrence, her late commander, Captain Evans, having accepted the command of the *New York* station, and directions were immediately given to repair and re-equip her for another cruise. Commodore Rodgers had returned to that port also, from a cruise, in



which, though he did not capture any armed ship of the enemy, he drew from the coast such of his public vessels as were destined to blockade the different ports, and saved to the mercantile interest of the country many millions of dollars. The President and Congress were at that time the only vessels of his squadron. To keep these in port, the British frigates Shannon and Tenedos, each being of the largest class, appeared off the entrance to the harbour of Boston, and sent in frequent reports of their size, strength, and armament. Early in the month of May, however, Commodore Rodgers put to sea; but the British frigates avoided him by sailing from the coast.

In the course of that month the Shannon returned to the mouth of the harbour, and her commander, Commodore Brooke, sent in a challenge to the commander of the frigate Chesapeake. This challenge was not received by Captain Lawrence, but his ship being then in readiness, he understood the menacing manœuvres of the Shannon to be an invitation, and on the 1st of June, with a crew almost in a state of mutiny, and unacquainted with their new captain, and without his full complement of officers, his first lieutenant, Page, being sick on shore, he sailed out to meet, and give battle to the hostile ship. The Shannon sailed from the bay and put to sea, the Chesapeake following in chase, seven miles astern. At half-past four the Shannon hove to, with her head to the southward and eastward; and at half-past five, the Chesapeake hauled up her courses and was closing fast with the enemy. At fifteen minutes before six he commenced the action by firing his after guns on the starboard side, when the Chesapeake gave him a broadside; this was succeeded by a broadside from the Shannon, which killed the sailingmaster, Mr. White, and many of the crew, and wounded Captain Lawrence; he refused to quit the deck, however, and ordered a second broadside, the return to which wounded the captain a second time, and killed the fourth lieutenant, Ballard, and Lieutenant Broom of the marines. The Chesapeake then ranged ahead of the Shannon, when her jib sheet, the slings of the foretop-sail yard, her spanker brails, and her bowlines and braces being cut, she luffed into the wind and took aback, and fell with her quarter foul of the Shannon's starboard anchor. This accident gave a decided advantage

to the enemy, and enabled him to rake the Chesapeake. Captain Lawrence was all this while on deck, still persisting in his refusal to go below, when, having called for the boarders, he received a musket-ball through the body, and in a languishing state was carried down. At this moment the ship was deprived of all her principal officers; the first lieutenant, Augustus C. Ludlow, had been mortally wounded; several of the midshipmen and petty officers, besides the fourth lieutenant and the commanding officer of marines, were either killed or wounded, and the command of the ship devolved on her third lieutenant, Budd. The bravery and seamanship of this officer being already known to the crew, some hope remained of saving the ship, and of capturing the superior enemy. But, as Lieutenant Budd ascended the spar-deck, an arm-chest on the quarter was blown up by a hand grenade thrown from the Shannon's tops. The boarders very soon followed Lieutenant Budd, but before they reached the deck, Captain Brooke had determined that the Chesapeake could only be carried by boarding, and having already so many shot between wind and water in his own ship, that he became apprehensive of her sinking, he threw his marines on the Chesapeake's quarter-deck, and headed them himself. Lieutenant Budd immediately gave orders to haul on board the fore-tack, for the purpose of shooting the ship clear of the Shannon, and of attempting the capture of Captain Brooke, who had then two hundred of his crew on board the Chesapeake. On this effort the fate of the ship depended, and most of the American crew, mindful of the dying words of their gallant commander, whose injunction on them was "*Don't give up the ship,*" several times attempted to succeed in it; but the boatswain having mutinied, and persuaded many of the men, who were dissatisfied at not having received their prize money of the last cruise, to join him below; the few who remained firm to their duty were soon overpowered; and Lieutenant Budd being wounded and thrown down to the gun-deck in attempting to gain the quarter, the scheme entirely failed, and the enemy gained complete possession of the upper deck. A great proportion of the crew, who had escaped a wound, nevertheless continued fighting; and Captain Brooke, as he was crossing the ship, was shot through the neck by the Chesapeake's



chaplain, Livermore, whom he instantly cut down ; but he, almost as soon, received a wound in the head, and was then transferred to his own ship. The enemy's crew were now commanded by Lieutenant Watt, who stabbed and cut down the wounded and vanquished without regard to their cries of surrender. He was killed on the Chesapeake's deck, according to one account, by one of the Shannon's sailors, as he was placing, by mistake, the American over the English ensign ; according to another, by an American sailor in the main-top, when in the act of killing a wounded marine. The enemy had now the entire possession of the Chesapeake ; the English flag was flying at the different mast-heads, yet they continued to shoot at, and otherwise to wound her sailors. A volley of musketry was fired by them down upon the wounded, and one of the American midshipmen was assailed by a British marine with great violence after his submission to the Shannon's commander.



**I**N this engagement, the result of which is attributed to many fortuitous events, the superiority of the American gunnery was clearly evinced. The Chesapeake fired two guns to one of the enemy, and pierced the Shannon's side in so many places, that she was kept afloat with very great difficulty ; whilst on the other side, the Shannon's broadsides scarcely injured the hull of the Chesapeake. At long shot, the engagement might have terminated differently ; though the captain and crew were strangers to each other, the ship just out of port, and not in a fighting condition, and many of the sailors quite raw. Her rate was thirty-six guns, her force forty-eight. The rate of the Shannon was thirty-eight, her force forty-nine ; and, in addition to her own crew, she had on board sixteen chosen men from the *Bella Poule*, and part of the crew of the *Tenedos*. She



lost in the engagement, besides her first lieutenant, the captain's clerk, the purser, and twenty-three seamen, killed; and, besides her captain, one midshipman and fifty-six seamen, wounded. On board the Chesapeake, the captain, the first and fourth lieutenants, the lieutenant of marines, the master, midshipmen Hopewell, Livingston, Evans, and about seventy men were killed; and the second and third lieutenants, the chaplain, Midshipmen Weaver, Abbott, Nicholls, Berry, and nearly eighty men wounded. The greater proportion of this loss was sustained, after the enemy had gained the deck of the Chesapeake.

Soon after the termination of the action, the two ships were steered for Halifax, where the bodies of Captain Lawrence and his gallant officers slain in the battle, were committed to the grave with the usual honours, attended by all the civil, naval, and military officers of the two nations, who happened to be in that port.

Not long after these honourable funeral obsequies had been performed by the enemy, Captain George Crowninshield, brother to the secretary of the navy, actuated by the laudable desire of restoring the body of the lamented Lawrence to his country and his friends, requested, and obtained, permission of the president to proceed in a flag vessel to Halifax, at his individual expense, for that purpose. The commanding officer of the British squadron, at that time blockading the eastern ports, Sir Thomas Hardy, readily assented to the free passage of Captain Crowninshield's brig, and he accordingly proceeded to effect his object, accompanied by twelve masters of vessels, who volunteered to compose the crew. The body was brought to the port of Salem, and entombed with the remains of its ancestors in New York, where the highest funeral honours were paid by the citizens, as a tribute of their respect and admiration, to their late gallant countryman.

The private armed vessels of the United States, the number of which had greatly increased since the account is given of them in a foregoing chapter of these sketches, were still cruising over the Atlantic, continually capturing, and otherwise annoying the commerce of the enemy, and occasionally engaging some of his public ships, in such gallant combats as are entitled, and

ought to be registered among the accounts of the most brilliant naval exploits.

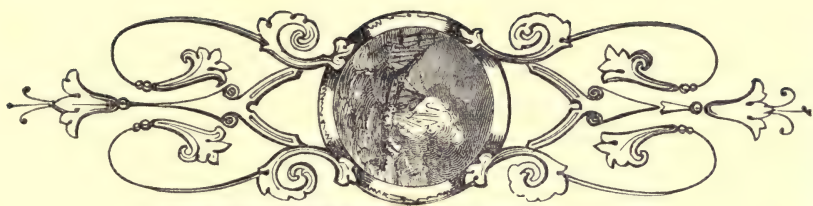
The Comet, Captain Boyle, of fourteen guns, and one hundred and twenty men, being off Pernambuco, on the 14th of January, discovered four sail standing out of that place. This squadron consisted of three English merchantmen, the ship *George*, Captain Wilson, of fourteen guns, and the brigs *Gambier*, Captain Smith, and *Bowes*, Captain ———, of ten guns each, who were bound to Europe, under the protection of the fourth vessel, a Portuguese national ship of thirty-two guns, and one hundred and sixty-five men. The latter having exhibited the colours of her nation, Captain Boyle, stood for her, and received a communication of her character and object, accompanied by an injunction not to molest the merchantmen. Considering that the Portuguese had no right to afford protection to a British vessel, in the nature of a convoy, Captain Boyle informed her commander of his determination to capture them if he possibly could, and immediately sailed in pursuit. As they kept close together, the Comet opened her fire upon the three merchantmen, who returned it with alacrity. The man-of-war delivered a heavy fire of round and grape, and received in turn a broadside. The English occasionally separated from each other, to give the Portuguese a chance of crippling the Comet, whose captain, however, kept as near as possible to the merchantmen. Frequent broadsides were discharged, as opportunities varied, at the whole squadron, whose collected force amounted to fifty-four guns, and in a few minutes the ship *George* struck her colours in a sinking condition. Soon after the brig *Bowes* struck also; but a broadside from the man-of-war prevented the Comet's boat from taking possession. Captain Boyle then repeated his attack upon the Portuguese, and obliged her to sheer off, with the loss of her first lieutenant and five men killed, and her captain and several men wounded. The third merchantman, the *Gambier*, then also surrendered, and the brig *Bowes*, was immediately taken possession of. So much were the others injured, that Captain Boyle deemed it improper to board them, and determined to lie to until morning, it being by this time excessively dark. Between the Portuguese and the Comet

several broadsides were exchanged in the course of the night, without any material effect. On the following morning, the man-of-war gave signal to the other ships to make the first port, and stood off herself with that view. The Comet brought her prize into the United States, making her way through a squadron which was blockading the southern ports. Before she arrived, however, she captured the Alexis, and Dominica packet, each of ten guns, and the Aberdeen of eight, in the presence of a British sloop of war, who was at the same time in full chase of the privateer.

On the 1st of February, the schooner Hazard, Captain Le Chartier, of three guns and thirty-eight men, captured the ship Albion, of twelve guns and fifteen men, being one of a convoy for Europe. On the 23d she was recaptured by the cutter Caledonia, of eight guns and thirty-eight men, from New Providence. Three days after, the Hazard fell in with both, engaged, and after an action of several minutes, compelled both to strike, but took possession of the prize only and carried her into St. Mary's. The Caledonia was very much injured, and most of her crew either killed or wounded. On board the Hazard, the first Lieutenant and six men were slightly wounded, but the hull and rigging were severely shattered by the grape from the two vessels.

The private armed schooner General Armstrong, Captain Champlin of eighteen guns, being within five leagues of the mouth of Surinam river, on the 11th of March, discovered a large sail to be at anchor under the land. The crew of the General Armstrong supposed her to be an English letter of marque, and, consequently, Captain Champlin bore down with the intention of giving her a starboard and a larboard broadside, and then to board her. The stranger in the mean time had got sail on her, and was standing out for the American. Both vessels thus approaching each other, had come within gun-shot, (the Englishman firing the guns on his main deck,) when the General Armstrong discharged both the contemplated broadsides, and discovered too late that her antagonist was a heavy frigate. She nevertheless kept up her fire, though attempting to get away, but in ten minutes she was silenced by the enemy. The





Gallant action of the General Armstrong



last shot of the General Armstrong brought down the enemy's colours, by cutting away her mizzen gaff, halyards, and her mizzen and main stay; and Captain Champlin, presuming that she had struck, made preparations to possess her; but the frigate opened another heavy fire upon the schooner, killed six, and wounded the captain and sixteen of her men; shot away the fore and main shrouds, pierced the mainmast and bowsprit, and struck her several times between wind and water. In this condition she laid upwards of forty-five minutes, within pistol-shot of the frigate; but, by the extraordinary exertions of the crew and the aid of sweeps, she got out of the enemy's reach, and arrived at Charleston on the 4th of April.

On the 3d of that month, the privateer *Dolphin*, of ten guns, still commanded by Captain Stafford, who had engaged and captured two of the enemy's vessels, mounting twenty-six guns, was attacked at the mouth of the Rappahannock river, by seventeen barges from a British squadron. The barges carried upwards of forty men each; the *Dolphin* was manned by sixty. Two letters of marque lying there also, soon yielded, but Captain Stafford resolved on defending his vessel. The battle continued two hours, when the enemy succeeded in boarding. The *Dolphin's* crew fought with great desperation on her deck, and the engagement was kept up many minutes longer before the vessel was captured. The enemy took down her colours, and lost in killed and wounded nearly fifty men. On board the *Dolphin* four men were wounded.

In the course of the summer the United States sloop of war the *Enterprise*, Lieutenant-Commanding Burrows, of sixteen guns, met, engaged, and captured, after a severe and obstinate fight, the British sloop of war *Boxer*, Captain Blythe, of eighteen guns, and brought her into port. The captains of both vessels were killed in the engagement. Lieutenant-Commandant Burrows expired at the moment the enemy's vessel struck her colours, and she was then taken possession of by Lieutenant M'Call.\*

At a harbour near Gwinn's island, Lieutenant St. Clair of

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\* A more particular account of this action in the next naval chapter.



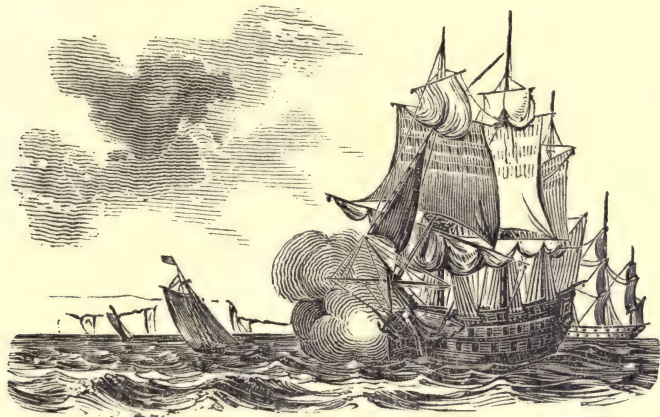


Enterprise and Boxer.

the navy, who had previously distinguished himself as an able seaman in the sloop of war *Argus*, anchored a small schooner mounting two or three guns, and filled with armed men, to repel the depredations which the enemy were about that time committing along the shores of the Chesapeake. He encountered a schooner, who hailed and ordered him to come on board with his boat, which being refused, an engagement followed and terminated in silencing the strange vessel. She, however, renewed it a second and a third time, and was as often silenced. The night was excessively dark, and when Lieutenant St. Clair sent his boat to take possession, he discovered that she had made her escape, leaving him with one man wounded on board the schooner.

This succession of sea engagements was closed by a brilliant attack made by a privateer upon a large sloop of war. The schooner *Commodore Decatur*, of ten guns, commanded by Captain Dominique, engaged the sloop of war *Dominica*, Lieutenant-Commandant Barret, of fourteen guns, and after a well contested action carried her by boarding, and brought her into the United States. No event, probably, in the naval annals, furnishes evidence of a more brilliant and decisive victory gained by a vessel so inferior in size, strength, and armament, to her antagonist.





## CHAPTER XIV.

### *Operations on the Delaware and Chesapeake Bays.*



THE declaration of war against Great Britain was no sooner made known at that court than its ministers determined on sending into their provinces of Canada the veteran regiments of their army, and adopted effectual measures to forward to the coast of the American states a naval force competent to blockade its principal bays and rivers. Incensed at the successes of the American naval arms over the frigates and sloops of war of their nation, they hastened the departure of their different fleets, and in retaliation for the invasion of their provinces by the American troops, instructed their commanders to burn and otherwise to destroy, not only the coasting and river craft, but the towns and villages on the navigable inlets; and more particularly in the southern department of the Union. Early in the spring of 1813 detachments of these fleets arrived at the mouth of the Delaware, and at the entrance to the



Chesapeake bay. Others were to rendezvous at Bermuda, and thence to proceed to the reinforcement of the blockading squadrons.

In the month of March, the Poictiers seventy-four, Commodore Beresford; the frigate Belvidere, and several smaller vessels of war entered the bay of Delaware, and destroyed great numbers of small trading vessels. In the course of that month, they were repeatedly repulsed in their attempts to capture others which lay near the shore, by the militia of Delaware; and several instances occur of sharp fighting, which tended to improve the discipline of the volunteers of that state.



MONG other expedients for obtaining supplies, a demand was made upon the people of Lewistown for a supply of provisions for the blockading squadron, which being spiritedly refused, on the 6th of April, Sir John P. Beresford directed Captain Byron to move as near the town, with the Belvidere, as the waters would permit him, and, having first notified its inhabitants, to bombard it until his demands were complied with. On the night of the 6th, the bombardment accordingly took place; the enemy's gun-boats approached near enough to throw their thirty-two pound balls into the town, but their bombs fell far short of their object. Colonel Davis, who commanded at that time, had already removed the women and children, and returned the enemy's fire from an eighteen-pounder battery, with which, in a few minutes, he effectually silenced one of the gun-boats. The cannonade continued nearly twenty hours; at the end of which time, the enemy drew off his vessels and descended the bay, having discharged upwards of six hundred shot, shells, and congreve rockets. The shells did not reach the town; the rockets passed over it; but the thirty-two pounders injured several of the houses.

On the 10th of May, the same squadron proceeded from their anchorage to a place seven miles distant from Lewistown, and sent out their barges to procure water from the shore. Colonel Davis immediately despatched Major George Hunter, with one hundred and fifty men, to oppose their landing, which the major



did with much gallantry, and compelled them to return to their shipping. The Poictiers and the Belvidere then sailed out of the bay for Bermuda; and the militia took up the buoys, which had previously been set in the river by the enemy.

The Spartan frigate having entered the Delaware soon after the departure of this squadron, attempted, on the 31st of the same month, to land about sixty of her men near Morris's river, on the Jersey side, with a view to obtain provisions. A small party of the militia of that state, however, hastily collected and drove them off before they had an opportunity of visiting the farmers' houses.

In the month of June, the frigate Statira and the sloop of war Martin, reinforced the enemy, and had captured many large merchant vessels bound up the Delaware. The whole trade between the capes and Philadelphia, and many of the intermediate places, was liable to be intercepted; and, unless they were protected by a convoy, the small vessels usually employed on the river, did not attempt to sail. On the 23d, a squadron of nine gun-boats and two armed sloops, under Lieutenant-Commandant Angus, of the navy, convoyed three sloops laden with timber for a forty-four, then building at Philadelphia, under the eye of the enemy. The gun-boats engaged the two frigates, whilst the sloops effected their passage, and the Statira and Spartan moved from their anchorage to a situation out of reach of annoyance.

A merchant sloop having entered the bay on the 22d of July, on her return from sea, was cut off by the Martin sloop of war, which had just reappeared in the Delaware. The sloop ran aground to avoid capture; and although she was afterwards attacked by a tender and four barges well manned and armed, a hasty collection of militia with one field-piece, under Lieutenant Townsend, drove off her assailants, and saved the sloop.

A detachment of the gun-boat flotilla, being at this time but a few miles off, were apprized of the attack made by the sloop of war, and Captain Angus immediately proceeded down the bay, with eight gun-boats and two block sloops. On the 29th he discovered the Martin, grounded slightly on the outer ridge of Crow's shoals, and determining to attack her in that situation, he anchored his squadron within three-quarters of a mile of the

enemy, and opened a fire from the whole line. The Junon frigate came up to the assistance of the sloop of war, and anchored within half a mile below her. Between both of the enemy's vessels, mounting in all sixty-nine guns, and the gun-boat squadron a cannonade followed, and continued about one hour and forty-five minutes; in all which time scarcely a shot struck either of the gun-boats, whilst at almost every fire the latter told upon the hulls of the sloop and frigate. This difference of effect in the firing being discovered by the British, they manned their launches, barges, and cutters, ten in number, and despatched them to cut off the boats on the extremity of the line.

No. 121, a boat commanded by Sailingmaster Shead, which, by some accident, had fallen a very great distance out of the line, and was prevented from recovering its situation by a strong ebb, and the wind dying away, became the object of attack from the enemy's barges. Eight of them, mounting among them three twelve-pound carronades, and carrying one hundred and fifty men, assailed the gun-boat at one time. Mr. Shead continued, nevertheless, to sweep her toward the squadron, and to discharge his twenty-four pounder alternately at one or the other of the pursuing barges, until they gained so fast upon him, that he resolved to anchor his boat and receive them as warmly as the disparity of numbers would permit him. He then gave them a discharge of his great gun with much effect, though to the injury of the piece, which being fired a second time, and the carriage breaking down, it became necessary to oppose the enemy, who were closing fast, by the boarders. With these Mr. Shead resisted them, until his deck was covered with men, and the vessel entirely surrounded by the barges. Such was the impetuous fury of the English sailors, that the Americans were driven below, and the authority of the enemy's officers could scarcely protect them from violence. The flag was struck, and the boat carried off in triumph to the men-of-war.

In this assault the British lost seven killed and twelve wounded. On board the boat, seven men were wounded, but none killed. The squadron was all this time firing at the enemy's ships, who retired after capturing Mr. Shead, the Martin having been extricated from her situation on the shoal. On board the flotilla not

a man was injured, and but one of the boat's rigging cut; this was No. 125, commanded by Sailingmaster Moliere. The engagement continued nearly two hours, and was the last affair of any consequence which occurred in the Delaware during this year.

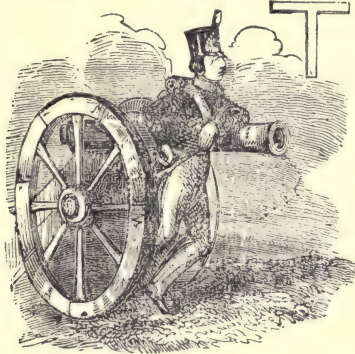
In and along the shores of the bay of Chesapeake, where the blockading squadron consisted of four seventy-fours, several frigates and large sloops of war, and a number of tenders and barges kept for the purpose of navigating the smallest inlets, depredations of every kind, and to a very extensive degree, were carried on with unremitted avidity. The various farms, bounded by the different creeks and rivers, tributary to the bay, became the scenes of indiscriminate and unjustifiable plunder. The stocks of many of them were completely destroyed; the slaves of the planters, allured from their service, armed against their masters' defenseless families, and encouraged to the commission of every kind of pillage. Along a coast of such an extent it was almost impossible to station troops to resist every incursion, or to draw out, and transfer from one point to another with sufficient celerity, even the neighbouring militia. But many instances occurred, notwithstanding, in which the invaders were opposed, and sometimes severely repulsed, by a handful of militia, collected without authority, and frequently without a leader.

On the shores of the Rappahannock, one of two divisions of the enemy was beaten and routed with loss, by a small party of Virginia militia. In the neighbourhood of Easton (Maryland) they took possession of several islands. From Sharp's, Tilghman's, and Poplar island, they obtained provisions for the fleet, and attempted many incursions to the opposite shores, their success in which was prevented by bodies of cavalry and infantry, which the spirited citizens of Maryland had arranged at different rendezvous along the shores of the bay, in anticipation of a visit from the blockading fleet.

The commanding officer of the fleet, Sir John B. Warren, was at this time in Bermuda, making preparations for its augmentation; and the vessels then in the bay were commanded by Rear Admiral George Cockburn. About the latter part of April, this officer determined on attacking and destroying the towns most



contiguous to the head of the bay ; and for this purpose, on the 29th, he led a few hundred of his marines, in the barges of his ship, the Marlborough, to the attack of Frenchtown, a place containing about six houses, two storehouses, and several stables ; and important only because of being a place of intermediate depot, between Baltimore and Philadelphia. A party of militia from Elkton, too inferior to the invaders to justify an attempt at resistance, retired on their approach, and Admiral Cockburn landed his marines and destroyed the storehouses, in which were deposited a quantity of goods belonging to merchants of those cities, of immense value, and a splendid architectural drop curtain and other paintings, belonging to the Philadelphia and Baltimore theatres. The marines being no professed admirers of the arts, these were destroyed without much hesitation. The private houses were saved by the interference of some respectable citizens ; and after plundering the others, and setting fire to two vessels lying in the harbour, the British returned to their shipping.



THE town of Havre de Grace, situated on the west side of the Susquehanna, about two miles from the head of the bay, and through which the great post-road passes, was the next object in the plan of the admiral's operations. On the morning of the 3d of May he proceeded to its assault with nineteen barges, and when within a short distance of the town commenced a tremendous bombardment, accompanied by the firing of cannon and the discharge of numerous rockets. In expectation of an attack from the enemy, the people of Havre de Grace had made preparations for the defense of the place, and a battery had been erected of two six-pounders and one nine.

At the time of the assault the inhabitants were in their beds, and there being no sentinels, the first notice they had of the approach of the enemy was from the discharge of one of his pieces. The battery had been assigned as a place of rendezvous in the event of an attack ; but such was the surprise which the presence



Attack on Havre de Grace.





of the enemy excited, and so incessant his discharges of shells and rockets, that five or six men only were fearless enough to repair to their breastwork and resist the approaches of the British barges. This small party kept up a fire from the battery until the enemy's advance commenced its debarkation; when all, except O'Neill, an old citizen of Havre de Grace, abandoned their posts, and following the militia, who had fled with shameful precipitation, left the women and children of the place to the mercy of the invaders. O'Neill continued, with great difficulty, to discharge one of the six-pounders, until in recoiling it ran over his thigh and rendered him incapable of further resistance in that way. But collecting all his strength, he armed himself with two muskets, and retreating from the battery to the rear of the town, vainly endeavoured to retard the flight of the militia.

In the mean time the whole body of the enemy had landed, and were actively engaged in destroying the houses. They set fire to those which had not been injured by their shells, broke the furniture, and cut open the bedding of the citizens to augment the flames; destroyed the public stages, maimed the horses, cut to pieces the private baggage of the passengers, tore the clothing of some of the inhabitants from their backs, and left to others those only which they wore. Women and children, flying in every direction to avoid a relentless foe, and to seek protection from their own countrymen, were insulted by the morose seamen and marines; and the only house which yet remained entirely uninjured, was sought by one and all as an asylum. In this, which was a spacious and elegant private mansion, several ladies of the first distinction had taken refuge, and among them the wife of Commodore Rodgers. An officer, who had just before made prisoner of O'Neill, was entreated to suffer this house, at least, to escape the general conflagration: but as he was obeying the orders of Admiral Cockburn, the most he could do was to suspend his purpose until those unprotected women could prevail upon the admiral to countermand them. The only act partaking of the least degree of humanity which the admiral could boast of on this occasion, was his compliance with these earnest entreaties.

Having spread desolation through the whole town, and destroyed the doors and windows of a handsome church contiguous

to it, the admiral divided his party into three sections, one of which remained in the town to give notice of the approach of danger; the second proceeded on the road leading toward Baltimore, plundering the houses and farms between Havre de Grace and Patterson's Mills, and robbing private travellers on the highway of their money and apparel; and the third went six miles up the river to a place called Cresswell's Ferry, whence, after committing many acts of outrage, they returned to concentrate their force at the place of landing. Here the admiral ordered them to re-embark, and having crossed the Susquehanna, the whole squadron of his barges made round the point which is formed at its entrance, and shaped their course three miles further up the bay, where the party relanded, repaired to those important and valuable works, Cecil furnace, where lay upwards of fifty pieces of elegant cannon, the only legitimate object of destruction which the invaders had yet met with. These they spiked, stuffed the muzzles with clay and broken pieces of iron, and knocked off the trunnions. Not content, however, with demolishing them and destroying other implements of war, they battered down the furnace, which was private property, set fire to the stables belonging to it, and as the last act of atrocity with which this expedition was destined to be marked, they tore up a small bridge constructed over a deep, though narrow creek, and over which travellers of every description were obliged to pass, or venture through a wider channel at the imminent hazard of their lives.

Having attained all the objects of this enterprise, the British sailors and marines returned to their shipping in the bay; and on the 6th they sailed from the neighbourhood of Havre de Grace, to the great joy of its distressed and ruined inhabitants. O'Neill, who had dared to resist them in the early stage of their proceedings, was taken on board the blockading fleet, and detained there several days. Such of the inhabitants as were not left entirely destitute, were deprived of those articles of property which could relieve others; and it became necessary to apply for assistance to the principal and most opulent town of Maryland. The citizens of Baltimore relieved the sufferers, and preparations were soon after made to rebuild the houses.

In the relation of such scenes as those which occurred at

Havre de Grace, it seldom happens that an account is to be given of the killed and wounded in an action. In the slight resistance which was made by O'Neill and his companions, however, the enemy had three men killed and two wounded. Of the inhabitants, one man was killed by the explosion of a rocket.

Fraught with the immense booty that he had brought away from Havre de Grace, and finding his sailors and marines to be elated at the facility which the prospect of an attack on other equally defenseless towns held out of enriching themselves, the rear admiral contemplated an early assault upon such as he should discover to contain the most valuable spoil. The treachery of some citizens of the republic, and the easy intercourse which he kept up with his appointed agents, such as are employed by officers on all stations, enabled him to discover the situation of those towns and villages along the bay shore with as much readiness, as he could be wafted by his ships from one point of assault to another. On the river Sassafras, emptying itself into the bay, at a short sailing distance from the admiral's anchorage, and separating the counties of Kent and Cecil, stood nearly opposite each other, the villages of Georgetown and Fredericktown, containing, either of them, about twenty houses. These had attracted the attention of Admiral Cockburn, and he determined on the possession of the property of the inhabitants. On the 6th, he therefore entered that river, with eighteen barges, each carrying one great gun, and manned altogether by six hundred men.

Fredericktown was his first object. At this place one small cannon had been mounted, and about eighty militia collected, under Colonel Veazy, on the approach of the barges. The latter commenced a heavy fire, and having discharged an immense number of langrage rockets, grape shot, and musket balls within a very few minutes, more than one-half of the militia fled. Thirty-five only, under the colonel, stood their ground. and worked the cannon with such skill, that the boats, whose fire was principally directed at the battery, suffered very severely. The invaders were gallantly resisted for more than half an hour, when they effected a landing, and marching towards the town, compelled the militia to retire. Colonel Veazy effected his



retreat in excellent order. Admiral Cockburn then marched at the head of his men to the village ; where, after having plundered the houses of their most valuable movables, he set fire to every building in the town. The entreaties of the distressed women and children availed not with the admiral ; and he would not quit the place until he had entirely deprived them of every refuge. Whilst the flames were raging in every part of Fredericktown, the admiral moved over Sassafras river to Georgetown, and demolished all the stone, and burned the wooden buildings. The wretched inhabitants of the opposite towns were left to console each other, and the enemy's squadron of barges, glutted with fresh spoil, retired to their shipping.

Succeeding this affair were several repulses of small parties of the enemy from the shores of the bay. Many attempts were made to land at the different farms, and the barge crews frequently assailed the planters' houses and took off provisions, clothing, money, and plate.

About this time, too, Admiral Warren issued a proclamation from Bermuda, declaring, besides the Chesapeake and Delaware, the ports of New York, Charleston, Port Royal, Savannah, and the whole of the river Mississippi to be in a state of rigorous blockade. From all these ports, however, notwithstanding the efficiency of Admiral Warren's force, the public ships of war of the United States, the private armed vessels, and numerous merchantmen were daily putting to sea. Prizes to these, which had been captured at immense distances from the coast, were continually sent into the harbours declared to be blockaded ; and neutral vessels did not hesitate to enter and depart at the pleasure of those concerned in them. Admiral Warren shortly after arrived in the Chesapeake with an additional fleet, and a large number of soldiers and marines under General Sir Sidney Beckwith. Between these officers and Admiral Cockburn various plans were designed for the attack of the more important assailable towns.

By the capture of the bay craft they were well supplied with tenders to the different vessels of the fleet ; and the strength of their armament enabled them to equip the craft in a warlike manner. The revenue cutter Surveyor, Captain Travis, was



Burning of Fredricktown.







assailed by the barges and tender of the *Narcissus* frigate, on the 10th of June, near York river; and, after a gallant resistance, was captured by a force nine times superior to her own. This cutter was transferred to the British service, and frequently employed in penetrating the narrow passes and rivulets along the shore. The depredations of the enemy, received about this time, however, a salutary check from several private armed vessels, which had been hired into the American service to cruise along the bay.



N that quarter the enemy's force consisted of seven seventy-fours, twelve frigates, and many smaller vessels; and from their suspicious movements and menacing attitudes, the citizens of all the surrounding towns became apprehensive of an attack. Hampton and Norfolk were thought to be their more immediate objects; and preparations were made

at the latter to man all the works which had been previously constructed. At Norfolk, the militia force very soon consisted of ten thousand men. At Hampton, a force of not more than four hundred and fifty men had yet been organized.

On the 18th three of the frigates entered Hampton roads, and despatched several barges to destroy the small vessels coming down James river. Two or three gun-boats being in the vicinity of that river, obliged the barges to retire, and communicated to the naval commander of the station, Commodore Cassin, intelligence of the approach of the frigates. The flotilla of gun-boats in Elizabeth river, on which Norfolk is situated, was then commanded by Lieutenant-Commandant Tarbell. The frigate *Constellation* was moored at the navy-yard opposite Norfolk, and it was determined by Commodore Cassin to man fifteen of the gun-boats from the crew of the *Constellation*, and to despatch them against that frigate of the enemy, which was reported to be three miles ahead of the others.

On the 19th, Captain Tarbell proceeded with his boats in two divisions; Lieutenant Gardner having command of the first, and Lieutenant R. Henly of the second. The prevalence of adverse winds prevented his coming within reach of the enemy until four P. M. of the 20th, at which hour he stationed his divisions, and commenced a rapid fire at the distance of three-quarters of a mile. The frigate opened on the boats, and the cannonade continued half an hour, to the great injury of the frigate, (the *Junon*,) when the other frigates were enabled, by a fresh breeze, to get under way to the assistance of their companions. Captain Tarbell was then obliged to haul off to a greater distance, still, however, keeping up a well-directed and incessant fire upon the enemy's whole squadron. The first frigate was by this time so much injured that her fire was only occasionally delivered; and, between the others and the gun-boats, the cannonade was prolonged one hour longer; in which time several heavy broadsides were discharged at the flotilla. Captain Tarbell then withdrew from the engagement, with the loss of one killed, Mr. Allison, a master's mate, and three of the boats slightly injured. The enemy were supposed to have suffered severely. The frigate first engaged was so much shattered, that the vessels which came to her assistance, were obliged to employ all their hands to repair her. In this affair the Americans had fifteen guns; the British one hundred and fifty and upwards. Captain Tarbell's conduct, as well as Lieutenants Gardner, Henly, and others, received the fullest approbation of the surrounding garrisons, and of the citizens of Norfolk.

The firing during this action being distinctly heard by the enemy's fleet in the bay, and fears being entertained by the admiral about the safety of the three frigates, thirteen sail of the line of battle ships and frigates were ordered to proceed to Hampton roads. In the course of the 20th, they dropped to the mouth of James river, where they learned the cause of the recent cannonade, and determined on forthwith reducing the forts and garrisons, on which the defense of Norfolk depended.

An immense number of barges were apparently preparing for an attack on Crany island, the nearest obstruction to the enemy's advances. Captain Tarbell directed Lieutenants Neale, Shu-

brick, and Saunders, each of the *Constellation*, to land one hundred seamen on that island, to man a battery on its north-west side, and disposed the gun-boats so as to annoy the enemy from the other.

At the dawn of the 22d, the British approached the island with their barges, round the point of Nansemond river, to the number of about four thousand men, many of whom were French, from time to time made prisoners by the English, and occasionally received into their service. The place at which they had chosen to land was out of the reach of the gun-boats, and when they had approached within a few hundred yards of the shore, the gallant Lieutenant Neale, assisted by Shubrick and Saunders, opened a galling fire from his battery, and compelled the enemy to make a momentary pause. The battery was manned altogether by one hundred and fifty men, including Lieutenant Breckenridge and his marines. An eighteen-pounder which was stationed at it, was fired with such precision, that many of the barges were cut through the middle, and would inevitably have carried down the crew, but for the immediate assistance rendered by the others of the squadron. Every attempt to approach the shore having heretofore failed, and the admiral's boat, the *Centipede*, upwards of fifty feet in length, and filled with men, being pierced in so many places, that she sunk as soon as she was abandoned, the enemy, whose seamen were falling in every barge, determined on returning to his shipping with as little delay as possible. But, even in his retreat, he suffered severely from the small battery.

Whilst this gallant resistance was made to his approaches from the water, by the naval division on the island, the enemy's troops, who had landed on the main shore, and crossed a narrow inlet to the west side, were warmly engaged with the Virginia volunteers. Previously to the movement of the barges, upwards of eight hundred soldiers had been landed by the enemy at the place above mentioned, and were already crossing the inlet, which, at low water, is passable by infantry. Colonel Beatty, who commanded the military division on the island, made instant and judicious preparations to receive the enemy. Under Major Faulkner, of the artillery, two twenty-four-pounders and four six-pounders, had been drawn up to resist them. One division of this battery was commanded by Captain Emmerson, and two



others by Lieutenants Howl and Godwin. The enemy's troops had not all landed when this cannon was opened upon them with great address ; and those which had not crossed the gulf, were compelled to retreat, by the velocity and precision of the fire. Those which had already gained the island, fell back to its rear, and threw several rockets from a house which stood there ; but they were very soon dislodged by one of the gun-boats, in which a twenty-four-pounder was brought to bear upon the house, and with great difficulty escaped from the island ; when, joining the troops who had been previously repulsed, they were all conducted back to the British fleet.

When that division of the enemy which was composed of his seamen and marines, had been foiled in its attempt to land, Lieutenant Neale gave directions to his intrepid sailors to haul up the boats which had been sunk, and to assist the British sailors and marines, who were making for safety to the shore. The Centipede was accordingly drawn up, and a small brass three-pounder, a number of small arms, and a quantity of pistols and cutlasses, taken out of her. Twenty-two of her men came on the island with her, and surrendered themselves as deserters. In this warm and spirited engagement, in which three thousand British soldiers, sailors, and marines, were opposed to four hundred and eighty Virginia militia, and one hundred and fifty sailors and marines ; the loss on the side of the invaders in killed, wounded, and drowned, was upwards of two hundred, exclusive of forty deserters ; on the side of the invaded, not a man was either killed or wounded.

By the gallant services of the defenders of this island the safety of the town of Norfolk was, for a time at least, secured, and to the intrepid bravery and indefatigable exertions of Lieutenant Neale and his companions, Shubrick, Saunders, and Breckenridge ; of Lieutenant-Colonel Beatty and his officers, Major Faulkner, Captain Emmerson, and Lieutenants Howl and Godwin, and two non-commissioned volunteers, Sergeant Young and Corporal Moffit, and the valiant men who assisted in the defense of the island, the gratitude of the citizens of Norfolk and the surrounding towns, Portsmouth, Gosport, and others, has been frequently manifested.

Immediately after this repulse of the British a conference was held between Admirals Warren and Cockburn, and Sir Sidney Beckwith; the result of which was a determination to revenge the loss they had sustained, and to facilitate the success of their next attempt by cutting off the communication between the upper part of Virginia and the borough of Norfolk. This communication they supposed to be entirely commanded by the small garrison at Hampton, an inconsiderable town eighteen miles distant from Norfolk, and separated from it by Hampton roads. Their troops, exasperated at the failure of the recent expedition against Crany island, were well disposed to retaliate the consequences of a repulse; and their commanders availing themselves of the intemperate spirit which was manifested throughout the fleet, resolved on forwarding an expedition against this weak position with the least possible delay. All things being ready upon their part, they proceeded on the 25th, three days after the late engagement, with upwards of two thousand men, in a large squadron of their principal barges. Of these, the 102d regiment, two companies of Canadian chasseurs, and three companies of marines composed the advance, under Lieutenant-Colonel Napier. The remainder of the troops consisted of royal marine battalions, under Lieutenant-Colonel Williams, the whole commanded by Sir Sidney. A number of launches and rocket-boats, filled with sailors, and covered by the sloop of war Mohawk, Captain Pechell, were commanded by Admiral Cockburn, and directed to take a station before the town to throw in the rockets and keep up a constant cannonade, whilst the troops under Sir Sidney should land at a distance of several miles below the town, and gain the rear of the undisciplined American militia. The plan of operations being thus arranged, the movement was commenced at the dawn of day, and with this irresistible force and equipment the enemy proceeded to assault a garrison of three hundred and forty-nine infantry and rifle, sixty-two artillerymen, with four twelves and three sixes, and twenty-seven cavalry, making in all a force of four hundred and thirty-eight men.

On the approach of that division of the enemy which was to attack from the water, Major Crutchfield, the commandant at Hampton, immediately formed his troops on Little England

Plantation, which was divided from the town by a narrow creek, over which a slight bridge had been previously constructed. The enemy's barges were approaching this creek and keeping up a fire of round shot, until they gained Blackbeard Point, when the four twelve-pounders were opened upon them with so much effect, that Admiral Cockburn thought it advisable to draw back and shelter himself behind the point. Thence he continued to throw his rockets, and twelves and eighteens, nearly an hour, without doing the smallest injury to the encampment; his shot either falling short of his object or going over it.

Meantime Sir Sidney had landed and was coming down the great road on the rear of the Americans, when Major Crutchfield being apprized of his march, had despatched a rifle company under Captain Servant, to conceal themselves in a wood near which the invaders would be obliged to pass. Captain Servant executed his orders with the utmost precision, and annoyed the advancing British column with great severity. But his force was too inefficient to sustain a contest of any length of time, and Major Crutchfield seeing that the barges would not approach until they knew of the arrival of Sir Sidney within the camp, drew out the infantry forces to the aid of the riflemen, and to prevent the enemy's cutting off his retreat. As this portion of the Americans were marching in column near a defile which led to Celey's road, they were fired upon by the enemy's musketeers from a thick wood at two hundred yards distance. Major Crutchfield immediately wheeled his column into line and marched towards the thicket to return the fire and rout the enemy. He had not advanced fifty yards before the British delivered him a fire from two six-pounders, accompanied by an unexpected discharge of rockets. Being now apprized of the danger of proceeding in that direction against ordnance with so small a force, he wheeled again into column and attempted to gain a passage through the defile in the woods, at the extremity of which Captain Servant with his riflemen had heretofore kept the British in continual check. His column, under the fire from the two sixes, was not formed with as much celerity as it had been displayed, but he succeeded at length in putting it in marching order, and proceeded to the defile. Captain Cooper, with the cavalry, was at



this moment engaged with the enemy's left flank, and notwithstanding the fatigue which his troops had already experienced in patrolling, he annoyed them so successfully, that the British general, augmenting the strength of that flank, issued a direction to cut him off. In this the enemy did not succeed, and Captain Cooper, drawing up his troops in a charging column, effected his retreat with great skill and intrepidity.

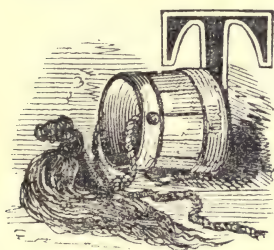
The column under Major Crutchfield had now gained, and were passing through the defile, under a constant fire from the enemy's six-pounders. It had just attained the wood, on the left of the riflemen, when a third six-pounder opened upon it, and in conjunction with the others, threw into confusion the different companies of which the column was composed. Several platoons immediately took up their retreat; but those which were nearer the head of the column, led on by Major Crutchfield and Major Corbin, wheeled with great judgment into the wood, and forming on the rifle corps, under their separate captains, Shield and Herndon, kept up the action with an unflagging spirit, until it was deemed necessary for the whole body to retreat. Captain Pryor, who had been left in the encampment with the artillery, to continue the fire upon the enemy's barges, resisted their approaches until the sailors had landed in front of the town, and the British troops were in his rear. They had already advanced within sixty yards of his battery; his corps were ready to yield themselves up as prisoners of war, and the royal marines were preparing to take them. They saw no possibility of escaping, until their gallant commander gave an order to spike the gun's, and break through the enemy's rear. Intrepid as himself, they executed his commands; and pressing furiously through the British marines, whom they threw into a temporary derangement, found their further escape obstructed by the creek. Captain Pryor still determined on retiring beyond the enemy's reach, threw himself into the creek, and commanding his men to follow, with their carbines, effected the retreat of his corps in good order, and without an individual loss. Such was the disparity of force, when the barge crews and the troops of the enemy had effected a union, that the retreat of the whole American detachment became indispensable, and Major Crutchfield gave an order

to that effect. The British general pursued the retreating column about two miles, without effecting any purpose, though the latter frequently halted, formed behind fences, and delivered a smart fire.

The American loss in this action amounted to seven killed, twelve wounded, eleven missing, and one prisoner—total, thirty-one. The British loss, by the acknowledgment of many of their officers, amounted to ninety killed, and one hundred and twenty wounded—total, two hundred and ten. Among these were one colonel and one captain of marines, killed; and three lieutenants, wounded. Admiral Warren's official letter, however, allows but five killed, thirty-three wounded, and ten missing—total, forty-eight.

If the account of the affair at Hampton could be closed, by no further reference than to the gallantry of Captains Ashly, Cary, Miller, and Brown, of the militia; Captain Goodall, of the United States artillery, and Lieutenants Anderson, Armistead, and Jones, who were all conspicuously engaged in it, a painful recital would have been spared of occurrences disgraceful to the arms of the enemy, unjustified by the principles of civilized warfare, and unparalleled even by the enormities committed on the north-western frontier. The troops under Sir Sidney, and the sailors under Admiral Cockburn, no sooner found themselves in possession of the town of Hampton, than they indulged in a system of pillage, not less indiscriminate than that which had attended the visit of most of the same men to Havre de Grace. To these acts of cruelty and oppression upon the unresisting and innocent inhabitants, they added others of the most atrocious and lawless nature, the occurrence of which has been proved by the solemn affirmation of the most respectable people of that country. Age, innocence, nor sex, could protect the inhabitants, whose inability to escape obliged them to throw themselves upon the mercy of the conquerors. The persons of the women were indiscriminately violated. The brutal desire of an abandoned and profligate soldiery were gratified, within the view of those who alone possessed the power and authority to restrain them; and many of the unfortunate females, who had extricated themselves from one party, were pursued, overtaken, and possessed by

another. Wives were torn from the sides of their wounded husbands; mothers and daughters stripped of their clothing in the presence of each other; and those who had fled to the river side, and as a last refuge had plunged into the water, with their infant children in their arms, were driven again, at the point of the bayonet, upon the shore, where neither their own entreaties and exertions, nor the cries of their offspring, could restrain the remorseless cruelty of the insatiable enemy, who paraded the victim of his lust through the public streets of the town. An old man, whose infirmities had drawn him to the very brink of the grave, was murdered in the arms of his wife, almost as infirm as himself, and her remonstrance was followed by the discharge of a pistol into her breast. The wounded militia who had crawled from the field of battle to the military hospital, were treated with no kind of tenderness, even by the enemy's officers, and the common wants of nature were rigorously denied to them. To these transcendant enormities, were added the wanton and profligate destruction not only of the medical stores, but of the physician's drug-rooms and laboratories; from which only, those who had been wounded in battle, and those upon whose persons these outrages had been committed, could obtain that assistance, without which, they must inevitably suffer the severest privations.



TWO days and nights were thus consumed by the British soldiers, sailors, and marines, and their separate commanders were all that time quartered in the only house, the furniture and interior decorations of which escaped destruction. On the morning of the 27th, at sunrise, apprehensions being entertained of an attack from the neighbouring militia, whom, it was reasonably conjectured, the recital of these transactions would rouse into immediate action, the British forces were ordered to embark; and, in the course of that morning, they departed from the devoted town, which will immemorially testify to the unprovoked and unrelenting cruelty of the British troops. They had previously carried off the ordnance which had been employed in the defense of the town, as trophies of their victory; but, when



they determined on withdrawing from the place, they moved away with such precipitation, that several hundred weight of provisions, a quantity of muskets and ammunition, and some of their men were left behind, and captured on the following day by Captain Cooper's cavalry. Having abandoned their intentions of proceeding to another attempt on the defenses of Norfolk, the whole fleet stood down to a position at New Point Comfort, where they proposed watering, previously to their departure from the bay, on an expedition against a town in one of the eastern states.

Such was the agitation of the public mind throughout Virginia, which succeeded the circulation of the account of the assault on Hampton, that representations were made to General Robert R. Taylor, the commandant of the district, of the necessity of learning from the commanders of the British fleet and army, whether the outrages which had been committed, would be avowed, or the perpetrators punished. That able officer immediately despatched his aid to Admiral Warren with a cartel for the exchange of prisoners, and a protest against the proceedings of the British troops, in which he stated, that "the world would suppose those acts to have been approved, if not excited, which should be passed over with impunity;" that he "thought it no less due to his own personal honour, than to that of his country, to repress and punish every excess;" that "it would depend on him (Warren) whether the evils inseparable from a state of war, should, in future operations, be tempered by the mildness of civilized life, or under the admiral's authority, be aggravated by all the fiend-like passions which could be instilled into them." To this protest Admiral Warren replied, that he would refer it to Sir Sidney Beckwith, to whose discretion he submitted the necessity of an answer. Sir Sidney not only freely avowed, but justified the commission of the excesses complained of; and induced the American commander to believe the report of deserters, that a promise had been made to the fleet of individual bounty, of the plunder of the town, and of permission to commit the same acts, if they succeeded in the capture of Norfolk.

Sir Sidney stated that "*the excesses at Hampton, of which General Taylor complained, were occasioned by a proceeding at Crany island.*" That on the recent attack on that place the

troops in a barge which had been sunk by the fire of the American guns, had been fired on by a party of Americans, who waded out and shot these poor fellows while clinging to the wreck of the boat, and *that with a feeling natural to such a proceeding the men of that corps landed at Hampton.*" The British general expressed also a wish that such scenes should not occur again, and that the subject might be entirely at rest. The American general, however, alive to the reputation of the arms of his country, refused to let it rest, and immediately instituted a court of inquiry, composed of old and unprejudiced officers. The result of a long and careful investigation which was forwarded to Sir Sidney Beckwith, was that none of the enemy had been fired on after the wreck of the barge, except a soldier who had attempted to escape to that division of the British troops which had landed, that he was not killed, and that so far from shooting either of those unfortunate men, the American troops had waded out to their assistance. To this report Sir Sidney never deemed it necessary to reply, and the outrages at Hampton are still unatoned. Many of the unhappy victims died of wounds and bruises inflicted on them in their struggles to escape, which baffled the medical skill of the surrounding country.





## CHAPTER XV.

*Operations of the British in Long Island Sound.*

RELINQUISHING the contemplated attack upon one of the eastern ports, and adopting a plan of operations against the towns and harbours to the southward of those which had already been assailed, Admiral Warren detached the largest proportion of his fleet, under Rear-Admiral Cockburn, to proceed on an expedition against Ocracoke and Portsmouth, two flourishing harbours in the state of North Carolina. Early in July, a force of eleven sail appeared off the first of those places, and on the 13th of that month, the rear-admiral crossed the bar with a great number of barges, attacked two letters of marque, the *Anaconda* of New York, and the *Atlas* of Philadelphia, and after being gallantly resisted by the small crews of those vessels, carried them by boarding. The revenue cutter, which was then in the harbour, effected her escape, conveyed intelligence to Newbern of the approach of the enemy, and thus frustrated the remainder of the admiral's plans. About three thousand men were then landed at Portsmouth, where they destroyed the private property of the inhabitants, and treated the place with no more forbearance than they had shown at Georgetown and Fredericktown. The collector of the customs was seized and taken on board the fleet, and



the building destroyed in which his office was contained. After remaining two days in possession of these places, the enemy returned to his shipping, and not feeling himself competent to the attack on Newbern, now that its citizens were preparing to receive him, he departed with his squadron from Ocracoke, and sailed again for Chesapeake bay.

The fleet, which had been keeping up the blockade in those waters, had been divided by Admiral Warren, and the different vessels distributed along the coast, from New London to Cape Henry, to watch the entrances to the harbours of Connecticut, New York, and the Delaware. In the Chesapeake, no further assaults were made upon the villages; but the farmhouses, the neighbouring country seats, and the stock upon the lands, and the numerous islands which could be approached by the smallest barges, were indiscriminately plundered. Such islands were taken possession of as afforded quarters for the troops, and frequent excursions made from them against the defenseless landholders, in their vicinity.



ON the 14th, the United States schooners Scorpion and Asp, being under way from the mouth of Yeocomico river, were pursued by two of the enemy's sloops of war, and, finding it impossible for both vessels to escape through the bay, the Scorpion continued her course, while the Asp, a dull sailing vessel, returned to the river, and was run into Kinsale creek by her commander, Sailingmaster Segourney. The enemy's vessels anchored near the bar, and despatched three barges, filled with armed men, to assault and carry her. As these were approaching, Mr. Segourney opened a well-directed fire, and compelled them, in a little time, to return. Reinforced, however, by two other barges, manned in like manner, they again approached the schooner, and carried her by boarding, though obstinately resisted by her little crew, to whom they refused to show quarter. Her commander had been shot through the body by a musket ball, and was sitting on the deck against the mast, when they carried her, and brought down her colours. In this attitude, and suffering under the severity of his wound, he was, at that moment, animating his men to repel the boarders, when

one of the British marines stepped up and shot him through the head. He expired instantly, and the next officer, Mr. M'Clintock, seeing what would be the probable fate of the whole crew, ordered his men to save themselves by flight. Those who had not previously been wounded, reached the shore in safety; and the enemy having set fire to the schooner, returned to the squadron, though not before they had been fired upon by a collection of militia, who retook the vessel, and extinguished the flames.

The Poitiers, seventy-four, still commanded by Sir John P. Beresford, had been stationed for several weeks at Sandy Hook, for the purpose of blockading the harbour of New York. Numbers of small vessels had been daily captured by her, and one of them, the sloop *Eagle*, was converted into a tender to the line of battle ship, manned with two officers and eleven marines, and equipped with a thirty-two brass howitzer. She was constantly employed in the pursuit and capture of the coasters, and had already committed various depredations. Commodore Jacob Lewis, who commanded a flotilla of thirty sail of gun-boats, determined on protecting the fishing boats and river craft, by the capture of this tender. He accordingly hired a fishing smack called the *Yankee*, and placing about thirty men on board, under one of his sailing-masters, (Percival,) and, supplying him with several articles of live stock, gave him instructions to proceed from the hook in the direction of the banks, with his armed men concealed in the cabin and fore peak. The sloop *Eagle*, upon discovering her at the hook, immediately gave chase; and, on seeing the live stock, ordered the man at the helm, Mr. Percival, who, with two men only on deck, was dressed in the apparel of a fisherman, to steer for the seventy-four, then lying at a distance of five miles. The fishing smack had her helm immediately put up for that apparent purpose, and, being by this means brought along side, and within three yards of the *Eagle*, her commander gave the signal, "*Lawrence*," and her men rushed up with such rapidity, and discharged so brisk and unexpected a fire, that the crew of the *Eagle* became panic-struck, and many of them ran below. Her commander Sailingmaster Morris, and one marine were killed, and Midshipman Price, and another mortally wounded. Percival's men were prepared for a second discharge, when a sailor

on the enemy's deck was seen creeping to the howitzer with a lighted match, one of the crew of the Yankee levelled his musket and shot him in the breast, and in a second after, the flag of the Eagle came down. The sloop and the prisoners were then taken into the hook, and delivered to the commodore, who proceeded with them to New York, where Morris and Price, who died immediately after landing, were buried by the naval and military authorities. Mr. Percival was promoted to the new sloop of war Peacock, and the brass howitzer was transferred to the quarter deck of the commodore's flag-boat.

In consequence of Commodore Decatur's having proceeded with the frigates United States and Macedonian, and the sloop of war Hornet, through the sound to get to sea from the eastward, and of his having been driven with his squadron into New London by a superior detachment of the enemy's ships, that port was rigorously blockaded by the Ramilies seventy-four, two frigates, and several smaller vessels, under Commodore Sir Thomas M. Hardy. Every effort to get to sea under the auspices of dark nights and favourable winds, having proved unavailing in consequence of the enemy's being continually apprized of the designs of the American commodore, he was blockaded for many months without a prospect of escaping, either by the ordinary channel or by the sound. Between detached parties from each squadron several affairs of minor importance took place during the blockade, and in one of them Midshipman Ten Eyck, of the United States frigate, made prisoners of two lieutenants, two warrant officers, and five seamen, in a house on Gardner's island. Incursions into the neighbouring states were frequent from the British forces; but though extensive numbers of shipping were destroyed, the conduct of the sailors and marines under Sir Thomas Hardy was not marked by the indiscriminate commission of unrestrained and wanton outrage, of which there were too many incidents on the coast to the southward, and the houses of the different villages, as well as individual property, were therefore, almost invariably respected. The general deportment of Commodore Hardy was that of a brave, humane, and gallant enemy, and had his conduct been emulated by other commanders. the horrors, and distressed conditions of a state of war would



have been ameliorated on both sides, and the necessity of many instances of retaliatory measures might never have existed.

During the winter months of 1813-14, scarcely an event of consequence took place on any part of the coast, or at any of the shores of the bay and rivers in which the enemy's vessels were anchored. The town of Killingworth, alone, had an opportunity of repelling three or four distinct attempts to land, and of beating off superior numbers in British barges.

Early in the spring of 1814, however, the enemy made several movements indicative of his intentions to pursue an active course of warfare. On the 7th of April about two hundred sailors and marines entered Connecticut river in a number of barges and landed at the town of Saybrook, where they spiked the guns at a small battery and destroyed many trading vessels. Thence they ascended the river to Brockway's ferry, destroyed all the shipping there, and amused themselves, without any apprehensions of an attack, upwards of twenty-four hours. In the mean time a body of militia had assembled, under command of a brigadier-general of Connecticut; one hundred men and several field-pieces were stationed on the opposite shore, and two pieces and a party of men on the ferry side below; Captain Jones, and Lieutenant-Commandant Biddle, of the Hornet, arrived with a detachment of sailors from the squadron; and every thing was arranged for the capture of the whole party of the enemy. The success of the plan was inevitable; the word only of the general commanding was waited for, and as he was making other arrangements than those adopted by these experienced officers, the enemy drifted down the river, with muffled oars, under cover of a dark night, cheered loudly when they had passed the town of Saybrook, and escaped to the squadron after destroying two hundred thousand dollars worth of shipping. Several shot were fired after them, but without effect.

About this time the Liverpool Packet privateer was cruising, with great success, against the American commerce in the sound, and had already annoyed the coasting trade to an enormous extent. Unless this cruiser was driven from the sound no coaster could sail from one port to another, with any assurance of safety. Commodore Lewis determined on an expedition against her. He

sailed with a detachment, consisting of thirteen of his gun-boats, drove the privateer from the mouth of the harbours in the sound, and proceeded to Black Rock, New Haven, and Saybrook.

At the latter place he anchored on the 23d of May, and found upwards of forty sail of coasting vessels lying there, bound eastward, but the masters of which were fearful of the privateer and the enemy's barges. The commodore was applied to for convoy; and, though he knew not whether he could yield any kind of protection against a frigate, a corvette, and an armed sloop, at that moment in the passage before New London, he took the coasters under convoy, and agreed to throw himself between them and the enemy. On the 25th he accordingly sailed with the convoy bound for New London, and at 5 P. M. came to action with a frigate, a sloop of war, and a tender, and continued the engagement until all the coasters had safely passed the enemy and arrived at New London. This being done, although the whole object of his attack was achieved, Commodore Lewis determined upon trying the further effect of his hot shot. The boats were each supplied with a furnace; and, whilst they were pouring hot balls into the enemy's sides, and frequently setting him on fire, they received in return, scarcely a shot from either of his vessels. Gun-boat No. 6 was alone injured; and, being struck between wind and water, was immediately grounded, to prevent her sinking.

The sloop of war had by this time withdrawn from the engagement; and the fire of the gun-boats was principally directed against the frigate. She was observed several times to be on fire; one shot passed through her very near the magazine, seventeen of her men were already killed, and a lieutenant and a great number of men wounded; and the captain was on the point of surrendering, when he discovered that the gun-boats had ceased firing. The night closed in immediately, was excessively dark, and the commodore found himself obliged to anchor his boats, and reconnoiter the enemy until next morning. He intended to board the sloop, but she was stationed between the two ships, and that project was therefore useless. At daylight, observing the enemy towing away their vessels and retreating, he instantly made signal for pursuit; but the report of the cannonade had

brought the whole British force, consisting of seven large sail, to their assistance, and the commodore abandoned his intention of renewing the action, and proceeded up the sound to New York, with the enemy in his rear, as far as Faulkner's island. The loss on board the flotilla was one man, by the recoiling of a gun. The frigate was supposed to be the Maidstone of thirty-eight, and mounting forty-nine guns; but several sailors who deserted from her and were in this action, reported her to be the Hotspur of the same force. The consequences of this engagement, and that which took place below Crany island, have occasioned much speculation about the utility of gun-boats. In each instance it was undoubtedly proved, that, under such circumstances as attended them, the gun-boats are capable of great annoyance to the largest ships of war. Commodore Lewis, whose activity and enterprise rendered him of all other men capable of manœuvring them to advantage, saved an immense amount of property to the mercantile interest of the country, by his repeated cruises with them in and near the sound.

But the operations of the immense naval armaments, which were maintained by the enemy before the ports of New York, Boston, New London, and the entrance to the sound, were not to be checked by a flotilla of boats, however well appointed, consisting in all of but thirty sail; and the whole eastern coast was therefore exposed to the ravages of the invaders. The towns and villages there were as exposed and defenseless as those to the south; but a degree of forbearance was manifested by the commander on this station, which prevented the commission of such extensive depredations. Yet an insatiable thirst for plunder, induced many of the British cruisers to seek the destruction of every species of public property, of the most flourishing manufacturing establishments, and of vessels carrying on a trade between the eastern and other ports; and the cupidity of the sailors and marines frequently led to the sequestration of private property. At the towns of Wareham and Scituate, they burned all the vessels at their moorings; and at the former, which they approached under a flag of truce, they set fire to an extensive cotton manufactory. But at a place called Boothbay, they met with a spirited opposition; and in several desperate attacks, re-



peated on different days, and with various numbers, they were repulsed with considerable loss, by the militia of the neighbourhood.

About the month of July the blockading squadron, under Sir Thomas Hardy, received instructions to assail and take possession, in his Britannic majesty's name, of Moose island, near the mouth of the Kobbeskook river, opposite to the province of New Brunswick, and on the western side of Passamaquoddy bay. This bay was adjudged, by the British ministers, to be within the boundary of their possessions in North America, and after the capture of Moose island, their forces were directed to occupy all the towns and islands within its limits. On the 11th of that month, Sir Thomas proceeded with the *Ramilies*, seventy-four, one sixty-gun ship, three sloops-of-war, and three transports, containing between fifteen hundred and two thousand troops, with an intention of surprising the town of Eastport, containing about one thousand inhabitants, and situated upon Moose island.

Against this force, no kind of opposition could be made by a small garrison, containing but fifty-nine men, forty-eight of whom only were effectives; and Major Putnam did not attempt to molest the troops, who had already landed. Formal possession was then taken of the whole island; the officers in the garrison paroled, the privates conveyed to the squadron, the fort, which then mounted but six small cannon, enlarged, refitted, and the battery extended to sixty pieces; and a proclamation issued by Sir Thomas Hardy and Lieutenant-Colonel Andrew Pilkington, in which they declared all the islands to have been surrendered by the capture of Eastport; allowed seven days residence to such inhabitants as should refuse to swear allegiance to his Britannic majesty; and appointed a day on which they were to assemble for that purpose. About two-thirds of the people submitted to these terms, under an expectation of retaining their privileges; but, in the month of August, the province of New Brunswick, in council, ordered that the inhabitants of Moose island should not be entitled to the rights of their other subjects, notwithstanding their oath of allegiance; but that they should be treated as a conquered people, and placed under the control of the military authority. Eastport was soon after well fortified,

and remained in possession of the British until the conclusion of the war ; before which period, however, their garrison was frequently weakened by desertions of large bodies of their troops ; the officers were often compelled to perform the duties of sentinels ; and the difficulties of subsisting the army and the people daily increasing by the extreme scarcity of provisions.

Having thus secured the possession of Moose island, and provided for its defense against any attempt to recover it by the Americans, Sir Thomas sailed to his old station, before New London. On the 9th of August he made signal for the *Pactolus* frigate, forty-four, the *Terror* bomb ship, and the *Despatch* brig of twenty guns, to weigh anchor, and sail with the *Ramilies* to the attack of the town of Stonington, which the commodore had been ordered to reduce to ashes. The appearance of this formidable force before a town, which possessed but weak and inadequate means of defense, excited an alarm among the inhabitants, which the message of Commodore Hardy, to move off the unoffending people of the place, was not calculated to subdue. But, having complied with the terms of the commodore's note, and disposed of the women and children, they repaired to a small battery, which had been erected, a few weeks before, and in which were mounted two eighteen-pounders and one six. Those who had been drilled as artillerists were stationed at these pieces ; the flag was nailed to a staff, and a small breastwork, which had been hastily thrown up, was lined with musketry.

Thus arranged, the handful of militia belonging to Stonington awaited the approach of the enemy with painful anxiety. Expresses were forwarded to General Cushing, of the United States army, commanding at New London, for a supply of men and ammunition ; and, to the neighbouring districts, for a hasty levy of militia.

At eight in the evening, five barges and a large launch, filled with men, and armed with nine-pounder carronades, approached the shore, under cover of a heavy fire of round, canister, and grape shot, and a discharge of shells, carcasses, and rockets. The Americans, reserving their fire until the barges were within short grape distance, opened their two eighteen-pounders upon,

and compelled them to retire out of reach of the battery. The enemy then attempted to land at the east end of the town, at a point which they supposed to be the most defenseless. This being discovered by the militia artillerists, the six-pounder was immediately transported to that side of the town, and the barges were a second time compelled to retire. They returned to their shipping, with a determination to renew their attack with more vigour at the dawn of the following morning. The bombardment, nevertheless, continued until midnight.

Before morning the enemy's squadron was augmented by the arrival of the *Nimrod*, eighteen-gun brig, and at the dawn of day the different vessels were stationed nearer to the town, the *Despatch* being within pistol-shot of the battery. The barges approached the shore in larger numbers and met with as signal a repulse as on the preceding night. One of them was shattered to pieces by the four-pounder on the east side of the town, whilst a cannonade was kept up between the eighteen-pounder battery and the gun-brig, which resulted in her expulsion from her anchorage. She had received several shot between wind and water, and was obliged to haul off and repair; the barges again returned to the shipping, and the five vessels drifted out of reach of the battery, made new anchorage, and continued to bombard the town during that and the following day. On the 12th Commodore Hardy, relinquishing any further attempt to reduce the town to ashes, and having already lost twenty-one men killed, and upwards of fifty wounded, ordered his squadron to weigh anchor and proceed up Fisher's island sound. The inhabitants of Stonington were released from their apprehensions about the safety of their dwellings, and the women and children, some time after, restored to their homes.

Notwithstanding the bombardment had been protracted to three successive days, and upwards of sixty tons of metal had been thrown upon the shore, not a man of the militia was killed, and the number of wounded did not exceed six. Among them was Lieutenant Hough, who, as well as Colonel Randal and Lieutenant Lathrop, greatly contributed, by their activity and skill, to the repulse of the enemy. Stonington contained, at the time of the attack, about one hundred houses; forty of these were injured by



the shot—but ten only materially—and but two or three entirely destroyed.

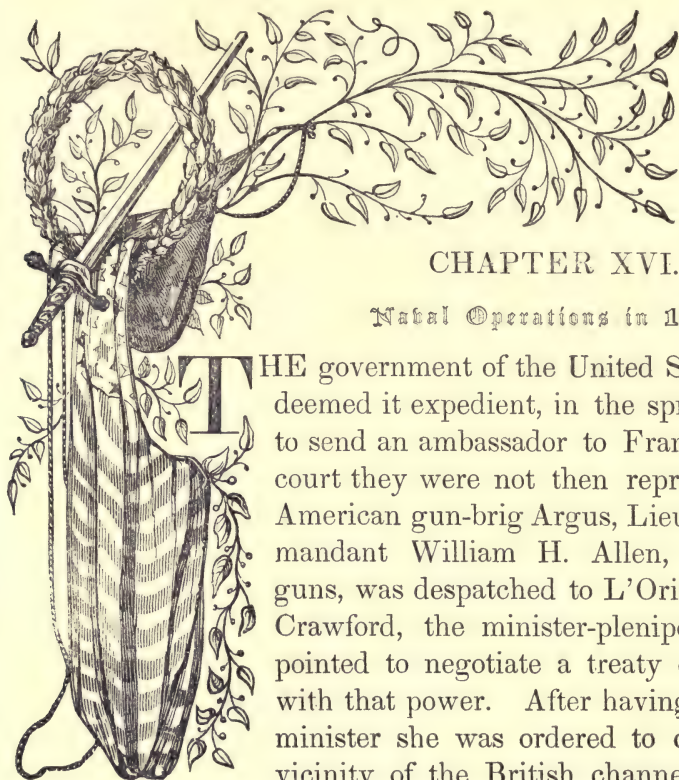


NOT content with possessing Moose island, and other islands of the bay, the British claimed, as a colony, all that part of the district of Maine lying to the west of, and between Penobscot river and Passamaquoddy bay, and instructions were also forwarded to Sir John C. Sherbrooke, the governor of Nova Scotia, and Rear-Admiral Griffith, commanding the naval forces within that province, to take possession of all that territory. These commanders entered the Penobscot river on the 1st of September; appeared before Castine, from which the garrison fled, after blowing up the fort, and which the British immediately occupied. A proclamation was then issued by the governor and the admiral, in which they claimed as the territory of his Britannic majesty, that part of the province of Maine east of the Penobscot, in which there were more than forty villages, and upwards of thirty thousand inhabitants. After possessing Castine many of these villages were gradually occupied, and ordinances were established for the civil and military government of the people. Castine, also, remained in the hands of the enemy until the conclusion of hostilities.

The United States frigate *Adams*, Captain Morris, had arrived in the Penobscot from a successful cruise, a few days before the occupation of Castine, and having run upon the rocks near that port, was obliged to be hove down at Hampden, thirty-five miles up the river, to have her damages repaired. On the 3d of September the British sloop of war *Sylph* of twenty-two guns, the *Peruvian* of eighteen, and one transport and ten barges, ascended the river, manned in all with about one thousand men from Castine, under command of Commodore Barrie, with a determination to capture the frigate. Captain Morris erected several batteries on eminences near his vessel, supplied the militia, who were without arms, with the ship's muskets, and made every preparation to repulse the enemy. Notwithstanding these judicious arrangements, and the readiness of the ship's crew to resist the enemy's attempts, the militia could not be brought to oppose an inferior

number of British regulars; and, flying precipitately from the ground, left no other alternative to Captain Morris than to surrender his crew, or destroy the Adams and retreat to Bangor or Kennebeck. Under the direction of Lieutenant Wadsworth of the ship, the sailors and marines retired in good order over a bridge which crossed a deep creek; but Captain Morris and a few men who remained to set fire to the vessel, having succeeded in blowing her up, was cut off from this retreat, and compelled to plunge into the river and effect his escape by swimming. Disappointed in the object of their expedition, the British returned to Castine, and conducted an incursive warfare against the towns in the vicinity of that port.





## CHAPTER XVI.

*Natal Operations in 1813.*

**T**HE government of the United States having deemed it expedient, in the spring of 1813, to send an ambassador to France, at which court they were not then represented; the American gun-brig *Argus*, Lieutenant-Commandant William H. Allen, of eighteen guns, was despatched to L'Orient with Mr. Crawford, the minister-plenipotentiary appointed to negotiate a treaty of commerce with that power. After having landed the minister she was ordered to cruise in the vicinity of the British channel, where she arrived about the middle of June, and continued to cruise until the same time in August. During this period she captured in St. George's channel upwards of twenty vessels, coasters and others, and excited a great degree of alarm among the towns upon the English coast. In consequence of her activity in making captures, and the danger to British vessels in passing through the channel, the insurance upon coasters could no longer be obtained in England, but at an amount very far exceeding the double premium; and though numerous vessels of war, of all rates and descriptions were floating at the docks, the *Argus* was allowed to maintain her cruise in this neighbourhood for two full months. The attention of the admiralty was at length, however, awakened; and, on the 12th of August, the sloop of war, the *Pelican*, Captain J. F. Maples, of twenty-one carriage guns, was ordered to cruise in search of the hostile stranger. On the 14th, at four A. M.





Cruise of the Argus.

by the light of a schooner then on fire, the two vessels were brought in sight of each other. The Argus immediately close hauled on the starboard tack, and made preparations to receive the enemy. Failing in every attempt to obtain the weather gage, Captain Allen, at half-past five, shortened sail, and waited for the Pelican to close. A few minutes afterwards, the Pelican displayed her colours; the Argus hoisted the American flag, wore round, and within grape distance, gave her a larboard broadside; which being returned, the action commenced within the range of musketry. At the first fire from the Pelican, Captain Allen fell. He was wounded severely in the leg, but remained on deck until several broadsides were exchanged; when, being quite exhausted by the excessive loss of blood, he yielded the command of the Argus to Lieutenant Watson, and was taken below. Meantime the Pelican shot away the main braces, the spring stay, gaff, and trysail-mast, of the Argus. At twelve minutes past six, her spritsail-yard, and most of the standing rigging on the larboard side of the foremast, were lost; and Lieutenant Watson received a wound in the head, which made it necessary that he also should be carried below. The command of the Argus now devolved on Lieutenant William H. Allen Jr., whose unremitting exertions frequently defeated the enemy's attempts to get into a raking position. At sixteen minutes past six, the Pelican edged

off, with an intention of getting under the stern of the *Argus*, but Lieutenant Allen, by luffing close to, with his main topsail aback, and giving her a raking broadside, completely frustrated this attempt. But, in two minutes after, she shot away the preventer main braces and main topsail of the *Argus*, deprived her of the use of her after sail, and thus causing her to fall off before the wind, succeeded in passing her stern, and ranged up on her starboard side. At twenty-five minutes past six, the *Argus* having lost her wheel ropes and running rigging of every description, became entirely unmanageable; and the *Pelican*, not being materially damaged, had an opportunity of choosing her position. She continued her fire on the starboard quarter of the *Argus*, until half-past six, when Lieutenant Watson returned to the deck, and made preparations to board the enemy. The shattered condition of the brig rendered that effort impossible; and the *Pelican* took a position on her stern, and gave her a raking fire for eight minutes, when she passed up, and placing herself on the starboard bow, continued a raking fire there until forty-seven minutes past six. All this while the commander of the *Argus* was endeavouring, without effect, to bring her guns to bear; and, having nothing but musketry to oppose to the galling and effective fire of the enemy, he determined on surrendering the brig: a measure, which, in consequence of the loss of several officers and many of the men, of the shattered state of the hull and rigging, and of the impossibility, under these disadvantages, of getting otherwise out of the combat, he would have been warranted in adopting much sooner. At the moment her flag came down, the *Pelican* was pressing to board her; and, being close along side, immediately took possession. Her loss amounted to six killed, and seventeen wounded; five of the latter died soon after the engagement. The loss of the *Pelican* was three men killed, and five only wounded.

Captain Allen submitted to an amputation of his leg, but every means of restoration to his health proved ineffectual; and, on the 18th, three days after the action, he expired in Mill Prison hospital, whence he and Midshipmen Delphy, who had both his legs shot from his body, at the same instant, and Edwards were buried with the usual honours of war.

Several United States sloops of war were, about this period, upon the stocks; and, it being necessary that their building and equipment should be superintended by experienced naval officers, commanders were assigned to them, previously to their being launched into their destined element. To restore to the American naval list the name of a vessel which had been captured by a superior force, after the moment of victory over another vessel, one of these was ordered to be called the *Wasp*, and the command given to Lieutenant-Commandant Blakely, at that time of the gun-brig *Enterprise*.\*

By this transfer the command of the latter vessel devolved on Lieutenant-Commandant Burrows, to whom instructions had been given for a cruise from Portsmouth. On the 1st of September he sailed from that place, steered to the eastward, and on the 3d discovered and chased a schooner into Portland, where he gained intelligence of several privateers being off Manhagan, and immediately stood for that place.

The British gun-brig the *Boxer*, of fourteen guns and nearly one hundred men, had been fitted up at St. Johns, (New Brunswick,) for the purpose of a combat with the *Enterprise*, mounting the same number of guns, and very nearly the same number of men. To the crew of the *Boxer*, however, a detachment was added from the *Rattler*, upon her arrival on the United States coast. On the morning of the 5th, the *Enterprise*, in the bay near Penguin Point, discovered the *Boxer* getting under way, and gave chase to her. The *Boxer* fired several guns, stood for the *Enterprise*, and hoisted four ensigns. Captain Burrows having ascertained her character, stood out of the bay to obtain sea-room; and, followed by the *Boxer*, he hauled upon a wind until three P. M. At that hour he shortened sail, and in twenty minutes the action commenced within half pistol-shot. At the first broadside, Captain Blythe was killed by a cannon shot through his body; and in a moment afterwards Captain Burrows fell by

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\* The *Enterprise* is the same vessel which, in 1801, was a schooner, in the Mediterranean, commanded by Lieutenant Sterrett. Under that officer, she engaged and captured in August of that year, during the Tripolitan war, the ship of war *Tripoli*, of fourteen guns and eighty-five men. In this engagement, she lost not a single man; whilst her antagonist had fifty of her crew killed and wounded.



a musket ball. The command of the two vessels during the whole engagement was therefore maintained by the lieutenants. Captain Burrows refused to quit the deck, and at four p. m. received the sword of Captain Blythe, from the hands of Lieutenant M'Call; expressed his satisfaction at the manner of his death, and expired about eight hours afterwards. The colours of the Boxer had been nailed to the mast, and her first officer was therefore obliged to hail Lieutenant M'Call, to inform him of her surrender before it was known that she was vanquished. She was immediately taken possession of and carried into Portland, with her masts, sails, and spars cut to pieces; and with twenty eighteen-pound shot in her hull. The number of her killed and wounded could not be ascertained, no papers being on board by which the strength of her crew could be known. Her officers admitted the loss of twenty-five killed, and fourteen wounded. The rigging of the Enterprise was much cut with grape shot, but her hull was not materially damaged. Her loss was one killed and thirteen wounded; among the latter, the captain and carpenter's mate, mortally. Lieutenant Tillinghast and Midshipman Waters, the latter of whom was severely wounded, behaved with coolness and determination; and Lieutenant M'Call who succeeded his gallant captain, sustained the reputation of the navy by his conduct throughout the action.

On their arrival at Portland, the bodies of the deceased commanders were deposited with the usual military ceremonies; and the prisoners were soon after removed to the interior. Both vessels were repaired with the utmost despatch; and the Boxer being considered the superior vessel, was ordered by the President of the United States to be delivered up for the benefit of the captors, and bought from them into the service.

By the fall of these young officers, Captains Allen and Burrows, the naval service experienced a heavy and almost irretrievable loss. Captain Allen had distinguished himself in a gallant manner, in the action with the Macedonian, at which time he was first officer to Commodore Decatur; and, not long after, received the approbation of his government by a promotion to the rank of a master-commandant, and to the command of the Argus. He sustained the reputation of a brave and courteous man, an



Captain Allen.

accomplished seaman, and a friend of unswerving integrity. Captain Burrows, whose intrepidity and fortitude instigated him to remain on the deck of his vessel, in the agonies of death, until he knew of the surrender of the enemy, possessed these inestimable qualities in no less a degree. The loss of such men was a fruitful source of sorrow to those who had been their companions in arms, and to those who looked up to them for examples of usefulness and heroism.

Between this period and the commencement of the year 1814, the cruises of the ships of war of the United States were not attended by any of those brilliant achievements by which they had previously, and have since that time, been marked. In the month of February of that year, the frigate *President* returned from a cruise of about seventy days. At the entrance to Sandy Hook, after having passed the lighthouse, Commodore Rodgers found himself in the neighbourhood of three large men-of-war, the nearest being the *Plantagenet*, seventy-four, Captain Lloyd

Being well assured of an attack from one or all of the enemy's vessels, he cleared ship for action; and, though his capture was inevitable, he determined not to lose the *President*, until he could no longer fight her. In consequence of the wind and tide being both unfavourable, he was compelled to remain in his situation seven hours, before either of them enabled him to cross the bar; and, in all that time, to his great astonishment, and to the surprise and mortification of the prisoners on board, no disposition was manifested to attack the *President*, though her character was known, and she fired a gun to windward, to signify her willingness to fight, since there was no apparent possibility of escaping. The tide having changed, Commodore Rodgers proceeded to New York; and Captain Lloyd, after returning to England, accounted for his conduct by alleging a mutiny in his ship, and had several of his sailors tried and executed upon that charge.

In the succeeding month of April, the *Constitution* frigate, commanded by Captain Charles Stewart, was also returning from a cruise commenced on the first of January. On her arrival on the coast, she was pursued by two British frigates and a brig, and chased into Marblehead. The excellent seamanship of her commander enabled her, with difficulty, to escape; and she reached Salem without injury. During her cruise, she captured the British public schooner *Pictou*; and fell in with the frigate *La Pique*, Captain Maitland, who fled on the approach of the *Constitution*. No effort was left untried by Captain Stewart to overtake and bring her to action, but she escaped in the night, after a long chase; and Captain Maitland, on his arrival in England, was complimented by the admiralty, for his strict observance of his instructions, in flying from an American frigate.

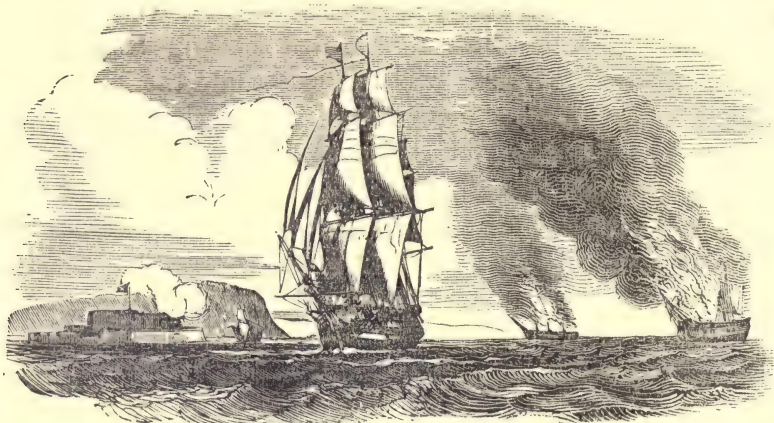
Repeated opportunities were about this time given to the enemy's squadron off Sandy Hook, to engage the gun-boat flotilla. A schooner had been driven ashore; and numbers of barges, well manned and armed, were despatched to take possession of her; but Commodore Lewis ordered a detachment of his sailors to land and protect her. With a small field-piece, and their small arms, they beat off the enemy, launched the



schooner, and carried her to her destined port, New York. A month afterwards, the *Belvidere* chased the brig *Regent*, laden with an immensely valuable cargo, close into the hook; when the commodore, whose station was constantly at that point, immediately gave signal for a detachment of his flotilla to follow him; and placing himself, with eleven sail, between the frigate and the chase, prevented her capture; and fired upwards of fifty shot at the frigate, which stood off, without returning the fire.

In a preceding chapter of this work, an account is given of a plan of a cruise in the South Seas, by a squadron composed of the *Constitution*, the *Essex*, and the *Hornet*, under Commodore Bainbridge. This cruise was broken up by the engagements of the *Constitution* and the *Hornet*; and as neither of those vessels was found by the *Essex*, at either of the appointed rendezvous, Captain Porter obtained such additional provisions as were necessary for a long cruise. He had received intelligence of the victory over the *Java*, and had been informed that the *Montague* had captured the *Hornet*. He therefore determined on prosecuting the original cruise with the *Essex* alone.

Previously to his departure from the rendezvous on the coast of Brazil, he captured the British packet *Nocton*, took out of her eleven thousand pounds sterling in specie, and ordered her with Lieutenant Finch to the United States. He then shaped his course for the Pacific, arrived at Valparaiso on the 14th of March, 1813, provisioned himself there, and running down the coast of Chili and Peru, fell in with a Peruvian corsair, on board of which were twenty-four Americans, detained as prisoners. Captain Porter immediately threw the guns of the corsair overboard, deprived her of all her warlike implements, released the Americans, and recaptured, near Lima, one of the vessels in which they had been taken. From Lima he proceeded to the Gallipagos islands, where he cruised from April until October; and in that time captured twelve armed British whale ships. The *Montezuma*, of two guns and twenty-one men; the *Policy* of ten guns and twenty-six men; the *Georgiana*, of six guns and twenty-five men; the *Greenwich*, of ten guns and twenty-five men; the *Atlantic*, of eight guns and twenty-four men; the *Rose*, of eight guns and twenty-one men; the *Hector*, of eleven guns and twenty-



Captain Porter's cruise in the Pacific.

five men; the Catherine, of eight guns and twenty-nine men; the Seringapatam, of fourteen guns and thirty-one men; the Charlton, of ten guns and twenty-one men; the New Zealander, of eight guns and twenty-three men; and the Sir Andrew Hammond, of twelve guns and thirty-one men; making in all one hundred and seven guns and three hundred and two men, and the total amount of tonnage, three thousand four hundred and fifty-six. Many of these vessels were pierced for eighteen, twenty, and twenty-six guns, and Captain Porter equipped several of them, and commissioned them as United States cruisers and store ships. The Atlantic he called the Essex Junior, equipped her with twenty guns, and assigned his first officer, Lieutenant Downes, as her commander. This officer conveyed such of the prizes as were to be laid up to Valparaiso. Here he learned that a British squadron, consisting of one frigate, two sloops of war, and a store ship of twenty guns had sailed for the Pacific, in quest of the Essex, and he immediately returned to Captain Porter with this intelligence.

The Essex had now been one year at sea, and, as she required many repairs, Captain Porter proceeded to the island of Noa-heevah, or Madison's island, lying in the Washington groupe; where he completely repaired the Essex; and, having secured three of his prizes under the guns of a battery which he had previously erected, and manned with twenty-one marines, under Lieutenant Gamble of that corps, sailed for the coast of Chili

on the 12th of December, and arrived there on the 12th of January, 1814. He then looked into Concepcion and Valparaiso, where he learned that the squadron of which he had been informed by Lieutenant Downes, was conjectured to have been lost in doubling Cape Horn. He nevertheless continued in the neighbourhood of Valparaiso, and was anchored in that port with the *Essex Junior*, when Commodore Hillyar, of the frigate *Phoebe* of thirty-six guns, mounting (thirty long eighteens, sixteen thirty-two-pound carronades, and one howitzer, on her decks, and six three-pounders in her tops) fifty-three guns, and having a complement of three hundred and twenty men; accompanied by the *Cherub* sloop of war, Captain Tucker, of (eighteen thirty-two-pound carronades, eight twenty-fours, and two long nines) twenty-eight guns, and one hundred and eighty men, arrived at Valparaiso. The *Essex*, which mounted (forty thirty-two pound carronades, and six long twelves) forty-six guns, and had her crew reduced by prizes to two hundred and fifty-five men; and the *Essex Junior*, which was not competent to resist a sloop of war, mounting twenty guns, and having on board sixty men, were thus blockaded by a force of eighty-one guns, and five hundred men.

After cruising at the entrance to the harbour for six weeks, the *Phoebe* hove too, fired a gun to windward, and hoisted a motto flag, with the words "God and Country; British Sailors' best rights, *Traitors* offend both;" in answer, as it was thought, to Captain Porter's motto of "Free Trade and Sailors' Rights." On the mizzen of the *Essex*, a flag was immediately hoisted, with the words, "God, our Country, and Liberty; *Tyrants* offend them;" and she got under way, and commenced a fire on the *Phoebe*. Captain Porter conceived the movements of the *Phoebe* to be intended as a challenge to engage him ship to ship; but, on discovering that the *Phoebe* ran down to her consort, he felt convinced that Commodore Hillyar would not engage the *Essex* alone. This conclusion was confirmed by the conduct of the two vessels, in keeping constantly within hail of each other.

Captain Porter having now learned that the *Tagus* and two other frigates had also sailed for the Pacific, in pursuit of him,



not knowing what time they might gain the squadron already blockading him, and seeing no advantages which his country could obtain by his remaining longer in port, determined on putting to sea; and expected, by drawing off the *Phœbe* and *Cherub* in pursuit of him, to afford an opportunity to the *Essex* Junior, to which he had appointed a rendezvous of escaping.

On the 28th of March, the day after this determination was formed, the wind came on to blow fresh from the southward, and the *Essex* parted her larboard cable, and dragged her starboard anchor directly out to sea; the occurrences which followed are thus described in Captain Porter's official letter :\*

"Not a moment was to be lost in getting sail on the ship. The enemy were close in with the point forming the west side of the bay; but on opening them I saw a prospect of passing to windward, when I took in my topgallant sails, which were set over single reefed topsails, and braced up for this purpose: but on rounding the point, a heavy squall struck the ship, and carried away her main topmast, precipitating the men who were aloft into the sea, who were drowned. Both ships now gave chase to me: and I endeavoured in my disabled state to regain the port; but finding I could not recover the common anchorage, I ran close into a small bay, about three-quarters of a mile to leeward of the battery, on the east side of the harbour, and let go my anchor, within pistol-shot of the shore, where I intended to repair my damages as soon as possible.

The enemy continued to approach, and showed an evident intention of attacking us, regardless of the neutrality of the place where I was anchored. The caution observed in their approach to the attack of the crippled *Essex* was truly ridicu-

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\* This letter, together with an account of the entire cruise of the *Essex*—of the possession of the island of *Noaaheevah*, by Captain Porter, in the name of the United States—of the intercourse established with the natives in behalf of his government—of the destruction of the enemy's commerce in those seas—of the immense expense which it cost the British government to pursue and capture the *Essex*—and of the transactions which took place between the different tribes of natives in the Washington groupe, and the fleet with which he appeared there, are to be found in a "Journal," published by Captain Porter, and accompanied by several engraved plans of those places, of the harbour of *Valparaiso*, and a view of the battle between the *Phœbe* and *Cherub*, and the *Essex*.

lous ; as was their display of their motto flags, and the number of jacks at their mast heads. I, with as much expedition as circumstances would admit of, got my ship ready for action, and endeavoured to get a spring on my cable, but had not succeeded, when the enemy, at fifty-four minutes after three P. M. made his attack ; the *Phoebe* placing herself under my stern, and the *Cherub* on my starboard bow : but the *Cherub* soon finding her situation a hot one, bore up and ran under my stern also, where both ships kept up a hot raking fire. I had got three long twelve-pounders out at the stern ports, which were worked with so much bravery and skill, that in half an hour we so disabled both, as to compel them to haul off to repair damages. In the course of this firing, I had by the great exertions of Mr. Edward Barnewall, the acting sailingmaster, assisted by Mr. Linscott, the boatswain, succeeded in getting springs on our cables three different times ; but the fire of the enemy was so excessive that, before we could get our broadside to bear, they were shot away, and thus rendered useless to us. My ship had received many injuries, and several had been killed and wounded ; but my brave officers and men, notwithstanding the unfavourable circumstances under which we were brought to action, and the powerful force opposed to us, were noways discouraged ; all appeared determined to defend their ship to the last extremity, and to die in preference to a shameful surrender. Our gaff, with the ensign and motto flag at the mizzen, had been shot away ; but *FREE TRADE AND SAILORS' RIGHTS* continued to fly at the fore. Our ensign was replaced by another : and to guard against a similar event, an ensign was made fast in the mizzen rigging, and several jacks were hoisted in different parts of the ship.

The enemy soon repaired his damages for a fresh attack ; he now placed himself with both his ships, on my starboard quarter, out of the reach of my carronades, and where my stern guns could not be brought to bear ; he there kept up a most galling fire, which it was out of my power to return, when I saw no prospect of injuring him, without getting under way and becoming the assailant. My topsail sheets and halyards were all shot away, as well as the jib and fore-top-mast-stay-sail halyards. The only rope not cut was the flying-jib halyards ; and that being



Commodore Porter.

the only sail I could set, I caused it to be hoisted, my cable to be cut, and ran down on both ships, with an intention of laying the *Phœbe* on board. The firing on both sides was now tremendous; I had let fall my fore-topsail and foresail, but the want of tacks and sheets had rendered them almost useless to us; yet we were enabled for a short time to close with the enemy; and although our decks were now strewed with dead, and our cockpit filled with wounded; although our ship had been several times on fire, and was rendered a perfect wreck, we were still encouraged to hope to save her, from the circumstance of the *Cherub*, from her crippled state, being compelled to haul off. She did not return to close action again, although she apparently had it in her power to do so, but kept up a distant firing with long guns. The *Phœbe*, from our disabled state was enabled, however, by edging off, to choose the distance which best suited her long guns, and kept up a tremendous fire on us, which mowed down my brave companions by the dozen. Many of my



guns had been rendered useless by the enemy's shot, and many of them had their whole crews destroyed. We manned them again, from those which were disabled, and one gun in particular was three times manned; fifteen were slain at it in the course of the action! But, strange as it may appear, the captain of it escaped with only a slight wound.

Finding that the enemy had it in his power to choose his distance, I now gave up all hopes of closing with him; and as the wind for the moment seemed to favour the design, I determined to endeavour to run her on shore, land my men, and destroy her. Every thing seemed to favour my wishes. We had approached the shore within musket-shot, and I had no doubt of succeeding, when in an instant the wind shifted from the land, (as is very common in this port in the latter part of the day,) and payed our head down on the *Phoebe*, where we were again exposed to a dreadful raking fire. My ship was now totally unmanageable; yet as her head was towards the enemy, and he to leeward of me, I still hoped to be able to board him. At this moment, Lieutenant-Commandant Downes came on board to receive my orders, under the impression that I should soon be a prisoner. He could be of no use to me in the then wretched state of the *Essex*, and finding (from the enemy's putting his helm up) that my last attempt at boarding would not succeed, I directed him, after he had been about ten minutes on board, to return to his own ship, to be prepared for defending and destroying her in case of attack. He took with him several of my wounded, leaving three of his boat's crew on board to make room for them.

The slaughter on board my ship had now become horrible; the enemy continuing to rake us, and we unable to bring a gun to bear. I therefore directed a hawser to be bent to the sheet anchor, and the anchor to be cut from the bows to bring her head round; this succeeded. We again got our broadside to bear, and as the enemy was much crippled, and unable to hold his own, I have no doubt he would soon have drifted out of gun-shot, before he discovered we had anchored, had not the hawser unfortunately parted.

My ship had taken fire several times during the action, but alarmingly so forward and aft at this moment, the flames were

bursting up each hatchway, and no hopes were entertained of saving her; our distance from the shore did not exceed three-quarters of a mile, and I hoped many of my brave crew would be able to save themselves, should the ship blow up, as I was informed the fire was near the magazine, and the explosion of a large quantity of powder below, served to increase the horrors of our situation. Our boats were destroyed by the enemy's shot; I therefore directed those who could swim, to jump overboard, and endeavour to gain the shore. Some reached it; some were taken by the enemy, and some perished in the attempt; but most preferred sharing with me the fate of the ship. We, who remained, now turned our attention wholly to extinguish the flames; and, when we had succeeded, went again to our guns, where the firing was kept up for some minutes; but the crew had by this time become so weakened, that they all declared to me the impossibility of making further resistance, and entreated me to surrender my ship, to save the wounded, as all further attempt at opposition must prove ineffectual, almost every gun being disabled by the destruction of their crews."

Captain Porter then summoned his officers of division to a consultation, but, to his surprise, his summons was attended by one only remaining officer, Acting-Lieutenant McKnight, who made the same report concerning the condition of the guns. Lieutenant Wilmer had been knocked overboard by a splinter, and was drowned; Acting-Lieutenant Cowell had lost a leg, of which loss he afterwards died; Mr. Barnewall, the acting-master, had been twice severely wounded; Acting-Lieutenant Odenheimer had been knocked overboard about the same time, and did not regain the ship until she had surrendered; many of the wounded were killed, while in the hands of the surgeons; the cockpit, the steerage, the wardroom, and the birth-deck could contain no more; and such was the quantity of shot holes in the bottom of the *Essex*, that, unless she was very soon repaired, the carpenter reported, she must inevitably sink. The smoothness of the water, and the impossibility of reaching the enemy with the carronades, enabled him to fire with the most deliberate aim at the *Essex*; and, seeing no hope of saving his little frigate, Captain Porter, at twenty minutes past six, P. M.,

gave orders to strike the colours. At this moment, seventy-five men only, including officers, were all that remained of the crew, fit for duty, and several of these severely wounded. The Essex had now yielded to the superior force of the enemy, who, nevertheless, still fired, and continued to do so, ten minutes after her surrender. Many of the crew were, in this time, killed; an opposite gun had been fired, to show that she intended no further resistance, yet Commodore Hillyar still assailed her, and four men fell at the side of her commander. Conceiving from this conduct, that the enemy intended to show no quarter, Captain Porter determined to die with his flag flying, and was on the point of rehoisting it, when the firing ceased.

In addition to the officers already mentioned, Captain Porter speaks of Messrs. Johnson and Bostwick, acting officers, of Midshipmen Isaacs, Farragut, and Ogden; and of acting Midshipmen Terry, Lyman, and Duzenbury, having behaved with much bravery, enterprise, and skill.

Such was the condition of both the *Phœbe* and the *Essex*, that it was with extreme difficulty they could be kept afloat until they anchored in Valparaiso. All the masts and yards of the two British vessels were crippled, and their hulls cut up. The *Phœbe* had eighteen twelve-pound shot below her water line, though the *Essex* never reached the enemy, but with her six twelve-pounders. All the vessels were obliged to be repaired, to double Cape Horn; and at Rio de Janeiro, they put in, to fit up and repair, to enable them to reach England.

In an engagement of two hours and twenty minutes duration, between one ship of forty-six guns, six only of which could be used, and two vessels of eighty-one guns, the loss on the inferior side must necessarily have been excessively severe. On board the *Essex*, fifty-eight men were killed, thirty-nine severely, and twenty-six slightly wounded, and thirty-one missing; making a total loss of one hundred and fifty-four. On board the *Phœbe* and *Cherub*, the loss was not small. The first lieutenant of the former was killed, and Captain Tucker of the latter, severely wounded.

Commodore Hillyar made arrangements with Captain Porter, in consideration of his conduct to the crew of the *Alert*; by



which the *Essex Junior* was to be dismantled of her armament, and given up to the prisoners, who were to proceed in her to the United States. Accordingly, on the 27th of April, Captain Porter and his crew left Valparaiso in that ship, which, under Lieutenant Downes, was furnished with a passport, to secure her admission into any of the blockaded ports of the United States. On the 5th July, they fell in with the *Saturn* razee, Captain Mash, who suffered the *Essex Junior* to proceed, after an examination of her papers. Two hours after, being on the same tack with the *Saturn*, she was again brought to, the papers re-examined, and the hold overhauled, by the boat's crew and an officer.

Captain Porter was informed that Commodore Hillyar had no authority to make any arrangement, by which this ship should be given up, and that she must therefore be detained. Captain Porter immediately ordered out a boat, manned it with a sufficient crew, and pulled off from the *Essex Junior*. The *Saturn* did not discover him until he was out of gun-shot, when she chased the boat, without success; and Captain Porter landed at Long Island, upwards of thirty miles from the place at which he left the *Essex*, and immediately proceeded to New York, where he arrived, after an absence from his country of nineteen months, and to which port he was followed a few days after by the *Essex Junior*.

The United States sloop of war *Peacock*, Captain L. Warrington, of twenty guns, and one hundred and sixty men, was launched in the month of October, 1813, performed a cruise during that winter, escaped the pursuit of the enemy into the *St. Mary's*, put to sea again, and on the 29th of April discovered the British brig of war *Epervier*, Captain Wales, of eighteen guns and one hundred and twenty-eight men, having under convoy an English brig, and a Russian and a Spanish ship, all of whom made sail on the approach of the *Peacock*. An engagement followed soon after, between the two vessels of war, and at the first broadside from the *Epervier*, the foreyard of the *Peacock* was totally disabled by two round shot in the starboard quarter. By this circumstance she was deprived of the use of her fore and fore topsails, and Captain Warrington was compelled to keep his ship large throughout the action, which continued forty two

Peacock and Epervier.







minutes. In this time she received many shot through her sails and rigging, lost several topmast and top gallant back-stays, and had two men wounded. Her hull not at all injured, and none of the crew killed. The Epervier struck with five feet water in her hold, her main topmast over the side, her main boom shot away, her foremast cut nearly in two and tottering, her fore rigging and stays shot away, her bowsprit much injured, her hull pierced by forty-five shot, twenty of which were within a foot of her water line, and eleven of her crew killed, and her first lieutenant and fourteen men wounded. She was immediately taken possession of by Lieutenant Nicholson, first officer of the Peacock, who, with Lieutenant Voorhees of the same ship, had been distinguished in another naval combat. One hundred and eighteen thousand dollars in specie were found on board the Epervier, and transferred to the Peacock; and Captain Warrington, having received on board the officers of the enemy's vessel, pursued his course to one of the southern ports, in company with his prize, after repairing her with the utmost diligence.

At half-past five, p. m., on the following day, being almost off the centre of Amelia island, Captain Warrington discovered two large sail in chase, which he ascertained to be frigates. At the suggestion of Lieutenant Nicholson, he took all the prisoners out of the Epervier, and leaving a crew of only sixteen men on board, directed her to make the best of her way for St. Mary's, whilst we stood on a wind along the shore, to the southward. The frigates then separated, one being in chase of the Peacock, and the other of the Epervier. At nine that night the Peacock lost sight of the chaser, but continued all night to the southward. At daylight of the 1st of May she shortened sail, and stood to the northward, discovered the frigate again, and was a second time chased until two, p. m., when the frigate gave up. In the evening she resumed her cruise, fell in with the frigate a third time, on the morning of the 2d, and was again chased until she lost sight. On the morning of the 4th, she made Tybee lighthouse, at the entrance to Savannah, and arrived at that port in the course of the day. Here Captain Warrington found his prize, the Epervier, which had escaped with great difficulty, after beating off a launch well manned and armed, which had



Commodore Warrington.

been despatched from the frigate to overtake her. Lieutenant Nicholson, by his judgment and decision, which had never been known to desert him in times of peril and difficulty, prevented her recapture. The *Epervier* was repaired, refitted, bought into the service at Savannah, and the command given to Captain Downes, of the *Essex Junior*.

The conduct of Lieutenant Henley, of Midshipmen Greeves and Rodgers, of Mr. Townsend, captain's clerk, and Mr. Myers, master's mate, is represented by Captain Warrington to have been cool, determined, and active. The sailingmaster, Percival, the same who captured the tender *Eagle*, off Sandy Hook, handled the ship in a very superior style, and placed her in such situations as were most advantageous, with much ease and professional skill.

The new sloop of war the *Wasp*, Captain Blakely, mounting twenty guns, having been completely equipped for a long cruise, sailed from Portsmouth on the 1st of May, 1814, between which time and the 6th of the following July, she captured seven



merchantmen, and a brig of war, the Reindeer, Captain Manners, of eighteen guns, and one shifting gun, and one hundred and eighteen men. This capture was made after an action of nineteen minutes, in latitude  $48^{\circ} 36' N.$  and longitude  $11^{\circ} 45' W.$  On that day, at fifteen minutes after four A. M., the Wasp being in pursuit of two sail before the lee beam, discovered the Reindeer on the weather beam, and immediately altered her course, and hauled by in chase of her. The pursuit continued until half-past meridian, when the Reindeer, having previously hoisted an English ensign and pendant, showed a blue and white flag at the fore, and fired a gun.

At fifteen minutes past one, Captain Blakely called all hands to quarters, and prepared for action. At twenty-two minutes past one, he tacked ship, and stood for the Reindeer, with an expectation of being able to weather her. At fifty minutes past one, the Reindeer tacked and stood from the Wasp. Fifty-six minutes past one, the Wasp hoisted her colours, and fired a gun to windward, which was answered. The chase was kept up until thirty-two minutes past two, when the Reindeer tacked for the Wasp, and the latter took in her stay sails, and furled the royals. Captain Blakely having now discovered that the Reindeer would weather him, immediately tacked ship, and at fifteen minutes past three, the Reindeer being on his weather quarter, at sixty yards distance, fired her shifting gun, a twelve-pound carronade, loaded with round and grape shot.

At seventeen minutes past three, the same gun was fired again; at nineteen minutes past three it was fired a third time; at twenty-one minutes past three a fourth time; and at twenty-four minutes past three a fifth time. The Reindeer not getting sufficiently on the beam of the Wasp, the latter was compelled to receive these repeated discharges without being able to bring a gun to bear. Her helm was therefore put a-lee, and at twenty-six minutes after three Captain Blakely commenced the action with his after carronade, on the starboard side, and fired in succession. The mainsail was then hauled up, and at forty minutes after three, the Reindeer's larboard bow being in contact with the larboard quarter of the Wasp, Captain Manners directed his crew to board her. The attempt was gallantly repulsed by the

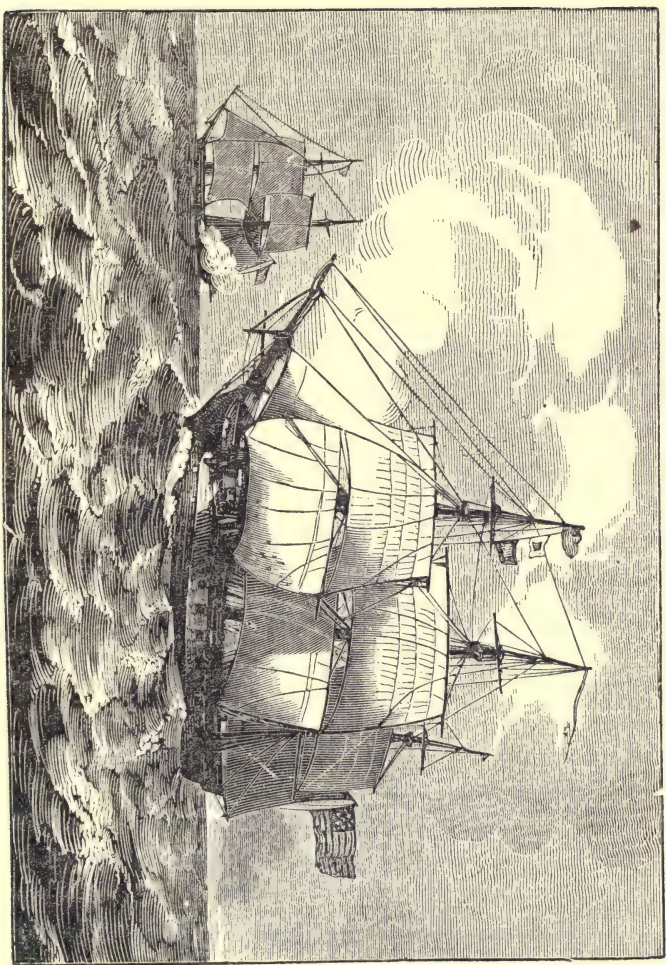


crew of the *Wasp*, who several times beat off the enemy ; and at forty-four minutes past three were ordered to board in turn. Throwing themselves with great promptitude upon the deck of the *Reindeer*, they succeeded in the execution of their orders, and her flag came down at forty-five minutes after three. In a line with her ports she was cut almost to pieces ; her upper works, boats, and spare spars entirely destroyed, and on the following day her foremost went by the board. Twenty-five of her crew were killed, and forty-two wounded, making a loss of sixty-seven men.

On board the *Wasp* the injury sustained was not so material. Her rigging was destroyed however in several places, her foremast was pierced through by a twenty-four pound ball, and her hull struck by six round shot and many grape, though not with sufficient force to penetrate far. Her loss amounted to five killed, and twenty-one wounded, principally in boarding. Among the latter Midshipmen Langdon and Toscan, both of whom expired some days after. Having received the prisoners and their baggage on board the *Wasp*, Captain Blakely blew up the *Reindeer* on the evening of the 29th, and sailed for L'Orient to provide for the disabled part of each crew, whose wounds had become offensive in consequence of the intense heat of the weather. He arrived at that port on the 8th of July, and found that their damage could be repaired by the carpenters of the ship in a few days.

In this action Lieutenants Bury and Reily, who had been in the engagements with the *Guerriere* and *Java*, and of Lieutenant Tillinghast, (2d) who was instrumental to the capture of the *Boxer*, maintained the high credit which they acquired on those previous occasions. And Captain Blakely, whose reputation as a skilful seaman and an expert navigator is not surpassed by any naval officer, had his crew so well drilled upon the principles of marine discipline, that they never despaired of vanquishing an equal force of their enemy.

In the port of L'Orient, the *Wasp* was detained by head winds until the 27th of August, having been anchored there fifty-two days. During this time every attention was given to her officers and crew by the inhabitants, and their situation in a foreign port



Wasp and Avon.





rendered particularly agreeable by the assiduities of the American minister.

After leaving that place and capturing two valuable British merchantmen, Captain Blakely fell in with a convoy of ten sail, on the 1st of September, under the protection of the Armada, seventy-four, and a bomb ship. He stood for them, and succeeded in cutting out of the squadron a brig laden with brass and iron cannon, and military stores from Gibraltar; and after taking out the prisoners and setting her on fire, he endeavoured to cut out another vessel, but was driven off by the seventy-four.

In the evening at half past six, he discovered two vessels on his starboard, and two on the larboard bow, and hauled for that which was farthest to windward. At seven she was made out to be a brig of war, making signals with flags which could not be distinguished, owing to the darkness of the night; and at twenty-nine minutes past nine, she was under the lee-bow of the Wasp. Captain Blakely ordered the twelve-pound carronade to be fired into her, and received a return from the stranger. The Wasp then ran under the lee-bow of the enemy to prevent her escape, and immediately commenced an action, which continued until ten o'clock, when Captain Blakely, supposing his antagonist to be silenced, ceased firing, and hailed to know if she had surrendered. No answer being given to this demand, he recommenced firing, and the enemy returned him broadside for broadside.

At twelve minutes past ten, the enemy having made no return to the two last broadsides, was again hailed to know if he had surrendered. Captain Blakely was informed that the vessel being in a sinking condition, her commander had struck his colours. The Wasp's boats were immediately lowered, when a second brig of war was discovered a little distance astern, standing for her. The crew were instantly sent to their quarters, and preparations made for another engagement. The Wasp was lying to for the approach of the second stranger, when at thirty-six minutes past ten, two other brigs were discovered standing also for her.

Under these circumstances, Captain Blakely was prevented from taking possession of his prize, and keeping off the wind,



Captain Blakely.

with an expectation of drawing the brig first discovered, after him, he ordered new braces to be rove, to replace those which had been shot away. His expectations were not, however, answered, the brig of war continuing in pursuit only until she was near enough under his stern to give him a broadside, and return to her companions. This she did, and cut the rigging and sails, and shot away a lower main cross tree of the *Wasp*.

The name and force of the prize has since been ascertained. She was the brig of war *Avon*, Captain Arbuthnot, of the same number of guns as the *Reindeer*, and sunk immediately after the *Castillion* (the vessel which chased the *Wasp*) had taken out her last man. According to the enemy's account, her captain was wounded in both legs, the first lieutenant and eight men killed, and the second lieutenant, one midshipman, and thirty-one men wounded.

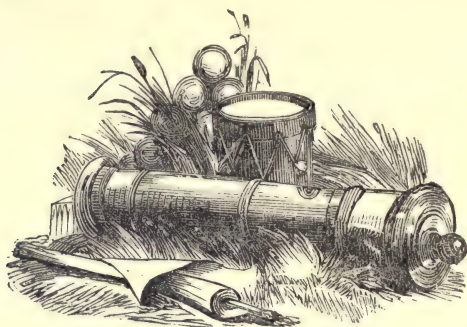
The *Wasp* received in her hull four thirty-two-pound shot, and in her mainmast a number of grape shot. Her sails and rigging were much damaged, but her loss in men amounted to two killed

and one only wounded. She repaired her damages on the succeeding day, and continued to cruise, in conformity with her instructions from the navy department. On the 21st of September, she captured off the *Madeiras*, her thirteenth prize, the British brig *Atalanta*, of eight guns, and the only one which she sent into port. This vessel arrived at Savannah in the beginning of November, under the command of Mr. Geisinger, one of the officers of the *Wasp*, with despatches from Captain Blakely.

The *Atalanta* left the *Wasp*, at sea, on the 23d of September, without knowing the destination to which her further cruise would convey her ; and, since that time, no official accounts have been received from her. Her cruise was theretofore most brilliant and unparalleled, her sailors all young, athletic, brave, and enthusiastic, and her officers among the most skilful in the service. She was never heard from after being hailed by the *Atalanta*, and her loss was deeply deplored by the whole republic.







## CHAPTER XVII.

### *Commencement of the Campaign of 1814.*



IN the winter of 1813, we left the northern army under General Wilkinson, in quarters, the right division being at Champlain, and the left and largest at French Mills. Between that time and the spring of 1814, several plans of attack upon the posts of St. Philip, L'Acadie and St. Johns, by the route of Hammerford, La Tortue, and St. Piere, and for a simultaneous movement against Cornwall, with a view to cut off the communication between the Upper and Lower Provinces, were submitted to the war department by the commander-in-chief. Before the propositions were received at the department, orders had been forwarded to Salmon river, directing the general to withdraw his forces from French Mills; to forward two thousand men, with a proportion of field and battering cannon, under General Brown, to Sackett's Harbour; and to fall back with the residue of the troops, stores, and baggage to Plattsburg.

In conformity to these orders, the flotilla in which the army had descended the St. Lawrence was destroyed on the night of the 12th of February; the barracks were fired on the succeeding day, and the troops abandoned their quarters and marched toward the several places of their destination.

General Wilkinson had scarcely reached Plattsburg before he was apprized of a movement of the enemy, with a view to the capture of a few sick men whose extreme illness rendered it indispensable they should be left in the hospital at Malone, a short distance from the Mills. He therefore determined on their expulsion from the territory, in time to prevent the achievement of their object, and having made proper arrangements for the convenience and comfort of the sick at their new quarters, he marched with all possible expedition to meet and repulse the enemy.

Colonel Scott of the 103d British regiment, commanded the expedition against French Mills and Malone, composed of two thousand regulars, Glengarians, and militia, and accompanied by nearly three hundred guides and followers. He crossed over to the Mills on the 21st, burned the arsenal at Malone, pillaged the property of individuals, and carried off several barrels of public provisions. But hearing of the approach of the American troops, he retreated in great confusion, though not without destroying the bridges in his rear. The whole party suffered severely by a tremendous storm of snow and hail, which prevailed at the close of the day, and lost upwards of two hundred deserters, who surrendered themselves to the American army.

During the following month, (March,) the troops were not otherwise engaged than in breaking up a system of smuggling, which had been carried on for several previous months, and which at this period was extended to an alarming and dangerous degree.

Towards the close of March, General Wilkinson determined on establishing a battery at Rouse's Point, where he had previously discovered a position well adapted for a work to keep in check the contemplated movements of the British fleet destined to operate upon the Lake Champlain, and which had been laid up during the winter at St. Johns, about twenty-one miles below the mouth of the La Colle, and twenty-six from Rouse's Point. After this position had been reconnoitered by his engineer, Major Totten, he made an attempt to carry this object into execution, but the sudden and unseasonable breaking up of the ice defeated the plan; and being informed that the enemy had taken

the alarm, and was condensing a force of two thousand five hundred men at La Colle Mill, four miles from Rouse's Point, he determined on the opinion of his leading officers, and a report that the walls could be effectually battered with a six-pounder to attack it. On the 30th he accordingly entered Canada, and was met by a party of the enemy at Odelltown, whom he forced back more than three miles, on the route to Montreal, in the course of which much skirmishing took place. He then resumed his march to La Colle Mill, a large and lofty fortified stone house, measuring sixty feet by forty, and at that time in command of Major Hancock, and a strong corps of British regulars.

To drive the enemy from this post, and to effect its destruction, General Wilkinson ordered forward an eighteen-pounder, and disposed his troops so as to intercept him in an attempt to retreat. The only road of approach being through a deep forest, almost inundated, and covered with insurmountable obstructions to the passage of a heavy piece of cannon, the eighteen-pounder could not be brought up, and the general determined upon attempting a breach with a twelve, and a five and a half inch howitzer. He took post with those pieces, under command of Captain McPherson and his seconds, Lieutenants Larrabee and Sheldon, at a distance of two hundred and fifty yards\* from the fortified house, and covered them with the second brigade composed of the 33d, 34th, 4th, and 10th regiments, and part of Colonel Clark's command, under Brigadier-General Smith, on the right; and the 3d brigade, composed of the 14th and 20th, under Brigadier-General Bissel, on the left. Colonel Miller was detached with the 6th, and 12th, and part of the 13th, to cross the La Colle, and form a line across the several roads leading from the stone house on the opposite side of the river, to cut off the retreat of the British regulars. Brigadier-General Macomb, with a select corps of the first brigade, formed the reserve. All these regiments were mere skeletons consolidated. This disposition being completed, the battery was immediately opened upon the enemy, who promptly returned the fire, and

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\* It is said Major, now Colonel, Totten, since ascertained that the Americans were within one hundred and fifty yards of the house, and that a breach could not have been effected with an eighteen-pounder.




threw numbers of Congreve rockets upon the right wing of the American line. From these manifestations of deliberate and circumspect preparation, the commander of the American forces was induced to believe the report that the number of the enemy amounted to twenty-five hundred; his strength was inferior to that, however, though competent under the cover of strong walls, to repel an attack from a much larger number of assailants.

The stone house stood upon that side of the river on which General Wilkinson had drawn up his line; a block-house of wood stood on the other; and both were encompassed by an open piece of ground, on the edge of a wood bordering upon which the Americans had taken post; every officer, therefore, from the lowest subaltern up to the commander-in-chief was exposed to the enemy's fire. Here the general made proper arrangements to keep his corps in order, to receive a combined attack, and continued to cannonade the house, but without being able to effect a breach, although the guns were managed with uncommon skill, by officers accustomed to their use. Captain McPherson had been already wounded under the chin; this wound he immediately bound up, and continued to direct the fire from his piece until a second shot broke his thigh, and rendered him unfit for further duty. His next officer, Lieutenant Larrabee, was shot through the lungs, and Lieutenant Sheldon kept up the fire with great vivacity, until the close of the engagement. The conduct of these gentlemen was represented by their commander to be "so conspicuously gallant as to attract the admiration of their brothers in arms."

Relying on the firmness and intrepidity of his troops, and seeing that the Americans were resolved on the longer maintenance of the cannonade, the British commander, Major Hancock, determined on sending a strong party from the house, to storm the battery, and put the assailants to flight. He gave orders for a sudden and immediate sortie, and several desperate charges were attempted upon the cannon. These were successively repulsed by the covering troops, and the enemy's regulars obliged to retire to the fortified building with considerable loss. They then shut themselves up in the house, and, convinced of their ability to retain their position, put at defiance the utmost efforts

of the Americans; and General Wilkinson being now persuaded of the impracticability of making an impression with such light pieces upon a solid stone wall found upon experiment to be of unusual thickness, called in his detachments, withdrew his battery, and having previously removed his dead and wounded, fell back to Odelltown, at about six o'clock of the same day. Thence he moved to Champlain and Plattsburg, at which latter place he established his quarters. The American loss in this affair amounted to one hundred and forty in killed and wounded, among the latter Lieutenants Green and Parker, of the infantry. The enemy's loss was known to be considerable in the sortie, but the amount has never been accurately ascertained.

Immediately after the incursion to La Colle, the whole regular force of Lower Canada, and a battalion of Glengarians from Coteau de Lac, were concentrated at Isle aux Noix, and a large number of batteaux collected at St. Johns. The former awaiting the movement of the British fleet, whose boats were employed in the daily examination of the ice on the lake, on the breaking up of which such movement depended. This event took place in the beginning of the month of April, and early in May the British flotilla entered Lake Champlain.

REVIOUSLY to their appearance on the lake, General Wilkinson had been recalled from that district, by an order from the department of the 24th of March. But being apprized of the equipment of the enemy's flotilla, and of their intention to blockade the mouth of Otter creek leading to the town of Vergennes, where the American fleet lay waiting for their armament, he, notwithstanding this order, visited the capes at its entrance, conferred with Commodore McDonough at Vergennes, and made arrangements to erect a battery and fortify that point. This precaution proved to be of incalculable service, and amply provided against an attempt to obstruct the passage of the American squadron into the lake.

On the 13th of May, not long after the battery had been constructed on the cape, a bomb vessel and eight large row galleys were stationed, by the enemy, across the entrance of the creek, with a view to its blockade, and to cut off supplies for a new ship

just then completing, and intended to be added to the American squadron. Captain Thornton, of the light artillery, was despatched to defend the battery, and Commodore McDonough placed a number of sailors, under Lieutenant Cassin, of the navy, to co-operate with the artillery. A new large gun brig, and several other galleys, being at the same time, about two miles in the rear of the bomb vessels, suspicions were entertained of the enemy's intention to land a detachment of troops, either to capture the provisions in the neighbourhood, or to assail the battery from the rear. General Davis, of the Vermont militia, immediately called out a detachment of his brigade, and made dispositions to resist an invasion. At daybreak on the morning of the 14th, the bomb ship opened her battery upon the new works, and continued the attack upwards of two hours, without doing any other injury than the dismounting of one gun. Captain Thornton, with his artillerymen, and Lieutenant Cassin, with his sailors, returned the fire with constant animation, compelled the enemy to withdraw from his position, and captured two galleys which the British seamen were obliged to abandon. The bomb ship, and the remainder of the galleys, stood off to the other vessels, and the whole squadron proceeded down the lake, passed Burlington, and had some skirmishing with a small body of militia under General Wright, who manœvered so well as to persuade the enemy that his force was much stronger. During the attack, Commodore McDonough attempted to bring the American vessels down the creek, but did not succeed in reaching the mouth, until the enemy had departed.

The enemy were not less active in their operations along the shores of the Lake Ontario; and the commanders of the rival armaments there, lost no time in preparing and equipping their vessels, to take the lake early in the spring. At the close of the preceding autumn, they had manœvered with uncommon skill, though not with equal success, the one to draw his enemy into an engagement, the other to avoid fighting, for the supremacy of the water, until his fleet should be augmented by an additional force. At Kingston, an immense vessel was building for that purpose; and, at Sackett's Harbour, a new ship was ordered of a sufficient size to maintain the existing equality. Whilst these



vessels were constructing, various plans were continually adopted to destroy them, and all the caution of one party became necessary to guard against the vigilance of the other. On one occasion, the 25th of April, three of the enemy's boats succeeded in getting close in with the harbour, when Lieutenant Dudley, of the navy, being the officer of the guard, detected and fired upon them. Each boat was provided with two barrels of powder, attached to each other by means of ropes, and intended to be placed under the stocks of the vessels. Upon being fired at, they immediately threw the powder into the lake, to prevent an explosion of their own boats, and pulled off without returning a shot.



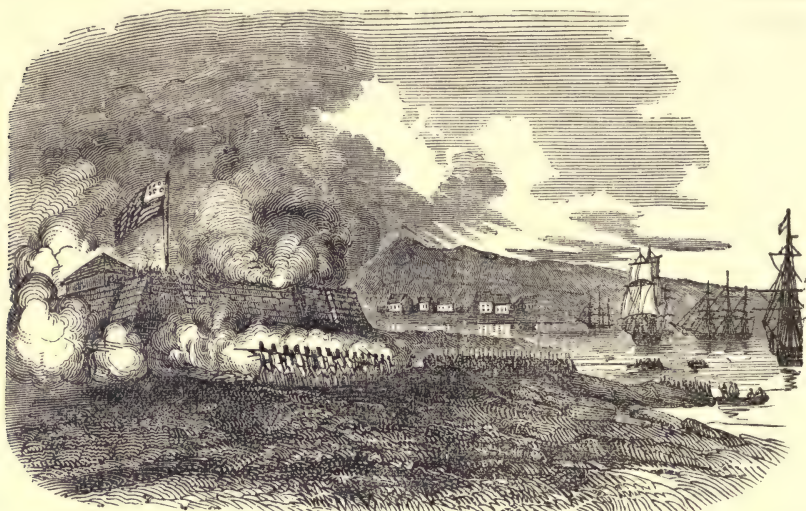
AILING in all his attempts to destroy the hull of the new ship, the British commander determined upon intercepting her rigging, naval stores, and guns. These had been deposited at Oswego, about sixty miles from the harbour, and thither Sir James Yeo and Lieutenant-General Drummond resolved to sail with the whole fleet, and a competent number of troops to land and storm the fort, and capture this valuable booty. Accordingly, on the 5th of May, Sir James appeared before the fort, with four large ships, three brigs, and a number of gunboats, barges, and transports. The transports principally contained the troops of Lieutenant-General Drummond. The successful issue of this expedition would have given to the British forces, for a time at least, a decided superiority on the lake, and without knowing that the stores had been previously removed from Oswego, they commenced an attack, which was kept up for nearly two days, the brilliant and unusual resistance to which did not, however, avail the American garrison. The fort mounted but five old guns, three of which were almost useless, and had a shore battery of five more of smaller weight. It had been garrisoned but a few days by Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell of the artillery, and two hundred and ninety men. The schooner Growler, having on board Captain Woolsey and Lieutenant Pearce of the navy, was at that time in Oswego creek, receiving the cannon which had not yet been removed. The enemy were no sooner discovered than the Growler was sunk to prevent the

capture of the cannon, and all the tents in store were immediately pitched on the village side of the creek, to persuade the enemy that the Americans were numerous. Under Lieutenant Pearce the few sailors of the *Growler* were added to the garrison; the shore battery was commanded by Captain Boyle, who was seconded by Lieutenant Legate.

At about one o'clock fifteen large boats, crowded with troops, moved at a given signal to the shore, preceded by several gun-boats which were sent forward to cover the landing; whilst all the larger vessels opened a heavy fire upon the little fort. The contest was kept up with great vigour and equal vivacity; the fort itself returned a very animated fire; and Captain Boyle succeeded twice in repulsing the debarking boats, near the shore battery, and at length compelled them to retire to the shipping. The whole squadron then stood off, and anchored at a distance from the shore; one of their boats, being sixty feet in length, and carrying thirty-six oars and three sails, was so much shattered that her crew abandoned her, and she fell into the hands of the American artillery.

Though the British were thus compelled to retire from the assault of the fort, it was by no means to be supposed that they had relinquished their intention of storming and possessing it. The immense superiority of their force and means would not justify such a supposition, and Colonel Mitchell was therefore particularly vigilant. He stationed picket guards at the different points of debarkation, kept his men upon their arms during the night, and neglected no measure of precaution. Mortified at so successful a resistance, by a force known to be so much inferior, and protected by weak batteries, the enemy determined to effect a landing under cover, as well of their large vessels, as of their gun-boats, and at daybreak of the 6th they approached the shore again. They were early discovered coming up under easy sail, and soon after the principal ship, the *Wolf*, and the other frigates resumed their position before the fort and battery, whilst the brigs, schooners, and gun-boats, proceeded higher up to cover by their fire the landing of the troops. The *Wolf*, and the frigates, kept up the cannonade for three hours, whilst the land forces, to the number of seventeen hundred, composed of





Attack on Oswego.

one column of the De Watteville regiment, led by Lieutenant-Colonel Fischer, on the left; a second column of a battalion of marines, under Lieutenant-Colonel Malcom, supported by a detachment of two hundred seamen under Captain Mulcaster, the second officer of the fleet, on the right, succeeded under a tremendous fire from the brigs and schooners, in gaining the shore, where their advance was resisted by Lieutenant Pearce of the navy, and a small party of seamen. The landing being effected, Colonel Mitchell withdrew to the rear of the fort, united with the sailors, two companies of artillerymen, under Captains Romaine and Melvin, and assailed the invading columns whilst the companies of Captains McIntire and Pierce of the heavy artillery engaged the enemy's flanks. Thus formed, he sustained a vigorous and desperate conflict upwards of thirty minutes, in which great slaughter was made among the enemy, and a severe loss experienced by the troops of the garrison. Against a force, however, which amounted to ten times their own number, it was found useless for the Americans longer to contend, and Colonel Mitchell accordingly fell back about four hundred yards from the enemy, where he formed his troops, and took up his march for the falls, thirteen miles in the rear of the fort, upon Oswego river, to which place the stores had been previously removed. He retired in such good order as to be able to destroy the



bridges in his rear, notwithstanding he was pressed by a numerous foe.

The enemy then took possession of the fort and barracks, but for the little booty which he obtained, consisting of a few barrels of provisions and whisky, he paid much more than an equivalent. His loss in killed amounted to seventy, in wounded, drowned, and missing, one hundred and sixty-five, in all two hundred and thirty-five. Among these were Captain Haltaway killed, and Captains Mulcaster, Popham, and Ledergrew, and two lieutenants and one master wounded. In the noble and obstinate resistance which they made, the Americans lost Lieutenant Blaney, an officer of high promise, and five men killed, thirty-eight wounded, and twenty-five missing, in all sixty-nine men.

On the morning of the 7th, the enemy, finding that the object of the expedition, though prosecuted with a force, including the ships' crews, of three thousand men, had not been achieved, evacuated the place after firing the barracks, spiking some, and carrying off others of the guns.

On the 9th, they returned to Oswego, and sent a flag into the village, informing the inhabitants of their intention of landing a large force, to proceed to the falls for the execution of their original plan; but on being assured by the people that the stores had been removed from that place, and that the communication was cut off by the destruction of the bridges, they quitted Oswego and stood for Kingston.

On the evening of the 12th, four ships, two brigs, and five gun-boats, of this squadron, were discovered shaping their course for Charlotte, a town near the mouth of the Genessee river. At this town, a corps of volunteers, amounting to one hundred and sixty men, and having one field-piece, had been stationed for its defense; and the commanding officer, on the appearance of the fleet, immediately despatched expresses to General Peter B. Porter, who arrived there early on the morning of the 13th. In answer to a flag which had been sent ashore with a demand for the surrender of the place, General Porter returned a positive refusal. Two gun-boats, carrying between two and three hundred men, then entered the river, and opened a fire upon the town and battery, which they continued, with little effect, for an hour and

a half. The commodore sent in a second flag, with a repetition of his demand, accompanied by a threat to land twelve hundred regulars to destroy the town. By this time the women and children were all removed, about three hundred and fifty militia collected, and dispositions made to cut off the gun-boats, if they should approach further up the river. Being well assured of the determination of his men to resist the landing of the enemy, General Porter repeated his reply to the commodore's demand. At eight o'clock on the morning of the 15th, the gun-boats retired to their shipping, after having thrown a great quantity of rockets, shells, and round shot, without doing any material injury, and the fleet took its departure from the vicinity of Charlotte.

In the evening of the same day, this force proceeded to Poultneyville, a village on the border of the lake, and demanded the peaceable surrender of the public stores. The inhabitants were incompetent to repel the invaders, and the British commodore landed a party of sailors and marines, who captured a quantity of damaged flour, and were committing depredations upon individual property, when the arrival of Brigadier-General John Swift, of the New York militia, with one hundred and thirty volunteers, put them to a precipitate flight. Their boats hastily pulled off to the fleet, when a vigorous cannonade commenced, and several old houses were pierced through by the eighteen and twenty-four-pound shot. The enemy did not attempt to reland, but soon weighed anchor, and being joined by other vessels of the squadron, steered for Sackett's Harbour.

Nine miles distant from the harbour the fleet cast anchor, in different positions, on the 19th, to enable them to cut off all communication between it and other places on the lake. The new ship, the *Superior*, a frigate of uncommon beauty and dimensions, had been launched there on the 1st of the month. Her equipments, for the capture of which the enemy had so vigorously assaulted Fort Oswego, had mostly arrived by land conveyances, and Sir James Yeo being ignorant of this circumstance, and supposing the Americans dependent entirely on their free and ready access to the lake, for the possession of these supplies, commenced the blockade of the harbour, with the sole view of intercepting them. Upon learning, as he afterwards did, that the new ship was re-

ceiving her armament, and equipping with great expedition, he broke up the blockade, and proceeded with his fleet to Kingston.

Some cannon and ordnance stores, intended for the vessels of the American fleet, had, in the mean time, arrived at Oswego, from the interior. Another new vessel, intended to be called the Mohawk, was then on the stocks, and to prepare her for the lake in the early part of June, these stores, as well as those which had been removed to Oswego falls, were indispensably necessary. To transport them by land would be attended with difficulties and delays, which recent experience had taught the American commanders to avoid; and Commodore Chauncey, finding now an unobstructed passage to the lake, directed Captain Woolsey to convey them, in a flotilla of barges, in which he could ascend the small creeks, if pursued by the enemy, to their point of destination. To give security to the passage of the barges, Brigadier-General Gaines, who commanded the land forces of the harbour, despatched Major Appling, of the rifle regiment, with one hundred and twenty officers and men, to co-operate with Captain Woolsey, in escorting the flotilla. The barges, nineteen in number, were then at the falls of Oswego, and previously to their movement to the lake, Captain Woolsey had caused a report to be circulated, that the naval stores were to be forwarded to the Oneida lake. The watchful enemy had several gun-boats at that time hovering about the numerous creeks, which discharge themselves into the Lake Ontario, and examining every cove, by the aid of which, small barges might elude their vigilance. On the 28th of May, Captain Woolsey, having previously reconnoitered the mouth of the Oswego creek, and finding a clear coast, brought his flotilla over the rapids, and reached the village of Oswego at sunset. Availing himself of the darkness of the night, he put into the lake, with Major Appling and his men distributed in the several batteaux. A small party of Oneida Indians were despatched to Big Salmon river, to meet the flotilla there, and to proceed along the shore to Sandy creek, in which Captain Woolsey's orders obliged him to make a harbour.

At the dawn of the 29th, after having rowed twelve hours, in extreme darkness, and under a heavy fall of rain, the barges arrived at Big Salmon, and were met by the Indians, commanded

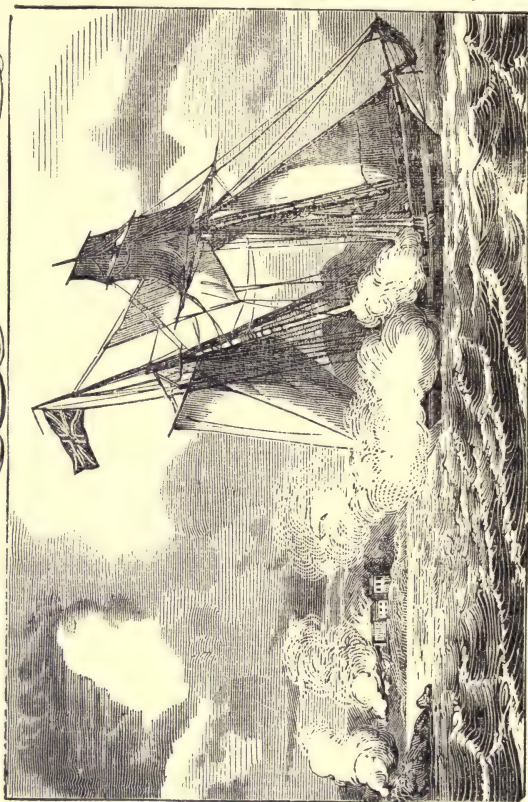


by Lieutenant Hill of the rifle corps. The flotilla then proceeded on its passage, and arrived, in the course of the day, at a point two miles up Sandy creek. Thence a look-out boat, under Lieutenant Pearce, was despatched on the 30th, to reconnoiter between its mouth and Stony Point. This boat was discovered by three gun-boats, three cutters, and a gig, under Captain Popham, and chased into the creek. No doubt being entertained that the enemy would pursue Lieutenant Pearce up the creek, dispositions were immediately made by Major Appling and Captain Woolsey to draw him into an ambuscade. He very soon appeared, and at eight o'clock A. M. commenced a cannonade at long shot. At ten he landed a party, and pushed his gun-boats and cutters up the creek, occasionally firing into the woods as he ascended. Major Appling, who had posted his men in a judicious manner along the bank, below the point at which the American barges were moored, then suddenly rose from his concealment, poured upon the enemy a rapid and destructive fire, and in ten minutes killed one midshipman and thirteen sailors and marines, wounded two lieutenants, and twenty-eight sailors and marines, and took prisoners the remainder of the party, consisting of two post captains, and four lieutenants of the navy, two lieutenants of marines, and one hundred and thirty-three men. The whole party amounted to one hundred and eighty-five. The gun-boats and cutters necessarily fell into the hands of the Americans, who had but one man slightly wounded.

A squadron of dragoons, under Captain Harris, and a company of light artillery, under Captain Melvin, with two field-pieces, arrived in the neighbourhood, at the commencement of the action, but did not participate in it. Major Appling was soon after brevetted a lieutenant-colonel, and his officers, Lieutenants McIntosh, Calhoun, Macfarland, Armstrong, and Smith, and Ensign Austin were publicly thanked by the commanding general officer at Sackett's Harbour. Captain Woolsey and his officers, Lieutenant Pearce, Sailingmaster Vaughan, and Midshipmen Mackey, Hart, and Caton, who had been ordered to Oswego to superintend the transportation of the cannon and stores, acquitted themselves in a masterly and courageous manner.

The cannon were soon after transported to the harbour, and





Burning of Dover.



the new frigate Mohawk, was launched on the 11th of June, and very speedily armed and equipped to join the squadron, which then consisted of nine vessels, carrying in all about two hundred and fifty-one guns.

The result of this affair was sensibly felt throughout the British fleet; it deprived them of a number of experienced seamen, and several valuable and intrepid officers, and they were compelled to remain in Kingston harbour, until their places were supplied, and the squadron enlarged by an immense new ship, then building there, and intended to carry one hundred and twelve guns. Commodore Chauncey sailed round the lake in the course of the month, and frequently stationed himself before Kingston, to draw out the enemy's squadron.

Until their new ship was completed, they determined, however, to remain in port, and in that interval no hostile event took place upon Lake Ontario. Nor, indeed, was any warlike attitude assumed in its neighbouring Lake Erie, or the Lake Champlain, before the commencement of the summer. From the borders of the latter, Lieutenant-Colonel Forsythe, of the rifle corps, on the 28th of June, made an incursion into Canada, as far as Odelltown, where an affair took place with a detachment of the enemy, from the post of La Colle. The colonel made an attack, retreated, and attempted to draw the enemy into an ambuscade, but in his zeal, discovered himself and his party too soon, and an engagement took place before the British were ensnared. Seventeen of their number were killed; among them the celebrated partisan commander, Captain Mayhue, who was shot by Lieutenant Riley. Colonel Forsythe, who had heretofore been a terror to the enemy, was wounded in the neck, of which wound he died a few days after, and was buried with military honours at Champlain. The command of this corps was then transferred to Lieutenant-Colonel Appling.

From Lake Erie, Colonel Campbell, of the 19th regiment, crossed over the lake with five hundred men, to Long Point, where he landed, and proceeding to the village of Dover, destroyed the flour mills, distilleries, and all the houses occupied by the soldiers, as well as many others belonging to the peaceable inhabitants of the village. A squadron of British dragoons sta-

tioned at that place, fled at the approach of Colonel Campbell's detachment, and abandoned the women and children, who experienced humane treatment from the Americans. Colonel Campbell undertook this expedition without orders, and as his conduct was generally reprobated, a court of inquiry was instituted to examine into his proceedings, of which General Scott was president. This court declared that the destruction of the mills and distilleries was according to the usages of war, but that in burning the houses of the inhabitants, Colonel Campbell had greatly erred. This error they attributed to the recollection of the scenes of the Raisin and the Miami, in the western territories, to the army of which, Colonel Campbell was at that time attached, and of the recent devastation of the Niagara frontier.

During these events of the winter and spring of 1814, the British had collected, in the neighbourhood of the river Thames, and at the Delaware town, situated upon that river, a very respectable force of regulars, militia, and Indians; and several expeditions were planned and set on foot against them, by Colonel Anthony Butler, who commanded the American forces in the Michigan territory. In the month of February, Captain Lee, who had been formerly a cornet in the Michigan dragoons, was sent into the vicinity of the enemy, with about fourteen mounted men. Many miles in the rear of the British forces, he made prisoners of several officers, and among them the famous Colonel Baubee, who commanded a party of Indians, and assisted in the depredations committed on the New York frontier. Captain Lee contrived, by his judicious management, to bring them over to Detroit without detection.

Upon their arrival there, Colonel Butler projected an enterprise, under Captain A. H. Holmes, of the 24th regiment, to whom he assigned the command of one hundred and sixty rangers and mounted infantry, and despatched him, on the 21st of February, against several of the enemy's posts. On the 3d of March, at the distance of fifteen miles from Delaware, Captain Holmes received intelligence that the enemy, whose force consisted of a company of one hundred men, of the Royal Scots, under Captain Johnson; forty-five of the 89th regiment,

under Captain Caldwell; fifty of McGregor's militia, and the same number of Indians, being in all two hundred and forty-six men, had left the village with an intention of descending the river. Captain Holmes's party had already suffered and been reduced by hunger and fatigue, and sixteen of his men, who were unable to march further, sent back to Detroit; with the remainder he did not deem it prudent to give battle to the enemy, without the advantage of the ground, and, therefore, fell back five miles, to a position on Twenty Mile creek, leaving Captain Gill with a rear guard of twenty rangers to follow.

This guard was overtaken by the enemy, and after exchanging a few shots, effected a retreat to the position which Captain Holmes then occupied. At Twenty Mile creek, there was a deep and wide ravine, bounded on each side by a lofty height. On the western height, Captain Holmes had established an encampment in the form of a hollow square, the detachment from Detroit being on the north front of the square, the rangers on the west, and the militia on the south, and all protected by logs hastily thrown together. The regulars of the 24th and 28th regiments were stationed on the brow of the height, uncovered. In this situation the Americans awaited the attack, and Captain Holmes, by the skilful and judicious manner in which he posted himself, compelled his superior enemy to commence it.

Early on the morning of the 4th, the British appearing in few numbers, on the eastern height, immediately opposite to the American camp, gave a loose fire and retired. Some time having elapsed without their reappearance, Captain Holmes despatched Lieutenant Knox, of the rangers, to reconnoiter them, who performed that duty with alacrity, and returned with an account that the enemy, whose number he judged to be not more than seventy, had retreated with such precipitation as to leave his baggage scattered on the road. This retreat was made for the purpose of drawing the Americans from the height, on which the British officer saw they were so advantageously posted. The attempt was attended by a partial success, for the American commander not being well assured of the strength of his adversary, descended from the camp, and followed him in his retreat. Captain Lee, who commanded the advance in this march, which



continued five miles, was fortunate enough to discover the enemy in full force, preparing for a resolute attack. The policy which had induced the British officer to draw the American from his strong ground, judging of it by its result, was founded in extreme weakness. Having succeeded in seducing him to a distance of five miles, he supposed that Captain Holmes, with an inferior detachment, almost worn out with the hardships of a fourteen days' march, and the severity of the weather, would pause and give battle to a body of fresh troops, superior in numbers and in discipline. He therefore never attempted to improve the advantage he had gained, by detaching a strong party to cross the ravine, above the road on which the Americans had marched, and to occupy the position which they just abandoned. By this act he would have cut off all communication in the rear, and compelled Captain Holmes to disperse his party in the wilderness, or to yield at discretion. In either of these cases the American detachment would have been destroyed.



CAPTAIN HOLMES fearing, however, that the enemy had attempted thus to cut him off, immediately retreated to the heights, re-established himself in his encampment, and a second time compelled the British regulars and their Indian allies to attack him on his own ground.

The rangers and many of the infantry, not knowing the wisdom nor the necessity of the measure, exhibited great marks of discontent at the retreat, and many of them refused to fight the enemy. But on his reappearance upon the opposite height, one impulse animated the whole detachment, which resolved on repulsing the assailants. The British commander then made a disposition to dislodge them, and throwing his militia and Indians across the ravine, above the road, he ordered them to commence the attack upon the north, south, and west sides of the encampment; whilst he charged down the road from the opposite height, crossed the bridge, and rushed furiously up the height occupied by the Americans, on their east or exposed side, with an intention of charging the regulars. This he did under a galling fire, which did not check his advances, until within

twenty paces of his object. There his front section being shot to pieces, and many of those who followed being wounded, his principal officers cut down, and the fire of the Americans increasing in vivacity, he abandoned the assault altogether, and took shelter in the neighbouring wood, at distances of fifteen, twenty, and thirty paces. Having arrayed his forces, he commenced a rapid fire from his cover, which was warmly returned, and increased on both sides. From those parts of the encampment protected by the logs, the rangers and militia fired with great coolness and precision. The regulars on the uncovered side, were directed to kneel, that they might be partially concealed by the brow of the height, and by these means were enabled to fire with more deliberation than their assailants.

After one hour's conflict, the British gave up all hopes of dislodging the detachment, and at twilight commenced their retreat. Captain Holmes did not pursue them, because they were still superior in numbers, and might draw him at night into an ambuscade, in a country much better known to them than to him; and, because he had already gained a sufficient triumph in repulsing and defeating the object of an experienced foe. The American loss amounted to six men killed and wounded. By their own official report, the enemy lost Captain Johnson, Lieutenant Grame, and twelve men killed, and Captain Besded, (Barden,) Lieutenant McDonald, and forty-nine men wounded, making a total of sixty-seven. The whole American force in action was one hundred and fifty rank and file, many of whom fought and marched in their stocking feet, and though the weather is extremely cold in that climate, in the month of February, they were not permitted, nor did they express a wish, to take a shoe even from the dead. Captain Holmes soon after returned with his detachment to the Michigan territory, and received the thanks of the commandant, and the brevet rank of major from his government. He spoke of all his officers in very flattering terms, but particularly of Lieutenants Kouns and Henry, and Ensign Heard of the 28th, and Lieutenants Jackson and Potter of the 24th, because their good fortune placed them in opposition to the main strength of the enemy.

After this event detachments were frequently sent out to re

connoiter the enemy's country, but for several weeks returned without being able to encounter any of his troops. Those on the American side of Detroit river, remained, therefore, in a state of perfect security ; and the commanders of the land and naval forces employed the time in projecting various plans, by which to establish fortifications on the Lake St. Clair ; to cut off the communications between Michilimackinac and the Indians ; and to secure the inhabitants of the territory from their incursions.







## CHAPTER XVIII.

*Operations on the Niagara Frontier.*

**T**O retrieve the disastrous consequences of the last northern campaign; to regain the possession of the posts in Canada, which had been obtained by conquest, and lost by the inefficacy of the means provided to retain them; to drive the enemy from the occupancy of the American garrison at the mouth of the Niagara; and to command the frontiers on both sides of that stream; various plans had been projected, numerous dispositions made, and measures were finally adopted for their achievement. To this end, General Brown, now elevated to the rank of major-general, was ordered to assemble and organize a division of the army at and in the neighbourhood of Black Rock and Buffalo. This division consisted of two brigades of regulars, the first commanded by Brigadier-General Scott, formerly of the 2d artillery, and the second by Brigadier-General Ripley, formerly of the 21st infantry. To these were added a brigade of New York volunteers, and a few Indians, under Brigadier-Generals Porter and Swift. During the months of April, May, and June, (1814,)

the concentration of this force was effected, and the principal part of that time employed in its discipline.

The first step towards the accomplishment of the objects of the present campaign, was the assault and capture of Fort Erie, at that time in command of Major Buck, and garrisoned by one hundred and seventy officers and men of the 8th and 100th regiments. On the morning of the 3d of July, therefore, in obedience to General Brown's orders, the two brigades of regulars embarked for that purpose. General Scott with the first, and a detachment of artillery, under Major Hindman, crossed to the Canada shore, about one mile below Fort Erie, and General Ripley with the second, about the same distance above. The landing of the second brigade was attended with much difficulty, in consequence of the impossibility of approaching the shore, with the gun-boats, in which it had embarked. The debarkation was, therefore, effected in two small boats, capable of containing at one time not more than fifty men. The first brigade was on the shore before a gun was fired by the enemy, who had a picket stationed near the place of landing. From these two points, on the right and left, the fort was rapidly approached by the regulars, whilst a party of Indians who had been crossed over, skirted the wood in its rear. The garrison, entirely unapprized of these movements, was completely surrounded, and General Brown demanded the quiet surrender of the post. A few guns only were fired, which wounded four men of the 25th regiment, under Major Jessup, of the first brigade, when Major Buck surrendered the fort to the invading army. Immediate possession was taken of the garrison, and the prisoners were marched to the interior of New York. The passage of the troops across the channel, and the conveyance of the prisoners to the American shore, was superintended by Lieutenant-Commandant Kennedy, of the navy.

Major-General Rial, with a division of the British army, constituted of the best disciplined, and more experienced European regulars, was at this time intrenched at Chippewa, and thither it was determined the Americans should proceed to attack and rout him. Arrangements were therefore made for the security of the fort, and the protection of the American rear, by the



establishment of a small garrison, under Lieutenant McDonough, of the artillery, and the disposition of the marine force, near and in front of the fort.

On the morning of the 4th General Scott received orders to advance with his brigade and Towson's company of artillery upon Chippewa. In the course of the same day he was followed by General Ripley, and the field and park artillery, under Major Hindman, and by General Porter and his volunteers. On the right bank of Street's creek, two miles distant from the British works, the army was drawn up in three lines, the first brigade facing Street's creek and the bridge, the second brigade forming the second line, and the volunteers the third. The park of artillery was stationed on the right of the encampment, between the first and second line, and the light troops were posted within the same space on the left.

In its approaches from Fort Erie, along the Niagara to this position, the first brigade encountered the advanced corps of the enemy, strongly posted behind this creek. General Scott immediately ordered Captain Towson to go forward with his artillery and dislodge them. That gallant officer, in a few minutes compelled them to fall back, though not till they had intrepidly destroyed the bridge, over which the advancing column would be obliged to pass.

About the time at which Captain Towson opened his battery upon the enemy, Captain Crooker, of the 9th infantry, had been directed to flank out to the left of the brigade, to cross the stream above the bridge, and to assail the right of the enemy's guard. This movement was made with so much celerity, that Captain Crooker reached the enemy's position, and was in full pursuit of him when the brigade column arrived at the bridge. After retreating a short distance, the British commander being aware of the impossibility of Captain Crooker receiving a reinforcement of sufficient strength to combat the impetuosity of well appointed cavalry, until the bridge should be replaced, ordered his dragoons to turn upon, and cut up the detachment. Under the eye of the general commanding the brigade, and before the pioneers had rendered the bridge passable, Captain Crooker was surrounded and charged upon by a numerous troop of the British



19th. His brave detachment determined to cut through this superior force, fought their way to a house not far from the place of attack, and having gained it, turned, at the order of their commander, upon the pursuing horsemen, and having first struck terror into their ranks, put them to a flight precipitate as their attack had been impetuous. At this moment, Captain Crooker, whose men might well be exhausted after so vigorous an engagement, was relieved from all apprehension of another assault from a fresh body of troops, by the arrival of Captains Hull and Harrison, and Lieutenant Randolph, with a small party of men who had been hastily thrown across the stream to his support. "In partisan war," the general of brigade observed, "he had witnessed nothing more gallant than the conduct of Captain Crooker and his company."

At eleven o'clock in the evening of that day, the encampment was formed in the manner already described; and early on the morning of the 5th, the enemy commenced an attack in various detached parties, upon the picket guards surrounding it. One of these was commanded by Captain Treat, of the 21st infantry, and on its return to the camp, through a meadow of high grass, was assailed by a brisk discharge of musketry. One man fell, severely wounded, and the rear of the guard broke and retreated. Captain Treat's attempts to prevent the flight of the left of his detachment were mistaken for an intention to avoid the enemy; and though he was ordered to a neighbouring wood, his guard being first collected in pursuit of the party that had attacked him, he was immediately after stripped of his command, upon the ground of cowardice, in retreating before the enemy, and of misconduct in abandoning the wounded man to their mercy. This man had, however, been brought in by Captain Treat's orders, previously to his march in quest of the enemy's party. Being resolved on a participation in some way or other in the approaching battle, the captain entered as a volunteer, in the same company which he had just before commanded; and the senior officer of the 21st regiment directed him to lead a platoon into action. This act was considered as a manifestation of his courage and patriotism, and the court-martial before which he was tried dismissed him with an honourable acquittal.



HE vivacity of these assaults upon the pickets gradually diminished until midday, after which they were revived with unabating vigour. General Riall, well acquainted with the position of the American forces, and aware of their intention to attack him, determined upon issuing from his intrenchments, and by striking the first blow to intimidate, and

probably throw into disorder the whole line of the invading army. With this view he crossed the Chippewa with every species of his force, threw his right flank, his Indians, and a large detachment of his light troops, into the wood, on the left of the American encampment, and approached gradually with his main body upon the left bank of Street's creek. The movement in the wood was discovered early enough to frustrate the design of the British commander, and General Brown ordered General Porter to advance with the volunteers and Indians, from the rear of the camp, to conceal himself from the enemy's view, by entering the wood, to drive back his light troops and Indians, and, if possible, to gain the rear of his scouting parties, and place them between his line and the division of regulars. As General Porter moved from the encampment, the American outposts and advanced parties fell back, under the fire of the enemy, in order to draw him upon the centre of the front line.

General Porter met, attacked, and, after a short but severe contest, drove the enemy's right before him. His route to Chippewa was intercepted by the whole British column, arrayed in order of battle, and against this powerful force the volunteers desperately maintained their ground, until they were overpowered by the superiority of discipline and numbers.

As soon as the firing became regular and heavy between the volunteers and the enemy, General Brown rightly conjecturing that all the British regulars were engaged, immediately ordered General Scott's brigade, and Towson's artillery, to advance and draw them into action on the plains of Chippewa. General Scott had no sooner crossed the bridge over Street's creek, than he



encountered and gave battle to the enemy. Captain Towson commenced his fire before the infantry battalions were in battle array, and upon their being formed, took post on the river, with three pieces, in front of the extreme right, and thence played upon the British right.

The 9th regiment, and part of the 22d, forming the first battalion, under Major Leavenworth, took position on the right; the second battalion (11th regiment) was led to its station by Colonel Campbell, who, being soon wounded, was succeeded in the command of that regiment by Major McNeill. The third battalion, 25th regiment, was formed by Major Jessup on the left, resting in a wood. From this position that officer was ordered to turn the enemy's right wing, then steadily advancing upon the American line. Whilst this order was in execution, and Jessup's battalion engaged in an animated contest with the British infantry, he detached Captain Ketchum with his company, to attack a superior detachment, at that moment coming up to the reinforcement of the body against which the 25th was engaged. Captain Ketchum flanked out, encountered the fresh detachment, and sustained a vigorous and desperate engagement, until the battalion cleared its own front, and marched to the support of his company.

This fortunate consummation of his plan, the major did not effect without a violent struggle. The British gave him an animated and destructive fire, his men were falling around him in numbers too great to leave him any hopes of victory; and he became at length, closely pressed, both in flank and front. His regiment, nevertheless, betrayed not the least disposition to falter, and promptly obeyed his order to "*support arms and advance*," under this tremendous fire, until a position of more security was gained. From this he returned the enemy's fire with such order and rapidity, that the British right flank fell back, and the battalion was enabled to come up in time to co-operate with Captain Ketchum's detachment.

The whole line of the enemy began about this time to recoil. On the American right, the battalion of Major Leavenworth was not only engaged with the British infantry, but frequently exposed to the fire of the batteries. One of his officers, Captain





Battle of Chippewa.



Harrison, had his leg carried off by a cannon ball ; but so doubtful, at that moment, did he consider the issue of the battle, that he would not suffer a man to be taken from his duty, to bear him from the field, and supported the torture of his wound with extreme fortitude, until the action ceased.

Major McNeill's battalion was also engaged, from the commencement until the close of the action, and, together with Major Leavenworth's, received the enemy on the open plain ; of these the 9th and 22d were parallel to the attack, but the 11th had its left thrown forward so as to assail in front and flank, at the same time. Thus posted, Majors Leavenworth and McNeill, resisted the attacks of the enemy with great gallantry and zeal. On this end of the line, the fire was quite as incessant as on the left, and its effect not less destructive ; but the troops displayed an equal degree of animation.

After the lapse of an hour from the commencement of the battle, Captain Towson, who had maintained his position on the river, notwithstanding one of his pieces, had been thrown out of action, having completely silenced the enemy's most powerful battery, turned his remaining pieces on the infantry, at that moment advancing to a charge. This accumulation of fire, the effective discharges of McNeill's musketry, peculiarly effective from their oblique position, the steadiness of the two battalions, and the apparent issue of the engagement between Jessup's and the British right wing, compelled General Riall to retire, until he reached a sloping ground, descending to Chippewa. From the point formed by this ground, his troops fled in confusion to their intrenchments behind the creek, and having regained their works, retarded the approaches of the conquerors, by means of their heavy batteries, on which alone they relied for safety in the event of their being obliged to retire.

About the time they commenced their charge, Major Hindman had ordered forward Captain Ritchie's company of artillery, and one piece, a twelve-pounder, under Lieutenant Hall. They arrived in time only to participate in the close of the action, but joined Captain Towson in pursuing the enemy, under the fire of his batteries, until he threw himself into the intrenchments.

Whilst the first brigade was thus gallantly engaged with this



superior force, in which were included the 100th regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel the Marquis of Tweedale, and the Royal Scots, under Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon. General Ripley, whose brigade was already formed in line of battle, proposed to the commanding general, to pass the left of the first brigade, to turn the enemy's right, and by taking a position in his rear, prevent his retreat to the Chippewa. But as the volunteers were at that moment falling back from the wood, on the left of the field, General Brown was of opinion that an attack would be made in that quarter, and deemed the presence of General Ripley's brigade necessary to receive and repel it. At the moment of their retreat, however, he determined to follow up the victory, by advancing against their works with all his ordnance, and directed General Ripley to adopt the proposition he had made. But such was the precipitation of the retreat, that this movement became unavailing, and on the report of two reconnoitering officers, Major Wood of the engineers, and Captain Austin, an aid to the general, as to the situation and security of the enemy's works, General Brown was induced to order all his troops back to their encampment.



HIS sanguinary battle resulted, as may well be supposed, in an immense loss on both sides. That of the Americans in killed, wounded, and missing, amounted to three hundred and twenty-eight, sixty of whom were killed. Among the wounded, were Colonel Campbell, Captains King, of the 22d, Read, of the 25th, and Harrison, of the 42d, but doing duty with the 9th, Lieutenants Palmer and Brimhall, of the 9th, Barron, of the 11th, and De Witt and Patchim, of the 25th. The loss of the British, in killed, wounded, and prisoners was, according to General Brown's report, three hundred and eight; but by Lieutenant-General Drummond's returns, there were one hundred and thirty-nine killed, three hundred and twenty wounded, and forty-

six missing, making a total of five hundred and five ; so that the number of the wounded British, was nearly equal to the aggregate loss of the Americans. Among these were the Marquis of Tweedale, Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon, Lieutenant Colonel Dickson, Captain Holland, aid-de-camp to General Riall seven captains, seventeen lieutenants, and four other subalterns

The liveliest testimonies of the applause of the people, and the honourable approbation of the government were given to Generals Scott and Porter. The brevet rank of lieutenant-colonel was conferred upon Majors Jessup, Leavenworth, and McNeill ; and of major, upon Captains Towson, Crooker, and Harrison. But there were other gallant and distinguished officers, who shared in the perils and the fortunes of the day. Among the most conspicuous of these were Lieutenants Worth and Watts, aids to General Scott ; Lieutenant Smith, his major of brigade ; Major Wood, of the engineers, who superintended the construction of the works at Fort Meigs, during the memorable siege of that garrison ; Captain Harris, of the dragoons, and Lieutenant McDonald, of the second brigade, who penetrated a wood, and annoyed the enemy's Indians.

Intelligence having been communicated to Lieutenant-General Drummond, of the defeat of Major-General Riall, that officer was immediately reinforced at Chippewa, by the 8th or King's regiment, from York ; on the arrival of which, he disposed his troops in such order as to repulse an assault from the Americans. General Brown meanwhile remained at his encampment at Street's creek, and on the 8th of the month, determined upon an attempt to dislodge General Riall. General Ripley was for this purpose ordered to proceed with his brigade to a point three miles above the British works, on the Chippewa, to open a road of communication between Street's creek and that point ; and to construct a bridge over the Chippewa, for the passage of the troops. This order was executed with great secrecy, and without loss of time, and the artillery was brought up in the course of the day, to cover the pioneers whilst constructing the bridge. The enemy had no knowledge of this movement until the brigade arrived at the creek, and the artillery was already planted near its margin. General Riall, was then informed



by his outpost of these operations, and hastily forwarded a detachment of the royal artillery to check them. A cannonade ensued ; but such was the effect produced by General Ripley's artillery, that the British pieces were withdrawn, the bridge was soon after completed, and General Riall apprehending an attack on his right flank and in front, from the formidable arrangements which he saw in preparation, abandoned his line of defenses, and retreated by the road to Queenstown. General Brown occupied the enemy's works that evening, and on the following morning, (the 9th,) pursued the route to Queenstown. Riall had, however, retired to the Ten Mile creek.

At Queenstown the American army was then encamped, and the commanding general held a council of war, for the purpose of maturing a plan of future and decisive operations. On the 12th, Brigadier-General John Swift, second in command to General Porter, and the same who had put the British marines to flight at Poultneyville, having offered to reconnoiter the enemy's position at Fort George, was detached with one hundred and twenty volunteers, to obtain a view of those works. On his arrival within its neighbourhood, he surprised and captured an outpost, consisting of a corporal and five men ; one of these, after having surrendered to the detachment and requested quarters, availed himself of an advantageous moment, treacherously fired at and shot the general, who, notwithstanding the suddenness of the attack, and the severity of his wound, instantly levelled his piece and killed the assassin. The alarm produced by this fire brought up a British patrolling party of sixty men, against whom General Swift, regardless of the persuasion of his officers to attend to his wound, marched at the head of his detachment, and commenced an attack which resulted in the retreat of the enemy's party. The general, however, whose wound was mortal, fell, exhausted by the loss of blood, before the termination of the skirmish. His next officer beat the patrolling party into the fort, and returned to the encampment at Queenstown, with the body of his expiring commander. General Swift, whose loss was sincerely deplored by the whole army, and who had served with distinguished reputation, during the war of the revolution, was interred with the usual ceremonies and honours of a soldier.



The whole volunteer brigade to which the general was attached, solicited an opportunity to avenge the fall of their brave officer, and an opportunity was not long wanted.

At the consultation which was held by General Brown and his principal officers, a plan of attack upon Fort George was proposed; and, to the prejudice of a proposition, submitted by General Ripley, of following up General Riall; of driving him from the peninsula; or of striking as severe a blow as that which he had received at Chippewa, and thus totally annihilating his force—was adopted by a majority of the council. In order to ascertain the possibility of capturing that fort by a *coup de main*, the second brigade and the volunteers were directed to reconnoiter in the most secret manner. Whilst General Ripley approached along the Niagara, General Porter, to whose brigade was attached two field-pieces, under Captain Ritchie, of the regular artillery, advanced by the way of St. David's and the Cross Roads, to Lake Ontario, whence he could obtain a full view of Fort Niagara, and enable the principal engineer, Major Wood, to examine the works on that side of Fort George. After viewing the northern face of Fort Niagara, General Porter moved in upon Fort George, drove in all the enemy's pickets, and formed his brigade in the open plain, within a mile of the fort.

To enable the engineer to examine the works with more certainty, he ordered Lieutenant-Colonel Wilcox to advance with his command, under cover of a small wood, within musket-shot of the garrison. These positions were maintained upwards of an hour and a half, during which time the British batteries opened upon the troops on the plain. Several detached parties sent out to attack the volunteer light troops, were successively repulsed, and the object of the expedition being accomplished, General Porter moved round the south side of the fort, and joined General Ripley's brigade on the Niagara. As he retired, the enemy sent out several pieces of field artillery, and commenced a rapid fire upon his rear. The brigade, however, moved off in good order, with two men wounded; Lieutenant Fontaine, of the artillery, and an officer of the volunteers, had their horses killed under them by a cannon ball. In his approaches to the lake, General Porter deemed it necessary to station videttes upon the

several roads leading to the fort. Five of these were captured by a party of twenty Canadian militia, residing in the neighbourhood, and some of whom had been in the American encampment, professing to avail themselves of the terms of General Brown's proclamation, issued upon entering Canada, "that all persons demeaning themselves peaceably, and pursuing their private business, should be treated as friends."

To give more certainty and effect to the assault of Forts George and Niagara, and to the occupation of Queenstown, St. Davids, and Newark, General Brown, previously to his passage of the Niagara strait, had adopted measures in conjunction with Commodore Chauncey, for the co-operation of the American squadron. On the 20th of July, he therefore moved with his whole force upon Fort George, and took a position with a portion of his troops on Lake Ontario, as well with a view to attempt that garrison, as to obtain some intelligence of the fleet. Commodore Chauncey's extreme illness prevented the sailing of the fleet from the harbour, and General Brown, apprehensive of an attack upon the rear of his army, and of his communication with the encampment being cut off by the militia then rising *en masse*, fell back to Queenstown on the 22d, to protect his baggage. Having there received intelligence of the detention of the fleet, he determined to disencumber the army of its heavy baggage, and to march against Burlington Heights, on the peninsula between which and Erie, the enemy had, in the mean time, concentrated his principal forces. To draw from Schlosser a supply of provisions necessary to this expedition, he retired on the 24th to the junction of the Chippewa and Niagara: with the exception of the 9th regiment, the army encamped on the right bank of the Chippewa. That regiment was posted on the north side of the stream, in and near a block-house in the advance.

Lieutenant-General Drummond, anxious to redeem the tarnished reputation of the British arms, and having now augmented his force, so as to feel capable of offering battle, without any doubt of its successful result, forwarded a division under General Riall, to Queenstown, who occupied the heights there, immediately after their abandonment by the Americans. From Queenstown, General Riall threw a large detachment of his



troops across the Niagara, to Lewistown, with a view to the capture of the American sick and wounded, at that time in the hospital at Schlosser, and the destruction of the baggage, ammunition, and provisions, deposited at that place. By expresses from Colonel Swift, commanding at Lewistown, General Brown was informed of this movement, and almost at the same moment, a picket stationed beyond the 9th regiment, reported an advanced party of the enemy on the Niagara road. To draw him from his purposed pillage of Schlosser, General Brown, having no immediate means of bringing off his sick and stores, nor of transporting troops to their defense, ordered General Scott to move with his brigade, then consisting of about seven hundred men, and Towson's artillery, still attached to it, in the direction of Queenstown.

At four o'clock in the afternoon of the 25th, (July,) the first brigade moved from the encampment in light marching order, the 9th regiment being in front of the column, and Captain Harris, with a troop of regular and volunteer dragoons, and a company of infantry, under Captain Pentland, of the 22d, constituting an advanced corps. About two miles and a half from the Chippewa, and within a short distance of the Falls of Niagara, the American and British advanced parties came within view of each other, and General Scott halted his column to reconnoiter the ground, and made arrangements for the reception or attack of the enemy. Lieutenant-Colonel Leavenworth, with the 9th, consisting then of only one hundred and fifty men, was immediately ordered to take the left of the road, within supporting distance of the column, which, on the execution of this order, again moved forward, the enemy retiring before it.

On an eminence, near Lundy's lane, at a point chosen by Major-General Riall, because of the decided advantage of the ground, the enemy was posted in great strength, with a formidable battery of nine pieces of artillery, two of which were brass twenty-four-pounders, and an extensive and heavy line of infantry. This position was extremely favourable to the operations of the battery, and there the British general had long wished to engage the troops, who had compelled him to retire from every other, at which battle had been previously given them.



On the arrival of General Scott's column at a narrow strip of woods, by which only the British line was obscured from his view, Captains Harris and Pentland were first fired on, and gallantly engaged the enemy's advance, which had gradually retreated, to draw the American column to the situation at Lundy's lane. The brigade column was again immediately halted, Lieutenant-Colonel Leavenworth ordered to his situation, and Lieutenant-Colonel Jessup, with the 25th, detached to attack the left of the British line. The 9th, 11th, and 22d passed the advanced corps, and moving to the north of the wood, entered a smooth field, in full view of the enemy, and within cannister distance of his battery. The rear of the column having cleared the wood, General Scott ordered the line to be instantly formed. This order was not executed before the British opened a tremendous fire from their battery, and the whole line of their infantry drawn up on its right, and obliquely in its front. Towson, with his artillery, was stationed on the right of the 9th, and though they could not be brought to bear upon the eminence, he animated the American line, by an incessant discharge from all his pieces.

Thus drawn up on both sides, the action continued with unceasing animation upwards of an hour, against a force then almost thrice superior to the American brigade. In the course of that time, the 11th and 22d regiments, having expended their ammunition, Colonel Brady and Lieutenant-Colonel McNeill being both severely wounded, and all the captains of the former, and most of the officers of the latter, either killed or wounded, both regiments were withdrawn from action, and many of the officers, but principally subalterns, attached themselves to the 9th, and fought under its gallant chief, in various capacities, and with unusual courage and perseverance. Among these were Lieutenant Crawford and Lieutenant and Adjutant Sawyer. Against the chief part of the British line, Lieutenant-Colonel Leavenworth, with the remains of the 9th alone, continued the engagement with unshaken firmness and bravery; and was at length directed to advance and charge up the height, and with the 11th and 22d, to break the enemy's line. Reduced as these three regiments already were, by the excessive loss of officers

BATTLE OF NIAGARA.









and men, they nevertheless steadily advanced, with supported arms, until General Scott, learning the shattered condition of the 11th and 22d, countermanded the order.



THE enemy was at this moment pressing upon the left of the line; the right of the 9th was, therefore, thrown forward to meet and repulse him, and the whole regiment commenced a fire more animating, if possible, but certainly more destructive than the first. It is scarcely possible to do justice to the conduct of this gallant regiment, or of its intrepid commander. It had already given such signal instances of individual valour, as

were never surpassed upon an open field. But valour alone is not competent to resist the repeated assaults of a numerous and increasing foe; and against a prodigious inequality of numbers, it is sometimes little less than madness to contend. The 9th regiment was at length reduced to nearly half the number with which it had entered the field, and being still pressed by the enemy, who frequently charged with a fresh line, Lieutenant-Colonel Leavenworth despatched an officer to General Scott, to communicate its condition. The general having been just informed of the approach of reinforcements from the Chippewa, rode immediately to the position of that regiment and directed it to maintain its ground.

That indefatigable and excellent reconnoitering officer, Lieutenant Riddle, of the 15th infantry, had been sent out in the morning, with a party of one hundred men, to scour the surrounding country. He had not proceeded more than three miles from the encampment, when, in attempting to gain the rear of a scout of the enemy, he was informed by several of the inhabitants, of his being close upon a division of three thousand of the British troops. At the time of his leaving the camp, General Brown had not been apprized of the contiguity of the enemy, and Lieutenant Riddle, therefore, hastened back with all possible speed to communicate the intelligence. The nature of the ground over which he had to retrace his steps, and the extreme caution with

which it was necessary to proceed, to avoid reconnoitering detachments of the enemy, lengthened his distance from the headquarters upwards of five miles. He had not arrived at the position of the Americans at Chippewa, when he was apprized of the meeting of the hostile armies, by the repeated and heavy discharges of artillery. Naturally concluding that General Brown's whole force had proceeded to the field of battle, and not hesitating a moment as to the course he should pursue, he wheeled his detachment upon the Niagara road, and immediately marched to a participation in the engagement. This detachment was the first reinforcing party which arrived to the relief of the first brigade, and General Scott stationed it on his extreme left, with directions to Lieutenant Riddle to watch the motions of the British riflemen and Indians.

By the same circumstance, the report of the artillery, General Brown was also first informed of the commencement of the action, and of its scene, and having directed General Ripley to follow with the second brigade, was already on his way to the falls, when he met the assistant adjutant-general, Major Jones, returning to the encampment at full speed for reinforcements. The intelligence communicated by Major Jones, induced the commander-in-chief to despatch him to order up General Porter's volunteers, in addition to the second brigade, and the park of artillery. General Brown then rode hastily, with his aids, accompanied by Major McRee, of the engineers, towards the field of battle, and on his further advance was met by a second messenger, Major Wood, also of the engineers, and who had marched with General Scott's brigade. From this gallant and accomplished officer, he received a report of the close and sanguinary character of the action, and directed him to return with him to the field.

Exhausted and reduced as the 9th, 11th, and 22d regiments already were, another vigorous onset from the enemy, sufficiently numerous to interpose occasionally a fresh line, might probably decide the fate of the day, before the arrival of the approaching reinforcements. The determined and obstinate manner, however, in which they had already received and repulsed the gallant and repeated charges of the British infantry, induced

Major-General Riall to overrate their force. But to whatever measure of strength these intrepid regiments amounted, he knew also, that the number of his combatants would be augmented from the camp at Chippewa, and being assured of the necessity, in that event, of enlarging his own force, he despatched messengers to Lieutenant-General Drummond, at Fort George, to inform him of the desperate nature of the conflict. Until this period of the engagement, his force, including the incorporated militia and some Indians, amounted to sixteen hundred and thirty-seven men, being more than double the strength by which he was opposed.

Major-General Brown arrived at the scene of this obstinate struggle, about the time at which General Scott ordered the 9th regiment to maintain its ground, and seeing the exhausted state of the troops, and the shattered condition of the brigade, determined on holding it in reserve, whilst the reinforcing troops should continue the engagement. The 9th, 11th, and 22d regiments were, therefore, consolidated into one battalion, under Colonel Brady, who, though wounded, refused to quit the field until the result of the engagement should be known. General Ripley's brigade, Major Hindman's artillery, and General Porter's volunteers, all of whom had marched with unusual rapidity over a difficult road, were now within a short distance of Lundy's lane. General Ripley being in the advance, and within half a mile of the field, immediately despatched his aid-de-camp, Lieutenant McDonald, of the 19th infantry, to inform General Brown of his approach, and to receive instructions as to the situation of the enemy, and orders, as to the disposition of his brigade.

Immediately before the arrival of General Ripley, a temporary pause prevailed between the two armies; an awful and (but for the groans of the wounded soldiers) an unbroken silence was preserved among the troops on either side: the impetuous descent of the stupendous cataract of the Niagara, alone interrupted the pervading stillness, and contributed to the solemnity and grandeur of the scene; and the leaders of both forces having fallen back to their original positions, seemed mutually disposed to a momentary cessation of the sanguinary and fatiguing strife. The arrival of these reinforcements, under General Ripley, and



of others, under Lieutenant-General Drummond put an end to this suspension of hostilities, and the engagement was renewed with augmented vigour.

Major Hindman's artillery being brought up, the companies of Captains Biddle and Ritchie, in addition to Towson's detachment, soon came into action, and General Porter's volunteers were displayed upon the left of General Scott's brigade. Lieutenant McDonald, who had been despatched for orders, having met Captain Spencer, one of the aids of the commander-in-chief, bearing orders for the second brigade to form on the skirts of the wood, to the right of the first, immediately returned to General Ripley with these directions.

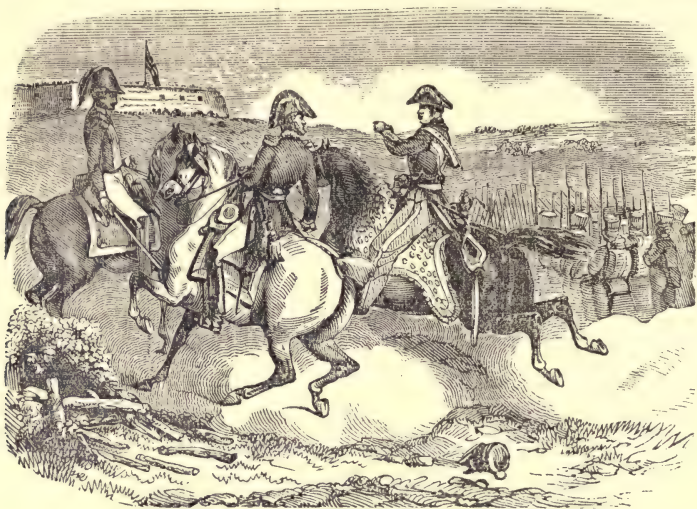
Meanwhile the 25th regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Jessup, which had been ordered, in the early part of the action, to take post on the right, had gallantly contended against, and succeeded in turning the enemy's left flank. Lieutenant-Colonel Jessup, availing himself of the extreme darkness of the night, and of the incaution of the British general, in not placing a proper guard across a road upon his left, threw his regiment in the rear of the enemy's reserve, and surprising one detachment after another, made prisoners of so many of their officers and men, that the operations of his firearms was constantly impeded. General Drummond, who was now commanding in person the front line of the enemy, having determined on concentrating his whole force, and leading it to the attack of General Scott's brigade, in front, and on each flank, had despatched his aid-de-camp, Captain Loring, to bring up General Riall with the reserve. It was the good fortune, however, of Captain Ketchum, of this regiment, whose eminent services greatly contributed to the victorious issue of the battle at Chippewa, to make prisoners of Major-General Riall, who was wounded in the arm, and the aid of Lieutenant-General Drummond, before the reserve was put in motion.

Had this concentration of General Riall's line, with that of General Drummond been effected, the reduced brigade, composed now only of the consolidated battalion, could not at this moment, and without the support of the second brigade, have withstood the assault of so overwhelming a force; and the movement of Lieutenant-Colonel Jessup, therefore, unquestion-

ably saved that battalion. Having hastily adopted proper arrangements for the disposal of his prisoners, Lieutenant-Colonel Jessup felt his way to the spot where the warmest fire was kept up upon the brigade to which he belonged. Eastwardly of Lundy's lane, and on the south of the Queenstown road, he drew up his regiment behind a fence, from which he could effectually annoy the enemy. A party of the British infantry were at that time drawn up in front of a fence, on the opposite side of the same road. Lieutenant-Colonel Jessup's approach to his present position, had been made with so much secrecy, that they did not know he was there, until they received a deadly and destructive fire, which compelled them to break and fly along the Queenstown road. By the blaze of this fire, Lieutenant-Colonel Jessup was discovered to Major-General Brown, who rode up, applauded his conduct, and directed him to move by Lundy's lane, and form upon the right of the second brigade.

The operations of that brigade were all this time carried on with the utmost brilliancy and success. When his aid-de-camp communicated the order of the commander-in-chief, General Ripley saw the impracticability of operating upon the enemy, from the position at which he was directed to display his column; or of advancing from it, in line, upon an emergency, through a close wood. At the same moment, too, General Drummond's infantry and all his artillery had commenced a galling fire upon General Scott's brigade, which could only be supported by a direct movement of the second brigade, upon the centre of the enemy's line. The impenetrable darkness of the night rendered it difficult for the generals of brigade at all times to find the commander-in-chief, or each other, and General Ripley, therefore determined to assume a responsibility, by adopting in time, the only movement which could save the first brigade from inevitable destruction, and ultimately achieve the victory.

He therefore proposed to Colonel Miller, the same who had distinguished himself in the earliest stage of the war at Maguaga, and who now commanded the 21st, or Ripley's old regiment, to storm the enemy's battery with that, whilst he would support him by leading up the 23d, a younger and less experienced regiment, to a charge upon the British flank. Colonel



Colonel Miller at Lundy's Lane.

Miller, well knowing the perilous nature of this duty, replied to his general, "*I'll try, sir,*"\* and immediately put his regiment in readiness by forming it in line, on the left of the road, directly in front of his object. The 23d was at the same time formed in close column by its commander, Major McFarland, and the first which had arrived that day under Lieutenant-Colonel Nicholas, from a long and fatiguing march, was directed to menace the enemy's infantry. Whilst these dispositions were making, General Ripley despatched his aid to apprise General Brown of the impossibility of forming on the skirt of the wood, and of the measures which he had in consequence adopted. The commander-in-chief highly commended the design of the brigadier-general, and instantly authorized its execution. With hearts panting for the accomplishment of this enterprise, these regiments moved forward under a rapid and destructive fire, directed against them, at their very onset, by the enemy's whole line of musketry and every piece of his cannon. The 21st nevertheless, promptly pressed forward; the 23d faltered. It was, however instantly rallied by the personal exertions of General Ripley, who led it up to the contemplated charge. At a distance of little more than one hundred yards from the top

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\* Words afterwards worn on the buttons of the 21st regiment.



of the eminence, on which the British cannon were posted, and which these regiments were necessarily obliged to ascend, they received another, and equally as severe a discharge from the musketry and heavy pieces.

The 21st was now, however, too much enamoured of its object, and the 23d too obstinately determined on retrieving its fame, to betray the smallest disposition to recoil from the near consummation of their bold and hazardous enterprise. By this fire, Major McFarland, of the 23d, was killed, and the command of that regiment devolved upon Major Brooke, an officer of no less intrepidity and valour. The description of a more brilliant and decisive movement may never have been registered on the page of history. To the amazement of the whole British line, Colonel Miller steadily and silently advancing up the eminence, until within a few paces of the enemy's cannon, impetuously charged upon the artillerists, and after a short but desperate contest, carried the whole battery, and instantly formed his line in its rear, upon the same ground on which the British infantry had been previously posted.

In carrying the heaviest pieces, the 21st regiment experienced severe losses, several officers of distinguished bravery and merit, being either killed or wounded. Lieutenant Cilley, who commanded an advanced company of that regiment, by a resolute and unexampled effort, carried one of the guns, and fell wounded by its side immediately after. He had advanced upon it with such rapidity, as to bayonet the men stationed at it before they had time to escape, and cut down with his own hand, an artillerist who was applying a match to the piece. In the same charge Lieutenant Bigelow was killed, and Captain Burbank, and Ensigns Jones and Thomas, and Lieutenant Fisk, of the 19th, and Ensign Camp, of the 2d rifle, both attached to the 21st were wounded.

The advance of the 23d upon the British infantry supporting the cannon, being as prompt as that of the 21st, both regiments pierced the enemy's line at the same instant. Major Brooke, in obedience to the order of General Ripley, led his battalion, under the eye of his commander, into the very ranks of the enemy, and putting them to a hasty and disorderly retreat,

marched up to the relief of Colonel Miller, who, though he had formed his line in the rear of the captured battery, had not yet driven the enemy below the eminence, and was at this moment closely pressed, almost at its summit. By the junction of these two regiments, however, and the bringing into line of the first, the fate of this assault was determined, the British infantry and artillerists retired beyond the reach of musketry, and their own cannon were turned against them.

The features of the action now began to assume a new character. The heights from which the enemy had been thus gallantly dislodged, being a very commanding position, the maintenance of them would alone determine the issue of the conflict, and General Ripley immediately formed his line for the protection of the newly acquired battery, and prepared to receive the assaults which he rightly conjectured would be made for its recovery.

When the capture of General Riall was announced, before the dislodgment of the British from the eminence, the elation of the first brigade was manifested by three loud huzzas, which brought a shell from the enemy, that fell in Major Hindman's corps and exploded a casson of ammunition belonging to the company of the brave and lamented Captain Ritchie, who, being mortally wounded in the course of the engagement, fell into the hands of the British. Major Hindman was now directed to bring up his corps, including Towson's detachment, and post himself, with his own and the captured cannon, on the right of General Ripley's brigade, and between it and the 25th; on the left of the second brigade, General Porter's volunteers were then ranged.

The line being thus formed, at the expiration of a short interval, Lieutenant-General Drummond, incensed beyond measure at the capture of his artillery, resolved on regaining it, and being strongly reinforced, advanced upon General Ripley, with a heavy and extended line, outflanking him on both extremes. In anticipation of his approach, which could only be discovered by the sound attending it, General Ripley had directed his troops to reserve their fire, until they had received that of the assailants, and, if necessary, to feel the bayonets, before they should discharge their pieces, with the double view of drawing the advancing line within close striking distance, and of making his own

fire more deadly and effective, by giving it a direction by the flashes of the enemy's musketry.

On the other hand, Lieutenant-General Drummond, thus resolutely determined on the recovery of his cannon, gave a peremptory order to all his platoon officers, to advance steadily, and without regard to the fire of the American line; and after attaining a given distance, to make a prompt and vigorous charge, and if possible, to fall directly upon the cannon. His whole division therefore, marched at a quick step, until it came within twenty paces of the summit of the height, when the several regiments received orders to pour in a rapid fire upon the American line, and to follow it with an immediate appeal to the bayonet. This fire was no sooner delivered, than the second brigade, the volunteers, and Lieutenant-Colonel Jessup's regiment, instantaneously returned it, and threw the enemy's line into a momentary confusion. But, being immediately rallied, it returned to a conflict more tremendous than any which had been witnessed in that day's battle. Upwards of twenty minutes, one blaze of fire succeeded another, in each line; sections, companies, and regiments, mutually fell back, and were successively rallied, and again brought into action; but at length the British line was forced back, and the doubtful contest terminated in their retiring to the lower extremity of the hill.

It was not to be supposed, however, that the enemy, the greatest proportion of whose troops had been accustomed to desperate feats of valour, and had encountered the most experienced battalions of the European armies, had yet consented to yield to an army but lately made up of the rawest materials, what in that event would be considered the trophies of a victory. Measures were accordingly instantly adopted by General Ripley to remove his wounded, and restore his line to proper order.

Whilst this splendid repulse was given to the assault of the enemy, General Scott's consolidated battalion, which had been until this time held in reserve, was drawn up in the rear of the second brigade, under Lieutenant-Colonel Leavenworth, Colonel Brady's wounds having rendered him unfit for active duty. General Scott's brigade major, Lieutenant Smith, and his aid, Captain Worth, being at this time both severely wounded, he





General Miller.

selected an aid from the 9th regiment, and forming the battalion into column, marched it across the field, and displayed it on a narrow lane, parallel with and to the south of Lundy's lane. From this position he despatched Lieutenant-Colonel Leavenworth to seek the commander-in-chief, and to receive his orders as to the disposition of the battalion. General Brown being conducted to its position by the colonel, a short conversation followed between the two generals, the result of which was the immediate movement of General Scott's command into Lundy's lane, where it was to be formed, with its right towards the Niagara road, and its left in the rear of the captured battery.

Having given a new arrangement to his troops, General Drummond, after a lapse of half an hour, was discovered to be advancing to a second charge. He was received with undiminished firmness, and General Ripley's order to retain the fire being repeated, the whole British line discharged its musketry from the same point at which it had previously paused. The light which was thence emitted, enabled the Americans to fire with the utmost precision, and to check the enemy's nearer advance. The repeated discharges of Major Hindman's artillery, which was served with uncommon skill and regularity, were severely felt by the advancing line, and the officers attached to it behaved with coolness and gallantry.

The situation on the top of the eminence gave many and decided advantages to General Ripley's command ; scarcely a shot was fired, which failed of hitting its object, whilst the fire of the British, being more elevated, generally went over the heads of the Americans. General Ripley being of a tall stature, and mounted within eight paces of the rear of his line, was by this circumstance constantly exposed to the enemy's balls. His horse was wounded under him, and his hat twice perforated in the course of the second attack. After the first discharge, in this effort to regain his battery, the British general determining to break the centre of the American line, composed of the 21st regiment, and detachments of the 17th and 19th levelled his fire at that point. With the exception of a few platoons, the 21st, however, remained unshaken. These being immediately rallied by General Ripley, the contest continued with great vivacity, until the enemy finding he could not make another impression on the American, and feeling his own line recoiling, again fell back to the bottom of the eminence.

Immediately after the commencement of this second contest, the remains of the first brigade were also brought into action. At the time of the second discharge, the two lines being nearly parallel, and enveloped in a blaze of fire, General Scott, who had approached the top of the eminence to ascertain their situation, now rode hastily back to his brigade, demanded, in an animated voice, of Colonel Leavenworth, "*are these troops prepared for the charge?*" and, without waiting for a reply, ordered them into close columns, their left in front, and to move forward and charge. This order being executed almost as soon as it was given, the general led up the column, and passing between the pieces of artillery, advanced upon the enemy's left.

The gallantry of General Scott's troops, however, could not prevail against a double line of infantry, by which the British flank was supported, and this charge being met with unexpected firmness, the consolidated battalion fell back, and passed to the extreme left of General Porter's volunteers, who were all this time warmly engaged with the enemy. Lieutenant-Colonel Leavenworth was then ordered to reform the column, and to change its front, which, being done, General Scott led it to a

second charge, and made a resolute attempt to turn the enemy's right. This flank being also protected by a double line, the attempt was not more successful than the former; and the battalion again falling back, was ordered to form on the left of the line, whilst the general passed to the right, and joining Lieutenant-Colonel Jessup's regiment, had his shoulder fractured by a musket ball, and almost at the same instant, received a severe wound in the side, which compelled him to leave the field; not, however, without having first returned to Lieutenant-Colonel Leavenworth, whom he ordered to move to the right of the line and consolidate his battalion with the 25th regiment, the commander of which was also severely wounded. General Scott had hitherto escaped the fire of the enemy with singular good fortune: he had been constantly, and, probably, too often, in the most exposed situations: he led his troops in person to the separate charges, and never shrunk from any part of the engagement, however desperate or dangerous. He was now conveyed to the encampment at Chippewa, whence he was soon after removed to the American side of the Niagara.



HAVING thus failed in two vigorous and determined efforts for the recovery of his pieces, the British general began to despair of any better success from a third; but the fortunate arrival of another reinforcing party from Fort George, now protected by four of the British fleet, reanimating his troops, he put them in readiness for another charge, by forming a fresh line with the new detachment. Upwards of half an hour having elapsed since his second repulse, it was considered very doubtful by the Americans, whether their ability to maintain their ground would be put to another trial. Excessively fatigued by the violence of the last struggle, their canteens being exhausted, and no water (an article now almost as indispensable as ammunition) at hand to replenish them, it would be wondered at if they had either courted or desired a renewal of the contest. But they were determined to lose no part of the reputation which they had that night acquired, and if the cannon were again to be defended, they would be defended with equal vigour and ani-



mation. Their doubts were very soon removed by the approach, in a more extended line, of the whole body of the British troops, who, independently of their reinforcements, had the advantage of being amply refreshed from the plentiful resources of Queens-town and St. David's.

The advance of the enemy was no sooner made known to General Ripley's line, than the ardour of all his men instantly revived, and remembering the order of their gallant commander, to refuse their fire, they prepared to receive that of the approaching line.

The British delivered their fire nearly within the same distance as before, but they did not fall back from the fire of the Americans with the same precipitation. Their fresh line steadily advanced, and repeated its discharge; the Americans remained firm, and returned it; and an obstinate and tremendous conflict followed. The 21st again manifested its determined character, and, under the direction of Colonel Miller, dealt out a destructive fire upon its assailants. The right and left repeatedly fell back, but were as often rallied, and brought into the line, to preserve which, the exertions of the general and Colonels Miller, Nicholas, and Jessup, and all the other officers were constantly required.

On the other hand, the fresh troops of the British, were as unshaken as their antagonists, the 21st; but the regiments and sections which had been before repulsed, recoiled again, and were repeatedly urged forward by their officers. At length the two lines were on the very summit of the hill, each at the point of the bayonets of the other, and both appealing to that weapon with unusual force and rapidity. Such was the obstinacy of the contending parties, that many battalions on both sides were forced back by the vigour of the combat, and the British and American lines became mingled with each other. At that part of the height on which the cannon were stationed, the battle was most desperate. The enemy having forced himself into the very midst of Major Hindman's artillery, two pieces of which the officers of that corps were compelled to spike, he was warmly engaged across the carriages and guns; and the slaughter which took place upon the eminence, sufficiently evinced his determination to recapture, and the resolution of the American artil-

lerists to retain the trophies which the gallantry of the infantry had won.

The close and personal contests now prevailing from one end of the line to the other, produced a degree of confusion, which the coolness and energy of the general could scarcely suppress. The broken sections were at length, however, restored to the line, and having regained their several positions, compelled the enemy's right and left wings to fall back. The centre of his line, imitating the example of the flanks, also gave way, and the assault upon the artillery, after a dreadful conflict, being at this moment repulsed, the whole British line fled precipitately a third time. The personal and most active exertions of their principal officers could not retard the flight of the troops, and they retreated beyond the reach either of musketry or cannon. General Drummond, seeing that the repulse of this last and most determined effort had wearied and depressed his line, and feeling assured that it would be difficult to lead them on to another attempt, which, too, in all probability, would be followed by a more disastrous discomfiture, consented to relinquish his cannon, and retired beyond the borders of the field, over which were strewn the dead and wounded of both armies.

At the commencement of the last charge, Major-General Brown, while attending to the formation of Lieutenant-Colonel Leavenworth's battalion, was severely wounded by a musket ball, in the right thigh. A little while after, he received a second wound on the left side, and being compelled to quit the field, retired also to the Chippewa, and devolved the command on General Ripley. Though the British had been forced to withdraw from the action, that officer, not knowing whether they had yet yielded the victory, or whether they contemplated the adoption of measures, by which still to retrieve the honour of their arms, reformed his line, and held it in readiness to receive an attack, in whatever manner it should be made.

Convinced of the necessity of the removal of the captured cannon, and of the immense loss which would thence be prevented, General Ripley had frequently despatched his aid to General Brown, for the means of transporting them from the field. No means were, however, at hand, most of the horses being already

killed, and the remainder necessary to draw off the American pieces. General Ripley, therefore, at the close of the engagement, ordered General Porter to detach a party of his volunteers to assist in their removal. But the British guns being unlimbered, and in a dismantled condition, it was found to be impracticable to draw them away, but by means of dragropes; none of which were at that time on the ground. Reluctant as were all the troops of the line to abandon the trophies which had been gained by the resistless valour of the second brigade, to difficulties now found to be insurmountable, they were obliged to yield.

It was at this moment, while in conversation with Lieutenant-Colonel Leavenworth, whose battalion was then condensed with the 25th regiment, and commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Jessup, and who had been sent by that officer, for directions as to the dispositions of the first brigade, that General Ripley received an order from General Brown to collect the dead and wounded, and to return with the army to its encampment on the Chippewa. In obedience to the wishes of the commander-in-chief, this order was put into immediate execution. Major Hindman, with the artillery, was already on his march, and the remnants of the regular and volunteer brigades, having first rolled the smaller pieces of the enemy's cannon down the precipice, returned to the camp in good order, and without molestation, about one o'clock on the morning of the 26th.

In this instance, as at the defense of Sackett's Harbour, where it has been seen, the British troops were opposed and repulsed by the same commander, the enemy claimed another decisive and more brilliant victory. The governor-general, Sir George Prevost, and the commanding-general, Drummond, complimented the regulars and militia engaged in it, "*for their exemplary steadiness, gallantry, and discipline, in repulsing all the efforts of a numerous and determined enemy, to carry the position of Lundy's lane,*" and announced, "*that their exertions had been crowned with success, by the complete defeat of the enemy.*"

If, upon ground of their own selection, and with a body of sixteen hundred and thirty-seven men, to assail an advance party of an enemy of only seven hundred and fifty, and after an hour's obstinate conflict, to repose on their arms, until they could be



relieved by reinforcements;—if, after a mutual reinforcement, their enemy's numbers should amount to two brigades of fourteen hundred and fifty infantry, a detachment of three hundred and sixty-seven artillery, and a corps of six hundred volunteers, making in all two thousand four hundred and seventeen men, and their own force should consist, according with a report of one of their officers, of three thousand four hundred and fifty regulars, twelve hundred incorporated militia, and four hundred and eighty Indians, making in all, five thousand one hundred and thirty men, and, with this disparity of strength, they should be driven from the eminence on which they had advantageously posted themselves, with the loss, too, of all their cannon;—if, after three desperate assaults, any one of them upwards of twenty minutes in duration, for the recovery of their battery, and with the ability to interpose fresh lines, to be successfully repulsed, with immense losses, and after a contest of six hours (from half past five in the evening, until twelve at night) between some of the best disciplined troops of Europe, and the newly raised recruits, the former eventually to withdraw from the field, and leave their enemy in possession, not only of their cannon, but of one of their generals, the second in command, the first having narrowly escaped capture. If this be to effect the complete defeat and overthrow of their adversary, the British troops certainly achieved a brilliant and decisive victory; the governor-general of the Canadas was in the performance of his duty when he complimented them for their steadiness; and the prince regent of England betrayed no precipitation, when he announced it to the world, and permitted "NIAGARA" to be worn upon the caps of one of the regiments.

The captured artillery, it is true, was reobtained by its original owners, but its return to their possession was neither the result of any desperate effort to regain it, nor the evidence of a victory. They had entered into the engagement under circumstances highly advantageous. Their force could be continually augmented either by requisitions for militia, or by the concentration of their regulars from the neighbouring posts, and was already double the strength of the Americans. They were surrounded by deposits of ammunition, and being in the

vicinity of the garrisons, could at any time administer to the wants of their army. Not so the Americans. They were at a distance from any resources, whence they might derive either supplies or reinforcements. Their numbers had been lessened by repeated skirmishes with the enemy, and by the casualties commonly incident to armies. With the odds against them, they had been drawn into this tremendous struggle, the long duration of which so much exhausted their troops, and reduced their numbers, that after becoming the entire masters of the field, and keeping possession of it nearly an hour, they retired, with a force not amounting to the complement of two regiments. In this reduced state, and without the means of removing the captured property, they left the enemy's cannon at the foot of the eminence, on which they had proudly and gallantly wrested it from him. Had their means been less limited, they might have embellished the conquest not only with these, but other splendid trophies, put all disputation for ever at rest, and left no alternative to the enemy, but an acknowledgment of his defeat and disgrace. In a battle, desperate and tremendous as this is represented to have been, the losses on each side must necessarily have been immense. In killed, wounded, prisoners, and missing, the total of both armies amounted to one thousand seven hundred and twenty-nine, the proportion being nearly equal, and the killed and wounded alone one thousand three hundred and eighty-four. On the side of the enemy, one assistant adjutant-general, one captain, three subalterns, and seventy-nine non-commissioned officers and privates were killed; Lieutenant-General Drummond, Major-General Riall, and three lieutenant-colonels, two majors, eight captains, twenty-two subalterns, and five hundred and twenty-two non-commissioned officers and privates were wounded; and the prisoners and missing amounted to one aid-de-camp, (Captain Loring,) five captains, nine other subalterns, and two hundred and twenty non-commissioned officers and privates, making in all eight hundred and seventy-eight men.

Many officers of distinction fell also on the other side, and the total loss was little less than that of the British. It consisted of one major, five captains, five subalterns, and one hundred and



fifty-nine non-commissioned officers and privates, killed ; Major-General Brown, Brigadier-Generals Scott and Porter, two aids-de-camp, one brigade major, one colonel, four lieutenant-colonels, one major, seven captains, thirty-seven subalterns, and five hundred and fifteen non-commissioned officers and privates, wounded ; and one brigade major, one captain, six subalterns, and one hundred and two non-commissioned officers and privates, missing ; making a grand total of eight hundred and fifty-one, and a difference of twenty-seven only, between the contending parties.

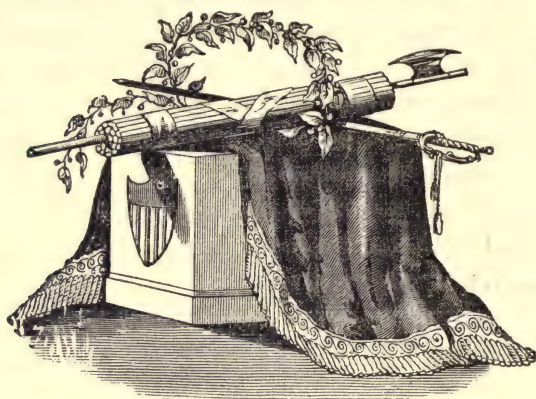
Of the individual gallantry of the officers, from the highest in rank down to the youngest subaltern, the most positive evidence is furnished, by the long list of killed and wounded. Every man upon the field being engaged in the battle, the bravery of no one officer was distinguishable from another, except in those instances when, by the change of the enemy's movements, detachments were thrown into situations, from which they could be extricated only by the most daring intrepidity.

When the American forces returned to their encampment at the Chippewa, Major-General Brown directed General Ripley to refresh the troops, and proceed with them, early in the morning, to the battle ground—with a view, no doubt, to reconnoiter the enemy, and if he loitered near the field, in a position from which he might be advantageously driven, to engage him ; but certainly not to assail a superior force, under circumstances, to the last degree unfavourable, and which would inevitably result in the total destruction of the American army. The troops, now amounting to about fifteen hundred and sixty, being put in motion, in obedience to this order General Ripley despatched reconnoitering parties in advance of his main body. From these he learned that the enemy was posted on the field in advance of his former position on the eminence, reinforced as had been reported by the prisoners, his line drawn up between the river and a thick wood, his flanks resting on each, and his cannon stationed so as to enfilade the road. Under such circumstances, it would have been highly injudicious to have attacked him, and where no advantages are to be gained, the useless effusion of human blood is a stain upon the ability and valour as well as



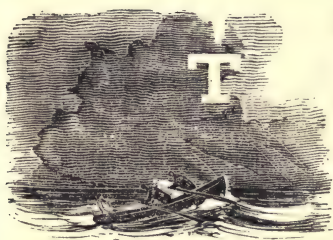
upon the judgment and humanity of the soldier. General Ripley, seeing the impossibility of regaining the field of battle, and the probability of his own flanks being compelled to fall back, by the immense superiority of the enemy's numbers, turned his army towards the Chippewa; whence, having first destroyed the bridges over that stream, as well as the platforms, which he had previously constructed at the enemy's old works there, he pursued his retreat towards the Fort Erie, and reached it in good order on the following day. There he determined upon making a decided stand against the British troops, whose regular and gradual approaches he anticipated.





## CHAPTER XIX.

### *Further operations on the Niagara Frontier.*



**T**HIS retrograde movement of the American army was no sooner effected, and the situations of the different regiments allotted in the encampments, than the commanding general (Ripley) immediately directed the lines of defense to be extended, the fort enlarged, and new batteries erected. With the aid of the engineers, Lieutenant-Colonels Wood and McRee, defenses of abatis, traverses, intrenchments, and redoubts were instantly commenced, and from the 27th of July until the 2d or 3d of August, the troops were employed night and day, in placing the works in a state to sustain the expected and almost certain attack. Had Lieutenant-General Drummond followed up the victory which he claimed, he would have found the shattered American brigades scarcely in any kind of condition to resist him. But the cautious enemy did not choose to pursue a retreating army, whose troops had given him such signal proofs

of their intrepidity, until his own numbers were again enlarged. On the 29th of July, being reinforced by the right and left wings of De Watteville's troops, eleven hundred strong, he pushed forward to the investment of the fort. This reinforcement extended his numbers to five thousand three hundred and fifty-two men, and with this formidable superiority of strength, he appeared on the 3d day of August, before a fort, which but a few days before was declared by the enemy to be a wretched stockade, altogether incapable of defense.

Having driven in the American pickets, and formed his encampment two miles distant from the garrison, he gradually approached within four or six hundred yards of the fort, properly so called, commenced a double line of intrenchments, erected batteries in front of them at points from which he could throw in an effectual fire, and planted his cannon so as to enfilade the works. Seeing by these indications that the British commander was preparing for a regular siege, General Ripley availed himself of the time thus lost by the enemy in opening his trenches, and carried on his defensive arrangements with unceasing alacrity.

The approach of the British army, on the 2d of August, being discovered by Major Morgan of the 1st riflemen, to whom, with a detachment of two hundred and forty men, the defense of the village of Buffalo, which had regained its former flourishing condition, was intrusted, he suspected the enemy of making a feint upon Fort Erie, with a view to an actual attack upon Buffalo. To defeat any such object, he immediately took a position on the upper side of Conejockeda creek, cut away the bridge crossing it, and threw up a breastwork of logs in the course of the night. Though the British general had no intention of making a feint, Major Morgan's precautions, in anticipation of an attack, were not uselessly adopted; for, early in the morning of the 3d, a detachment of the enemy's 41st regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Tucker, crossed the Niagara, in nine boats, and landed about half a mile below the creek. At the approach of day, the British colonel commenced an attack upon the detachment, and sent forward a party to repair the bridge under cover of his fire. Major Morgan did not attempt to retard the



enemy's advances until he was within rifle distance, when he opened a fire which proved so destructive, that Lieutenant-Colonel Tucker fell back to the skirt of a neighbouring wood, and kept up the contest at long shot. In the mean time General Drummond threw over reinforcements, and the British detachment now amounted to nearly twelve hundred men. With this force Colonel Tucker attempted to flank his antagonist, by despatching his left wing to ford the creek above, and press down upon the opposite side; this movement being observed, Major Morgan sent forward Lieutenants Ryan, Smith, and Armstrong, to oppose the fording party. Between these detachments an engagement took place a short distance above the breastwork, and after several heavy discharges, the enemy fell back to his main body, with considerable loss. Lieutenant-Colonel Tucker, finding that the object of his expedition against Buffalo, the recapture of General Riall, and the destruction of the public stores there, could not be achieved without an immense loss, and knowing the desire of Lieutenant-General Drummond, to augment, rather than decrease the force destined for the siege of the fort, on the opposite shore, he determined on abandoning the enterprise, and drawing of his troops to Squaw island, returned thence to the Canadian shore. With so small a force Major Morgan could not attempt to annoy him in his retreat. He is supposed to have lost a considerable number of men, many dead bodies being found in the creek, and upon the field, and six prisoners being taken by the detachment. In this gallant little affair, Captain Hamilton, and Lieutenants Wadsworth and McIntosh of the riflemen, and five privates were wounded, and two privates killed.

By the 7th of August, most of the batteries and traverses about Fort Erie were completed. Upon a battery upwards of twenty feet high, and situated at Snake Hill, the southern extremity of the works, five guns were mounted, and the command given to Major Towson, of the artillery. Two other batteries between Towson's and the main works, one mounting three guns, under Captain Biddle, and the other two guns, under Lieutenant Fontaine, were also completed. The northern point of the fort had been extended to the water, and the Douglass battery, of two

guns, erected on the bank. The dragoons, infantry, riflemen, and volunteers, were encamped between the western ramparts and the water, and the artillery, under Major Hindman, stationed within the main works.

Whilst these preparations were making, several partial cannonades took place, without any known effect on either side. Before any regular firing was commenced, Brigadier-General Gaines arrived at the fort, and assumed the command of the army. General Ripley then returned to the command of his brigade. The British army was now strongly posted behind their works, and General Gaines determined to ascertain their strength, and endeavour, if possible, to draw them out. On the 6th, he sent the rifle corps, with Major Morgan, who had been previously transferred from the American shore, to pass through the woods, intervening between the British lines and the fort, and with orders to amuse the enemy's light troops, until his columns should indicate an intention to move; in that event, Major Morgan was to retire gradually, until his corps should have fallen back upon a strong line posted in the plain before the fort, to receive the pursuing British troops.



**T**HE object of this movement failed—Major Morgan having encountered and forced the enemy's light troops into the lines, with the loss of eleven killed, and three wounded, and made prisoners; and notwithstanding he maintained his position upwards of two hours, he could not succeed in drawing forth the main body of the British troops. He therefore returned

to the fort, after losing five men killed, and four wounded.

By the 10th, the enemy's line was protected by several block-houses, and a long wooden breastwork. To examine these works, Captain Birdsall, of the 4th rifle regiment, was sent out with a detachment of the 1st, and his own company, amounting in all to one hundred and sixty men. After some skirmishing, he succeeded in beating in two of their picket guards, with a loss on their side of ten men killed, and one killed and three wounded of the riflemen.

On the 12th, a working party of the enemy, supported by a guard of his light troops, was discovered to be opening an avenue for the construction of an additional battery, from which to annoy the rear of the fort. Agreeably to the orders of General Gaines, Major Morgan detached about one hundred men, under Captain Birdsall, to cut them off; that officer immediately assailed the guard, and after a smart contest, drove in both it and the working party. In the event of the enemy's guard being reinforced from their lines, Major Morgan had been also ordered to hold his corps in readiness to support Captain Birdsall; and as a large body of the enemy was observed to be approaching upon the detachment, the major promptly moved forward and engaged it. A warm and spirited conflict followed, in which several men were killed on both sides. At length, however, an additional party of the enemy coming up to the aid of that engaged, Major Morgan ordered his corps to retire, and had scarcely given a signal to that effect, when he received a musket ball in the head, which for ever deprived the garrison and the country of his valuable services. The corps was conducted to the fort by Captain Birdsall, and the body of its brave and lamented commander interred at Buffalo, with the proper honours and solemnities.

During these repeated skirmishes, and in the intervals, between the sorties of detachments, the besiegers and the besieged were diligently engaged in strengthening their respective works; and from the 7th until the 14th of the month, an almost unceasing fire was kept up between them, with various effect. On the night of the 14th, the emotion and tumult in the British encampment gave certain indications of an intended attack upon the fort. General Ripley, always on the alert, was among the first to discover these indications, and having first ordered his brigade, stationed to the left, to be formed within the line of defense, he despatched his aid, Lieutenant Kirby, to inform General Gaines of his conviction of the enemy's contemplation. General Gaines was himself already persuaded that an attempt would very soon be made to storm the garrison; and Lieutenant Kirby had no sooner delivered his message at head-quarters, than the firing of a picket, commanded by Lieutenant Belknap,



of the infantry, assured him that the moment had arrived. Dispositions were immediately made to receive the assault, and the troops of the garrison anticipated its result with pride and enthusiasm.

Lieutenant-General Drummond having appointed the morning of the 15th for a vigorous and sudden assault upon the fort, had previously arranged the order of attack in three columns, to be made at three distinct points, with a view to harass and distract the garrison. His right column, under Lieutenant-Colonel Fischer, of the 8th, and composed of parts of the 89th and 100th regiments, De Watteville's, detachments from the royal artillery with rockateers, and a picket of cavalry, was to make a detour of three miles through the woods, and to assault the southern extremity of the works. His centre column, under Lieutenant-Colonel Drummond, of the 104th, and composed of detachments from that and the 41st regiment of infantry, of the royal artillery, seamen and marines, was to be conducted by Captain Barney, of the 89th, to the attack of the fort. The left column under Colonel Scott, of the 103d, and composed of that regiment, was to be led by Captain Elliot, to penetrate the openings in the works between the fort and the lake, and to scale the battery upon the bank. In advance of Lieutenant Fischer's column, the British pickets on Buck's road, together with the Indians of the encampment, were to be pushed on by Lieutenant-Colonel Nichols, to drive in the American outposts. The royals, another part of De Watteville's regiment, the Glengarians, and the incorporated militia, under Lieutenant-Colonel Tucker, were to be held in reserve; and the 19th light dragoons, stationed in the ravine in the rear of the fort, to receive and convey the prisoners to the encampment, a duty which it did not fall to their lot to perform.

General Gaines, not knowing at what points the assault would be made, prepared to receive it at all those which he suspected the enemy might judge to be assailable. The command of the fort and bastions was given to Captain Alexander Williams, of the artillery, which, with the battery on the margin of the lake, under Lieutenant Douglass, of the engineers, and thence called the Douglass battery, formed the north-east and south-east



General Gaines.

angle of the works. In a block-house, near the salient bastion, a detachment of the 19th infantry was stationed under Major Trimble. The batteries in front, under Captains Biddle and Fanning, were supported by General Porter's volunteers, and the corps of riflemen. The whole body of artillery, distributed throughout the garrison was commanded by Major Hindman. The first brigade of infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Aspinwall, was posted on the right; and General Ripley's brigade supported Towson's battery, and the line upon the left. On the evening of the 14th, a few hours before the commencement of the assault, and whilst these dispositions were making to repel it, one of the enemy's shells fell into a small magazine within the American works, and produced an awful explosion. From one end of the British line to the other, a loud shout was in consequence uttered, but as no bad effect followed the explosion, the shout was repeated in the fort, and in the midst of the enemy's exultation, Captain Williams immediately discharged all his heavy pieces.

At half an hour after two, on the morning of the 15th, though the darkness was excessive, the approach of Lieutenant-Colonel Fischer, with the right column, thirteen hundred strong, was distinctly heard on the left of the garrison. The 2d brigade,

the command of the 21st regiment having been given to Lieutenant-Colonel Wood, of the engineers, and the artillery of Towson's battery were prepared to receive him. Marching promptly forward, Lieutenant-Colonel Fischer assailed the battery with scaling ladders, and the line toward the lake with the bayonet. He was permitted to come close up to the works, when the 21st and 23d regiments, and the artillery upon the battery opened a sudden and tremendous fire, which threw his whole column into confusion, rendered him utterly unable to sustain the contest, and prevented his making an impression upon the works. Having retired some distance to reorganize his column, he immediately made new arrangements for, and varied the shape of, his next attack, so as to avoid those points, from which the greatest measure of destruction had been dealt out to him. According to the general plan, however, which it was incumbent on him to pursue, it was necessary that the battery should be carried; but, with the means to effect this object he was badly provided. With scaling ladders of no more than sixteen feet in length, he could not possibly throw his troops upon a battery of about twenty-five feet high, and his second attempt, equally furious as the first, met with no greater success. He was again repulsed, and with considerable loss. Convinced of his inability to get possession of the battery, and feeling the deadly effects of the incessant showers of grape which were thrown upon him, he determined in his next effort to pass the point of the abatis, by wading breast deep into the lake, to which the works were open. In this attempt also he was unsuccessful, nearly two hundred of his men being either killed or drowned, and the remainder precipitately falling back. Without waiting to know the result of the attack, upon the right of the works, which had been already made by the second and third column, he ordered a retreat to the British encampment, which he did not effect, without the loss of many of his rear guard, taken prisoners, in a sally made from the works by the order of General Ripley.

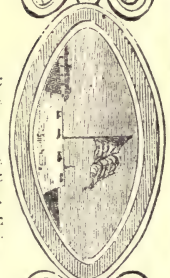
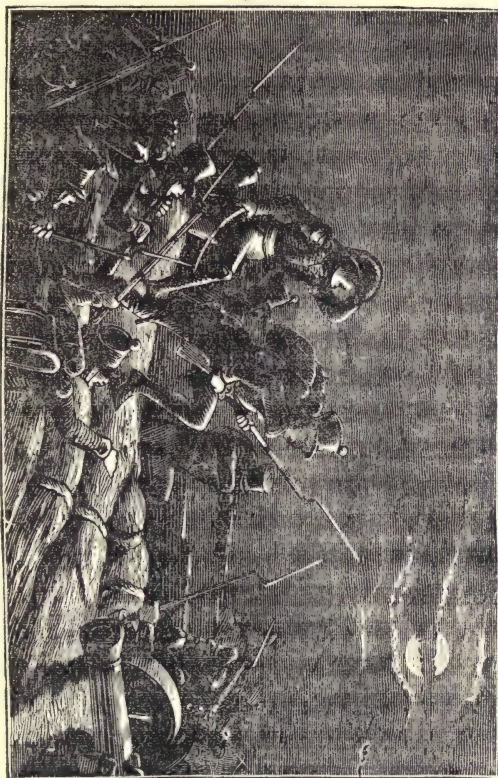
The attack from the centre and left column, the first of seven hundred, and the second of eight hundred men, was reserved until the contest became very animated between Lieutenant-Colonel Fischer's column and the troops upon the left. From the



line of defenses, between the Douglass battery and the fort, and from those in front of the garrison, Lieutenant-General Drummond supposed reinforcements would be drawn to the aid of the southern extremity of the works, and with this view he had given greater strength to his right, than to his other columns, and intended to avail himself of the consequent weakened state of the north and south-east angles of the American post.

The pickets being driven in, the approach of Lieutenant-Colonel Drummond was heard from the ravine, and Colonel Scott's column at the same time advanced along the margin of the water. From the salient bastion of the fort, Captain Williams immediately opened his fire upon the centre column, whilst the approach of Colonel Scott was attempted to be checked by the Douglass battery, and Captains Boughton's and Harding's New York and Pennsylvania volunteers on its right; the 9th infantry under Captain Foster, on its left; and a six-pounder, planted at that point, under the management of Colonel McRee. At fifty yards distance from the line, the enemy's left column made a momentary pause, and instantly recoiled from the fire of the cannon and musketry. But the centre column, having advanced upon every assailable point of the fort, in defiance of the rapid and heavy discharges of the artillery, and having ascended the parapet by means of a large number of scaling ladders, its officers called out to the line, extending to the lake, to desist firing—an artifice which succeeded so well, that the Douglass battery, and the infantry, supposing the order to proceed from the garrison, suspended their fire, until the deception was discovered. The left column in the mean time, recovered from its confusion, and was led up to a second charge, from which it was again repulsed before it had an opportunity of planting the scaling ladders, and with the loss of its commander, and upwards of one-third of its men.

Whilst the second attempt was in operation, the centre column was, with great difficulty, thrown back from the salient bastion; and the troops within the fort, were quickly reinforced from General Ripley's brigade, and General Porter's volunteers. But Lieutenant-Colonel Drummond, actuated by a determination (not to be overcome by a single repulse) to force an entrance into



Defense of Fort Erie.





the garrison, and momentarily expecting the reserve to be ordered up by the lieutenant-general, returned to the assault a second and a third time. By the gallant efforts, however, of Major Hindman, and his artillery, and the infantry detachment of Major Trimble, he was, each time, more signally repulsed than before; and Colonel Scott's column having withdrawn from the action, upon the fall of its leader, Lieutenant Douglass was busily engaged in giving such direction to the guns of his battery, as to cut off the communication between Drummond's column and the reserve of Lieutenant-Colonel Tucker.



THE new bastions which had been commenced for the enlargement of the old Fort Erie, not being yet completed, the only opposition which could be given to the enemy's approaches upon those points, was by means of small arms. The batteries of Captain Biddle and Captain Fanning (formerly Fontaine's) in the works intervening between Towson's battery and the fort, were, therefore, opened upon the enemy with great vivacity, and his advances from the plain, frequently checked by those gallant and meritorious officers.

After this third repulse, Lieutenant-Colonel Drummond, taking advantage of the darkness of the morning, and of the heavy columns of smoke, which concealed all objects from the view of the garrison, moved his troops silently round the ditch, repeated his charge, and reascended his ladders with such velocity, as to gain footing on the parapet, before any effectual opposition could be made. Being in the very midst of his men, he directed them to charge vigorously with their pikes and bayonets, and to show no quarter to any yielding soldier of the garrison.\* This order

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\* General Gaines, in his official letter, speaking of Lieutenant-Colonel Drummond, observes, "The order of '*Give the Yankees no quarter,*' was often reiterated by this officer, whose bravery, if it had been seasoned with virtue, would have entitled him to the admiration of every soldier."

was executed with the utmost rapidity, and the most obstinate previous parts of the engagement formed no kind of parallel to the violence and desperation of the present conflict.

Captain Williams, and Lieutenants McDonough and Watmough, of the artillery, being in the most conspicuous situations, were personally engaged with the assailants, and were all severely wounded; the first, Captain Williams, mortally.\* Not all the efforts of Major Hindman and his command, nor Major Trimble's infantry, nor a detachment of riflemen under Captain Birdsall, who had posted himself in the ravelin, opposite the gateway of the fort, could dislodge the determined and intrepid enemy from the bastion; though the deadly effects of their fire prevented his approaches beyond it. He had now complete possession of the bastion. About this time, Lieutenant McDonough's wounds rendered him almost incapable of further resistance, and he demanded quarter from the enemy, but Lieutenant-Colonel Drummond personally refused it, and repeated his instructions to his troops to deny it in all instances. The shocking inhumanity of this order roused the exhausted spirit of the lieutenant, and, seizing a handspike, he defended himself against a numerous party of the assailants, until he received a pistol shot discharged at him by the hand of their commander. Lieutenant-Colonel Drummond survived this act but a few moments, the fall of McDonough being avenged by a person standing near him, who immediately shot the colonel through the breast.

The loss of their leader did not check the impetuosity of the enemy's troops, and they continued in the use of their pikes and small arms until the day broke, and repulsed several furious charges made upon them by detachments of the garrison. The

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\* This amiable young officer was the son of Colonel Jonathan Williams, who had long been at the head of the United States engineer department, to whom the nation is greatly indebted for the construction of many of the principal fortifications; and who was a member elect of the fourteenth congress, from the city of Philadelphia. The captain was also formerly of the engineer corps, but having been transferred to the artillery, and being anxious to share in the honours and the perils of the campaign of 1814, he solicited to be sent to the Niagara frontier, and received an order to repair thither from Fort Mifflin, a garrison which, for several months, he had commanded with reputation. Early in the spring of that year, though in a state of convalescence from a dangerous fever, he proceeded to the lines, and joined the army of General Brown, in which no officer was more universally esteemed.

approach of daylight enabled both parties to give a more certain direction to their fire. The artillerists had already severely suffered; but, with those that remained, and a reinforcing detachment of infantry, Major Hindman renewed his attempts to drive the British 41st and 104th from the bastion. Captain Bird-sall, at the same moment, drawing out his riflemen from the ravelin, rushed through the gateway into the fort, and joining in the charge, received an accidental wound from one of his own men, just as the attack failed. Detachments from the 1st brigade, under Captain Foster, were then introduced over the interior bastion, to the assistance of Major Hindman; these detachments were to charge at a different point of the salient or exterior bastion, and were handsomely led on by Captain Foster and the assistant inspector-general, Major Hall. This charge also failed; the passage up the bastion not being wide enough to admit more than three men abreast. It was frequently however repeated, and though it sometimes occasioned much slaughter among the enemy's infantry, was invariably repulsed. By the operations of the artillery from a demi-bastion in the fort, and the continual blaze of fire from the small arms, added to the effects of the repeated charges, the enemy's column, being considerably cut up, and many of its principal officers wounded, began to recoil; which, being observed by the besieged party, and the contest having entirely subsided on the left flank of the works, reinforcements were brought up from that point, and many of the enemy's troops, in a few moments, thrown from the bastion.

The British reserve was now expected to come up; the guns at the Douglass battery had by this time been turned so as to enfilade that column in its approach; Captain Fanning was already playing upon the enemy with great effect; and Captain Biddle was ordered to post a piece of artillery so as to enfilade the salient glacis. This piece was served with uncommon vivacity, notwithstanding Captain Biddle had been severely wounded in the shoulder. All these preparations being made for an effectual operation upon the enemy's remaining column, and from the dreadful carnage which had already taken place, it was scarcely supposed that he would continue the assault much longer. But three or four hundred men of the reserve, were about to rush



upon the parapet to the assistance of those recoiling, when a tremendous and dreadful explosion took place, under the platform, which carried away the bastion, and all who happened to be upon it.\* The enemy's reserve immediately fell back, and in a short time the contest terminated in the entire defeat of the assailants, who returned with the shattered columns, to their encampment.

On retiring from the assault, according to the report of General Gaines, the British army left upon the field two hundred and twenty-two killed, among whom were fourteen officers of distinction, one hundred and seventy-four wounded, and one hundred and eighty-six prisoners, making a total of five hundred and eighty-two. Others who were slightly wounded had been carried to their works.

The official account of Lieutenant-General Drummond does not acknowledge so large a number in killed, but makes the aggregate loss much greater. His adjutant-general reported fifty-seven killed, three hundred and nine wounded, and five hundred and thirty-nine missing—in all nine hundred and five.

The American loss amounted to seventeen killed, fifty-six wounded, and one lieutenant, (Fontaine,) who was thrown over the parapet while defending the bastion, and ten privates prisoners—in all eighty-four men; making a difference in their favour of eight hundred and twenty-one. During the cannonade and bombardment which commenced on the 13th, and continued

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\* This explosion, to which alone the enemy attributed the failure of his arms, notwithstanding the signal repulses of his right and left columns, has been variously accounted for. It was occasioned by the communication of a spark to an ammunition chest, placed under the platform of the bastion, but by what means the narrator of this event has not been able, after an investigation of many papers written to him upon the subject, to ascertain. It is to be regretted, that a fact constituting so important a feature in this memorable defense, should never have been satisfactorily developed. Several letters from officers, engaged at the right flank of the American works, state it to have been the result of entire accident; whilst others relate, that Lieutenant McDonough, not having been immediately removed from the foot of the bastion, on which he had been twice wounded, and being highly exasperated at the determination which he saw in the conduct of the enemy's troops to show no mercy to the vanquished soldier, resolved upon devoting himself to stop the progress of their inhuman career, and to this end threw a lighted match into a chest of ammunition, and by its immediate explosion, produced those tremendous effects, which restored the bastion to the Americans, and terminated the conflict.

until an hour before the assault on the morning of the 15th, forty-five men of the American garrison were killed and wounded. Captain Biddle, Lieutenant Zantzinger, and Adjutant-Lieutenant Watmough, of the artillery, and Lieutenant Patterson, of the 19th infantry, among the latter.

A night or two before the attack upon Fort Erie, the British general furnished Captain Dobbs, of the royal navy, with a sufficient number of troops to man nine boats, which were completely fitted, to attack the three schooners, the Somers, Porcupine, and Ohio, then lying at anchor off the fort. The Porcupine succeeded in beating them off, but the Somers and Ohio were carried, after a gallant resistance, in which the enemy lost two seamen killed, and four wounded; and the schooners, one seaman killed, and three officers and four seamen wounded. The captured schooners were taken down the Niagara, and anchored near Frenchman's creek; the Porcupine immediately after sailed for the town of Erie.

In consequence of his immense losses in the assault, the enemy's force was reduced almost to the number of the troops within the garrison; and until he was again reinforced, he did not think proper to carry on his operations. A few days brought him a reinforcement of two full regiments, and having enlarged his batteries, and made arrangements to force the Americans to the evacuation of Fort Erie, he opened a fire from his whole line, and threw in hot shot, shells, and every destructive implement within his reach, without intermission, during the remainder of the month of August. On the 28th General Gaines was severely wounded in several parts of his body, by a shell which fell through the roof of his quarters, and exploded at his feet. He was fortunate enough to escape suffocation, by gaining the door of the apartment, but being entirely disabled, he retired to Buffalo, and left the command again in the hands of General Ripley, who neglected no means to facilitate the completion of the works, which, with the assistance of the engineers, he had originally planned.





## CHAPTER XX.

*Invasion of Vermont.---Further operations on the Niagara Frontier.*



THE operations against the enemy's positions along the Niagara had scarcely been entered upon, when the governor-general, Sir George Prevost matured the plan of an expedition, having for its object, the invasion of the American territory from Lower Canada; the defeat and destruction of the right division of the United States army, then lying in the neighbourhood of Plattsburg, under Major-General Izard; and the subjugation of the country to Crown Point and Ticonderoga. No offensive measures, against any part of Lower Canada, by this army, being in contemplation, and the apprehensions of the war department having been strongly excited about the safety of the left division, after its investment at Fort Erie, General Izard received orders to march for that post, with a reinforcement of



the largest proportion of his troops, and to assume the command of the garrison. Accordingly, after detaching about fifteen hundred men, under Brigadier-General Macomb, most of whom were either sick or convalescent, and requiring of General Mooers, of the New York militia, the aid of a few volunteer companies, for the defense of Plattsburg, he marched for Sackett's Harbour, with upwards of three thousand men. Being thus left in command of a position, open to the attacks of the enemy's naval, as well as his land forces, General Macomb neglected no precaution to prevent surprise, and to put his small army in the best state of discipline, though on the 1st of September, in consequence of the best brigades having been broken up, to form General Izard's division, he had but one battalion properly organized. The works erecting were on that day unfinished, and the troops, therefore, divided into detachments to complete them.

Transports, with troops, had been continually arriving at Quebec, from England, and such was the secrecy and address with which Sir George Prevost made preparations for his intended expedition, that, before the 1st of September, he had organized a powerful army of fourteen thousand men, opposite Montreal, constituted of the most experienced generals, and distinguished officers of the British army. This comparatively immense force consisted of three brigades, and a corps of reserve, the brigades being divided into twenty-four divisions, and having a staff composed of two lieutenant-generals, five major-generals, and a proportionate number of assistants and deputies. The respective brigades were commanded by major-generals Robertson, Powers, Brisbane, and Baynes, (adjutant-general.) Major-General Kempt commanded the reserve. Sir Sidney Beckwith was quartermaster-general to this army, and Lieutenant-General De Rottenburg, the second in command; Sir George Prevost commanding in person.

About the 1st of the month, he occupied with these troops the village of Champlain, and issued addresses and proclamations, inviting the citizens to his standard, and promising them the protection of his majesty's government. From Champlain he continued to make gradual approaches towards Plattsburg, until the 6th. Early on the morning of that day, he made a rapid

advance, in two columns, one coming down the Beckmantown road, and the other along the Lake road. At a bridge crossing Dead creek, intersecting the latter, General Macomb had stationed a detachment of two hundred men, under Captain Sproul, of the 13th, to abatis the woods, and to place obstructions in the road; after which, he was to fortify himself with two field-pieces, sent with him for that purpose, and to receive orders from Lieutenant-Colonel Appling, who, with one hundred riflemen, was reconnoitering the enemy's movements some distance in advance of this position. The brigade of General Brisbane, which approached through the Beckmantown road with more rapidity than the other, was met by about seven hundred militia, under General Mooers, who, after a slight skirmish with the enemy's light parties, with the exception of one or two companies fled in the greatest disorder. Those who were intrepid enough to remain, were immediately formed with a corps of two hundred and fifty regulars, under Major Wool, of the 29th, and disputed the passage of the road for some time. But their fears also getting at length the better of their judgment, notwithstanding the enemy fired only from his flankers and patrolling parties, they followed the example of their comrades, and precipitately retired to the village. Major Wool's regulars remained firm, however, and being joined by Captain Leonard's park of flying artillery, and the 6th, and a detachment of the 34th regiments, continued to annoy the advanced parties of the British column, and killed Lieutenant-Colonel Wellington, of the 3d, or buffs, who was at its head.

General Macomb, at this moment personally directing the movements in the town, soon saw that the enemy's object in making so much more rapid a march on its west, than on the north, was to cut off Lieutenant-Colonel Appling's and Captain Sproul's detachments, despatched his aid, Lieutenant Root, with orders to those officers to withdraw their forces from Dead creek, to join the detachment of Major Wool, and to fall upon the enemy's right flank. Whilst Lieutenant-Colonel Appling was proceeding in obedience to this order, he was encountered on the north side of the town by the light divisions of the enemy's 1st brigade, sent for the purpose of cutting him off, and which

had that moment emerged from the woods. Their numbers were superior, and had he been delayed an instant longer on the Lake road, he must inevitably have yielded. Here he engaged, but after a short contest, retired before them. In the centre of the town he re-engaged them, and being joined by Major Wool, was ordered to retire to the American works on the south of the Saranac.



HE retreat was effected in good order, and covered by a guard of one hundred and twenty men, under Captain McGlassin, of the 15th infantry; the detachments alternately retiring and keeping up a brisk and effectual fire upon the British columns. Having reached the works with a trifling loss, General Macomb ordered Lieutenant Harrison, of the 13th, under the direction of Major Wool,

and protected by Captain Leonard's artillery, to destroy the bridge over the Saranac.

This order was not executed without some difficulty, the British having occupied the houses near the bridge, with their light troops, kept up a constant fire from the windows, and wounded Lieutenants Harrison and Turner, of the 13th and Taylor, of the 34th. These troops were, however, soon after dislodged by a discharge of hot shot from the American works, and in conjunction with the right column, were engaged the remainder of the day in various attempts to drive the guards from the several bridges. But the planks had all been taken up, and being placed in the form of breastworks, served to cover the American light parties stationed for the defense of the passages.

The obstructions which had been thrown in the way of the column advancing by the Lake road, and the destruction of the bridge over Dead creek, greatly impeded its approaches, and, in attempting to ford the creek, it received a severe and destructive fire from the gun-boats and galleys anchored in front of the town. But not all the galleys, aided by the armament of the



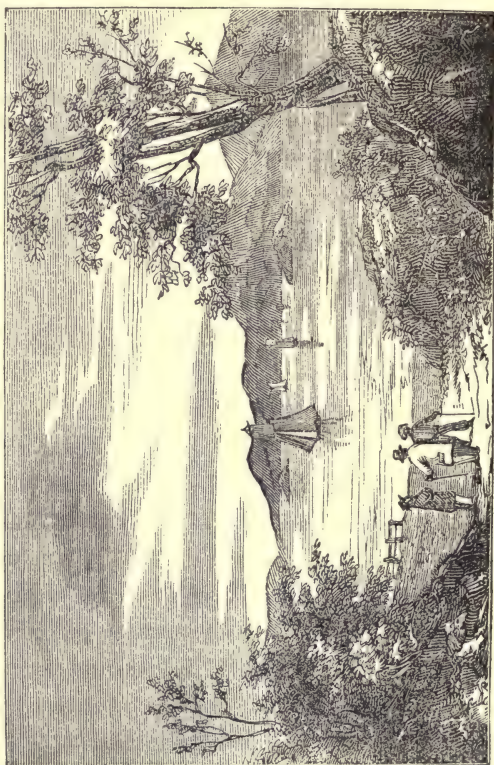
whole flotilla, which then lay opposite Plattsburg, under Commodore McDonough, could have prevented the capture of Macomb's army, after its passage of the Saranac, had Sir George Prevost pushed his whole force upon the margin of that stream. Like General Drummond at Erie, he made a pause, in full view of the unfinished works of the Americans, and consumed five days in erecting batteries, and throwing up breastworks, for the protection of his approaches. Of this interval the American general did not fail to avail himself, and kept his troops constantly employed in finishing his line of redoubts.

Whilst both parties were thus engaged in providing for the protection of their forces, the main body of the British army came up with the advance; and General Macomb was also reinforced by the militia of New York, and the volunteers from the mountains of Vermont. Skirmishes between light detachments, sallies from the different works, and frequent attempts to restore the bridges, served to amuse the besiegers and the besieged, while the former were getting up a train of battering cannon, and the latter strengthening their lines, and preparing to repel the attack. In one of these skirmishes on the 7th, a British detachment making a violent effort to obtain possession of the pass of a bridge, was handsomely repulsed by a small guard under Lieutenant Runk of the 6th infantry, who received a musket ball in his body, and expired on the following day. He was the only officer killed during the siege.

The New York militia and Vermont volunteers were now principally stationed at the different bridges crossing the Saranac, or in the wood opposite the fording places. From these positions they annoyed the enemy's guards, and poured repeated discharges of musketry into his masked batteries.

Two of General Macomb's new works were called Fort Brown and Fort Scott, and opposite the former, it was suspected a very powerful masked battery had been constructed, in order suddenly to demolish it, at a time of general attack. To discover the truth of this suspicion, and if possible to destroy or to mutilate such a work, Captain McGlassin, on the night of the 9th, volunteered his services to ford the river with a competent detachment. His enterprise was approved of by the general,







who assigned him the command of fifty men. With these the captain succeeded in fording the river nearly under Fort Brown, and upon gaining the opposite shore, proceeded with great secrecy about three hundred yards. At this distance from the margin of the river, he encountered a guard of one hundred and fifty men, whom he instantly engaged, and with such vigour and address, as to deceive them, with respect to his own force, and after a short contest to drive them behind a work, which he discovered to be the suspected masked battery.

Having succeeded in the accomplishment of one of the objects of his enterprise, neither Captain McGlassin, nor his brave detachment, could think of returning to the army, without having signalized the expedition by some act, more important in its consequences than the putting to flight an enemy's guard, however superior in numbers. He accordingly led up his detachment to charge upon the work, into which the British guard had fled, and by one or two vigorous onsets, in which he had but one man wounded, he carried the battery, and entirely routed its defenders, with the loss of their commanding officer and sixteen men killed, and several wounded. Being now in possession of a work which would have incalculably annoyed the batteries at Fort Brown, Captain McGlassin destroyed it with all possible haste, and returned to the American works with the loss of three men missing. For this gallant and hazardous essay, which had a tendency not only to deceive the British general with regard to the actual force of General Macomb's army, and to inspire the troops, militia as well as regulars, with a spirit of enterprise, but placed a principal work, Fort Brown, beyond the possibility of being silenced, Captain McGlassin received the public thanks of his commanding officer, and the brevet rank of major from the president of the United States.

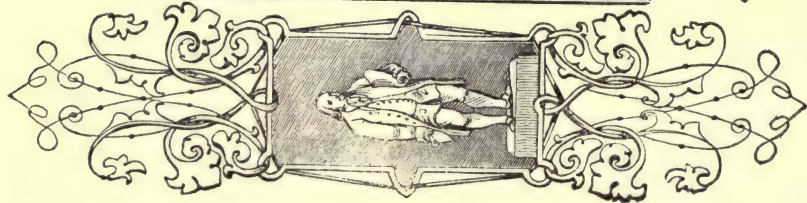
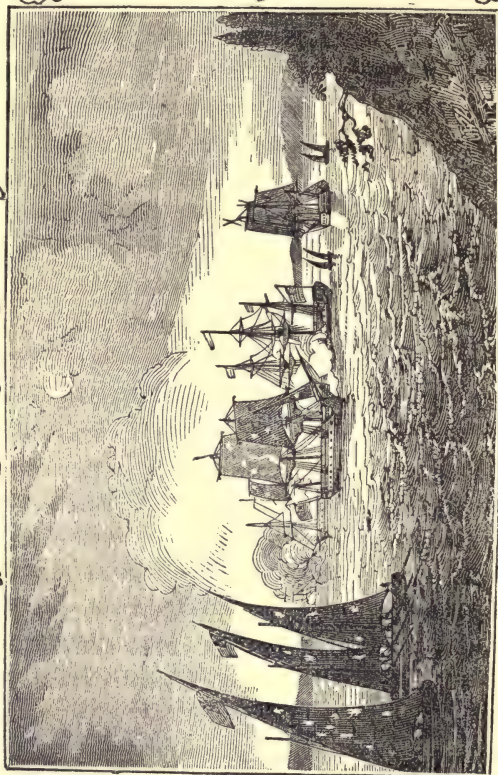
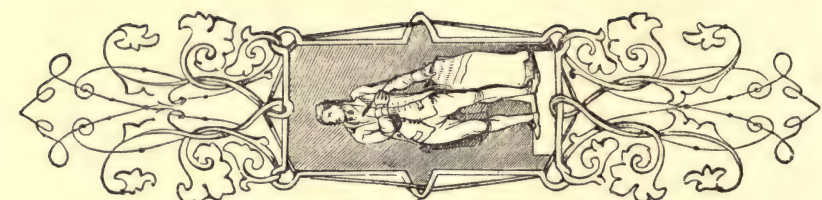
On the morning of the 11th, the motives of the British general, in delaying his assault upon the American works, became apparent. Being assured of his ability at any time to destroy them by a single effort, he was regardless of the manner in which they might be gradually strengthened, and awaited the arrival of the British squadron from Lake Champlain, in co-operation with which he contemplated a general attack, and the easy cap

ture of the American fleet and army. On that day his fleet, consisting of a large frigate, the *Confiance*, of thirty-nine guns; the brig *Linnet*, of sixteen; the sloops *Chub* and *Finch*, (formerly the United States sloops *Growler* and *Eagle*,) of eleven guns each; and thirteen gun-boats and row-galleys, mounting in all ninety-five guns, and having a complement of one thousand and fifty men, made its appearance, under Captain Downie, round Cumberland Head, and immediately engaged the American squadron under Commodore McDonough, then moored in Plattsburg bay, and consisting of the ship *Saratoga*, the brig *Eagle*, the schooner *Ticonderoga*, the sloop *Preble*, and ten gun-boats, mounting altogether eighty-six guns, (the largest vessel carrying twenty-six,) and being manned with eight hundred and twenty men.

The first gun from the *Confiance* was the signal for a general action, and Sir George Prevost instantly opened his batteries upon the works on the opposite bank of the Saranac. A tremendous cannonade ensued; bomb shells and congreve rockets were thrown into the American lines during the whole day, and frequent but ineffectual attempts made to ford the river. At a bridge about a mile up the river, an attempt to throw over a division of the enemy's army was handsomely repulsed by a detachment of regulars; and an effort to force the passage of the bridge in the town was effectually checked by a party of riflemen, under Captain Grosvenor. But the principal slaughter took place at a ford three miles from the works. There the enemy succeeded in crossing over three companies of the 76th regiment before his advance was impeded. A body of volunteers and militia, stationed in a contiguous wood, opened a heavy fire upon them, and after a spirited contest, in which one of these companies was entirely destroyed, its captain killed, and three lieutenants, and twenty-seven men made prisoners, those who had attained the shore fell back in disorder, upon an approaching column, then in the middle of the river. The receding and advancing columns mingled with each other, and being closely pressed by the volunteers, the whole body was thrown into a state of confusion, from which the officers could not recover them; numbers were killed in the stream, and the dead and

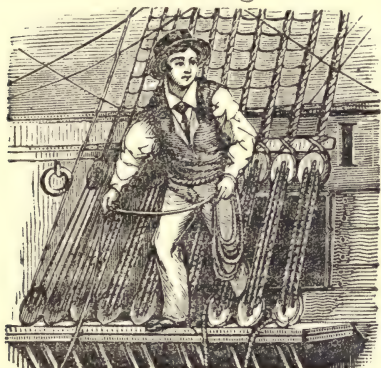






Battle of Lake Champlain.

wounded being swept along by the force of the current, sunk into one common grave.



It was the result of the engagement between the two naval armaments, which continued upwards of two hours, in presence of the contending armies, which determined the action upon land. Its effects were sensibly felt by the British general, whose plans were completely frustrated by its issue. After getting round Cumberland Head, Captain

Downie anchored his fleet within three hundred yards of the line formed by Commodore McDonough, and placing the *Confiance* frigate in opposition to the *Saratoga*, the *Linnet* to the *Eagle*, Captain Henley, one of his sloops, and all his galleys, to the schooner *Ticonderoga*, Lieutenant-Commandant Cassin, and the sloop *Preble*, his other sloop alternately assisting the *Saratoga* and *Eagle*. The latter vessel was so situated, shortly after the commencement of the action, that the guns could not be brought to bear, and Captain Henley cut her cable, and placed her between the commodore's ship and the *Ticonderoga*, from which situation, though she exposed the *Saratoga* to a galling fire, she annoyed the enemy's squadron with much effect. Some minutes after ten o'clock, nearly all the guns on the starboard side of the *Saratoga* being either dismounted or entirely unmanageable, Commodore McDonough was obliged to put out a stern anchor, and to cut the bower cable, by which means the *Saratoga* winded on the enemy's frigate with a fresh broadside, which being promptly delivered, the *Confiance* immediately after surrendered, with one hundred and five round shot in her hull, and her captain and forty-nine men killed, and sixty wounded. The *Saratoga* had fifty-five round shot in her hull, and had been twice set on fire by hot shot from the *Confiance*, but she sustained a loss of only twenty-eight in killed, and twenty-nine wounded, notwithstanding she mounted thirteen guns less than her antagonist. The *Confiance* had no sooner surrendered, than the *Saratoga's* broadside was sprung to bear on the brig, whose flag struck



fifteen minutes after. Captain Henley, in the *Eagle*, had already captured one of the enemy's sloops, and the *Ticonderoga*, after having sustained a galling fire, caused the surrender of the remaining vessel. The principal vessels of the British fleet being now all captured, and three of their row galleys sunk, the remaining ten escaped from the bay in a shattered condition.

Among the officers killed on board the *Saratoga*, was the first lieutenant, Gamble, and on board the *Ticonderoga*, Lieutenant John Stansbury, son of General Tobias Stansbury, of Maryland, who was shot upon mounting the netting, to discover in what manner the guns of his division might be brought to bear more effectually upon one of the enemy's vessels. Among the wounded were Lieutenant Smith, acting Lieutenant Spencer, and Midshipman Baldwin. The total loss of Commodore McDonough's squadron amounted to fifty-two men killed, and fifty-eight wounded. The enemy's loss was eighty-four men killed, one hundred and ten wounded, and eight hundred and fifty-six prisoners, who alone amounted to a greater number than those by whom they were taken.

The capture of his fleet being announced to Sir George Prevost, he immediately withdrew his forces from the assault of the American works. From his batteries, however, he kept up a constant fire until the dusk of the evening, when, being silenced by the guns of Fort Moreau, under Colonel M. Smith, and of Forts Brown and Scott, he retired within the town, and at nine at night sent off his artillery, and all the baggage for which he could obtain transport. About midnight he made a disgraceful and precipitate retreat, leaving behind him all his sick and wounded, with a request that they might be generously treated by General Macomb. At daybreak of the 12th, this movement being discovered by that officer, he immediately despatched his light troops, and the volunteers and militia, in pursuit. The enemy, however, had retired with such celerity, as to reach Chazy before the pursuit was commenced, and a violent storm prevented its continuance. Immense quantities of provisions, bomb shells, cannon balls, grape shot, ammunition, flints, intrenching tools, tents, and marquees were taken, and upwards of four hundred deserters surrendered themselves in the course of





Commodore McDonough.

the day. Besides these Sir George lost seventy-five prisoners, and as nearly as could be ascertained, about fifteen hundred killed and wounded, among them several officers of rank. The loss of the American army, which, with the accession of the volunteers and militia, did not exceed twenty-five hundred men, amounted to thirty-seven killed, sixty-two wounded, and twenty missing.

For the gallantry which they displayed in this splendid engagement, General Macomb, Lieutenant-Colonel Appling, Majors Wool, of the 29th, and Totten, of the engineers, whose services were eminently conspicuous in the construction of the works, and Captain Brooks of the artillery, received the brevet rank of the grades next above those which they held on the day of the action. Captain Youngs, of the 15th, had been put on board the squadron, with a detachment of infantry to act as marines; and for his coolness and intrepidity, in a species of service distinct from that to which he was attached, was also breveted. Captain Grosvenor, of the infantry, and the brigade major, Lieutenant Duncan, of the artillery, were conspicuous

for their zeal and activity throughout the engagement; the latter was charged with the delivery of the despatches to the war department. Promotions took place also in the navy, and Commodore McDonough was immediately elevated to the rank of post-captain.

The investment of Fort Erie was all this time continued; the troops of the garrison were actively engaged in the completion of the bastions and of the abatis on the right flank; and the besiegers employed in the erection of additional batteries intended to enfilade the western ramparts of the American works. General Brown had returned to the post, and resumed the command of the army, which had been in the mean time reinforced by new levies of militia. About the middle of September, after these arrangements were completed, an attempt to dislodge the enemy from his intrenched works, and to deprive him of the means of annoying the garrison, was determined on. A sortie was planned, and the morning of the 17th appointed for its execution. Lieutenants Riddle and Frazer, of the 15th infantry, had already opened a road from the southern angle of the garrison to a point within pistol-shot of the enemy's right wing, and with such secrecy, that it was not discovered until the actual assault was commenced. About noon the regulars, infantry, and riflemen, and the volunteers and militia, were in readiness to march; and before two o'clock the sortie was made. The division issuing from the left, was commanded by General Porter, and composed of two hundred riflemen and a few Indians, under Colonel Gibson, and two columns, the right commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Wood, and the left by Brigadier-General Davis, of the New York militia. These columns were conducted through the woods by Lieutenants Riddle and Frazer, and approached upon the enemy's new battery, on his right, with such rapidity, as to surprise the brigade stationed at his line. His batteries, Nos. 3 and 4, were gallantly stormed, and after thirty minutes close action, both carried. Colonel Gibson and Lieutenant-Colonel Wood, fell at the head of their columns, almost at the onset, and the respective commands devolved upon Lieutenant-Colonel McDonald and Major Brooks.

A block-house in the rear of battery No. 3 was also carried, and its garrison made prisoners. Three twenty-four-pounders



and their carriages were destroyed, and after the prisoners were secured, and the American columns moved beyond its influence, Lieutenant Riddle descended into the magazine, and, first taking out a quantity of fixed ammunition, set fire to a train leading to several barrels of powder. The explosion took place much sooner than the lieutenant expected, and not being able to escape in time, he was covered with the combustibles and fragments of the magazine, from which he was extricated with the utmost difficulty. At the moment of this explosion, the right division of the troops which had been stationed in the ravine between the fort and the enemy's works, under General Miller, with orders not to attack until General Porter had engaged the enemy's right flank, first came up to the assault, and in co-operation with Colonel Gibson's column, pierced the British intrenchments between their batteries Nos. 2 and 3, and after a severe contest, carried the former. In this assault, Brigadier-General Davis, of the New York militia, fell at the head of his corps.

The enemy's second block-house, his batteries 2 and 3, and his unfinished battery No. 4, with the intervening breastworks and intrenchments, being now all in the possession of the Americans, General Miller's division inclined towards the river with a view to assail his battery No. 1, erected at the extremity of his left flank. At this point the enemy made a much bolder and more obstinate resistance. There his defenses were constructed with the most studied intricacy; breastworks had been thrown up connecting his first and second battery; successive lines of intrenchments intersected each other for nearly a hundred yards in their rear; and rows of abatis and timber planted in multiplied involutions, formed impediments to the approach of the assailants, produced some confusion in the column, and made constant appeals to the bayonet necessary.

Before General Miller attempted this movement upon the battery near the water, General Brown had ordered up General Ripley with the reserve, comprised of the 21st regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Upham, and desired him, as the senior officer in advance, to ascertain the general situation of the troops, and to withdraw them from the enemy's works, as soon as the object of the sortie, the destruction of his batteries, was effected. The



reserve, in obedience to this order, promptly advanced to the support of Miller's column, and came into the engagement as the enemy's force was strengthened from his encampment. This column was composed of the 9th, the 11th, and part of the 19th infantry; the first being commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Aspinwall, who lost his left arm in the assault; and the last, by Major Trimble, who was dangerously shot through the body. Under the immediate direction of the same gallant leader, who had carried the cannon upon the eminence at Lundy's lane, and aided by Lieutenant-Colonel Upham, with the 21st and part of the 17th, it made a rapid charge upon, and stormed the remaining battery, which was instantly abandoned by the British infantry and artillery.

General Ripley then ordered a line to be formed in front, for the protection of the detachments engaged in spiking the enemy's guns, and demolishing the captured works. This line he determined also to strengthen, in order to annoy the rear of General Drummond's retreating forces, and was in the act of forwarding these arrangements, when he received a dangerous wound in the neck, and fell by the side of Major Brook, of the 23d, whose command was at that moment engaged with a detachment on the enemy's right. His aid, Lieutenant Kirby, caused him to be removed to the garrison, and General Miller having ordered the right wing to fall back, the troops upon the left were shortly after recalled, and the operations ceased with the accomplishment of all the objects of the sortie.

The troops then returned to the garrison with their prisoners, and many trophies of their valour; and, on the third day after, Lieutenant-General Drummond, who had been joined before the sortie by Major-Generals De Watteville and Stovin, broke up his encampment, raised the siege, and hastily retired upon Fort George! In addition to the loss of nearly all his cannon, his force was again reduced at least one thousand men; and, notwithstanding the results of forty-seven days incessant labour were destroyed, and eleven of his officers, and three hundred and seventy-four of his non-commissioned officers and privates made prisoners, and transferred to the American shore, he called the event a repulse of an American army of five thousand men,



General Brown.

by an inconsiderable number of British troops. Including the names already mentioned, General Brown's army lost ten officers and seventy men killed; twenty-four officers and one hundred and ninety men wounded; and ten officers and two hundred and six men missing—in all five hundred and ten.

Not long after the enemy had been thus compelled to raise the siege of Fort Erie, the garrison was enlarged by the arrival of the right division, under Major-General Izard, who superseded General Brown in the command of the army. The accession of this division, and the strength of the defenses, which were all by this time entire, and some of them garnished with heavy cannon, rendered Fort Erie impregnable to the attacks of any other than a vastly superior force; and the month intervening between the 17th of September and the 18th of October, was constantly employed in drilling, and harmonizing the discipline of the two wings of the army. In the neighbourhood of Cook's Mills at Lyon's creek, a branch of the Chippewa, it was under-



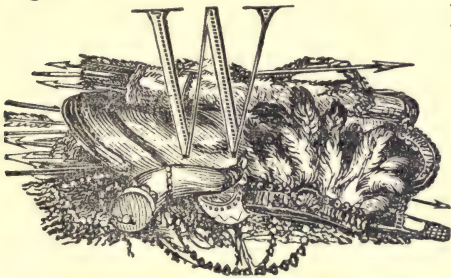
stood that quantities of provision were desposited for the use of the British troops, and General Izard directed General Bissell, commanding the 2d brigade of the 1st division, to march thither and seize them. On the 18th he proceeded on the expedition, and after driving in a picket guard, and capturing its commanding officer, he threw two light companies, under Captain Dorman, of the 5th, and Lieutenant Horrell, of the 16th infantry, and a company of riflemen, under Captain Irvine, across Lyon's creek, and encamped for the night, with picket guards stationed at proper distances. One of these commanded by Lieutenant Gassaway, and stationed on the Chippewa road, was attacked by two companies of the Glengary light infantry, which were beaten off with loss.

On the following morning the brigade was attacked by a force of twelve hundred men, under Colonel the Marquis of Tweedale. Captain Dorman's infantry, and Irvine's riflemen, received the first fire of the enemy, and sustained it with the greatest gallantry, whilst General Bissell was forming and bringing up the other troops to their support. Colonel Pinckney, with the 5th regiment, was ordered to turn the enemy's right flank, and to cut off a piece of artillery which he had just then brought into action, whilst Major Barnard, with the 14th, was to charge them in front. These movements were instantly effected. The enemy's left flank and his centre sunk under the fire of *corps d'élite*, and the riflemen, and the charge of the 14th; and his right flank was turned immediately after by the rapid and forcible movement of the 5th. The recoil of his line, and the approach of the American reserve, composed of the 15th, under Major Grindage, and the 16th, under Colonel Pearce, to enforce the success of the main body, was no sooner perceived by the marquis, than he ordered his troops to retire from the ground on which they had engaged General Bissell; and, expecting to draw that officer after him, fell back to his fortifications at the mouth of the river. As his retreat was made without much regard to order, all his killed, and most of his wounded, were left behind. He was pursued but a small distance, when General Bissell, in conformity to his instructions, destroyed the provisions at the mills, and returned to his position at Black creek, having effected the



object of his expedition, with the loss of sixty-seven killed, wounded, and missing.

The whole army, with the exception of Lieutenant-Colonel Hindman's artillery, to whom the command of Fort Erie, and the works was intrusted, was now operating in the vicinity of Black creek and Chippewa. Its staff had been reduced by the removal of General Ripley to the American shore after being wounded, and the transfer of General Brown to Sackett's Harbour, and of General Miller to Boston. Immediately after the repulse of the Marquis of Tweedale, General Izard directed its return to the garrison, whence, as the weather was about this time setting in extremely cold, and the season having arrived when hostilities usually ceased, it was determined to transport it to the American shore, to supply the troops with more comfortable winter quarters. The fort was accordingly destroyed, and all the batteries demolished, and after a vigorous and brilliant campaign of four months, the Canadian territory was evacuated, and the army distributed in quarters at Buffalo, Black Rock, and Batavia. The volunteers and militia were discharged with the thanks of the government, and General Porter received various testimonies of approbation and applause from the state to which he belonged, for his constant display of bravery, and the high degree of discipline which he maintained in his command.



WHILE these events were transpiring between the American army, and the armies of Lieutenant-General Drummond and Sir George Prevost, an expedition had been fitted out in the north-western country, under the united

command of Commodore Sinclair, with the fleet upon Lake Erie, and Lieutenant-Colonel Croghan, with a detachment of artillery and infantry, to act against the fort and island of Michilimackinac. But the expedition failed, notwithstanding the skill and gallantry of the officers engaged in it; and the troops retired from the island, after having effected a landing, with the loss of the second officer, Major Holmes of the 32d infantry. The

enemy, apprized of the movement, appeared in large numbers to resist it, and being protected by breastworks, and aided by a body of Indians, exceeding the strength of Colonel Croghan's detachment, that intrepid young officer was compelled to withdraw his forces, and return to the shipping. On his way to the island, however, he destroyed the Fort St. Joseph's, and the enemy's establishment at Sault St. Mary's. The loss of the detachment in the expedition amounted to sixty-six killed, wounded, and missing.

After leaving the island, Commodore Sinclair stationed two of his schooners, the *Tigress* and *Scorpion*, near St. Joseph's, to cut off all supplies for the British garrison at Michilimackinac. Lieutenant-Colonel McDowell, the commandant of that garrison, supplied Lieutenant Worsley, of the navy, with two hundred and fifty Indians, and a detachment of the Newfoundland regiment, with whom, and one hundred and fifty sailors, he attacked the schooners on the 9th of September. After a severe struggle, in which he lost a very disproportionate number of killed and wounded, he carried the vessels, and proceeded with them to Michilimackinac.

On the 22d of the following month, Brigadier-General McArthur, having collected seven hundred and twenty effective regulars and militia, proceeded on a secret expedition along the western shore of Lake St. Clair, and passed into the Canadian territory, at the mouth of that water. He penetrated two hundred miles in the enemy's country, destroyed more than that number of muskets, attacked a large body of militia and Indians, encamped on favourable ground, made about one hundred and fifty prisoners, and dispersed all the detachments to be found at the Thames, Oxford, or Grand river. During the march he principally subsisted on the enemy, and fired several of the mills, from which the British troops in Upper Canada were supplied with food. Having gained intelligence of the evacuation of Fort Erie, he abandoned his intention of proceeding to Burlington Heights, and returned to Detroit on the 17th of November. By this rapid expedition, the enemy's hostile intentions were diverted from another quarter, and his means of attacking Detroit entirely crippled; the destruction of his supplies rendering such an attempt altogether impracticable.



General Jackson.

## CHAPTER XXI.

*The Creek War.*

**I**N the long period which elapsed between the Revolution and the war of 1812, British agents were actively engaged in fomenting disturbances between the southern and western Indians, and the United States. Their most indefatigable ally was Tecumseh. He passed from station to station, harangued all the tribes on our borders, enumerated the wrongs they had sustained from the whites, and painted, in glowing colours, the advantages to be derived from an alliance with Great Britain. Most of the north-western Indians entered into his views and purposes, but in the south his intrigues were attended with but very partial success. The Choctaws, Cherokees, and Chickasaws, remained friendly to our country



throughout the war; and only a few of the most abandoned and vicious of the Creeks could be induced, at an early period, to take up the tomahawk against us.

In the Spring of 1812, a party of five Creeks massacred two families on the frontier settlements of the Tennessee river, and made their escape. Some other enormities were committed about the same time, and the hostility of the Indians soon became so decided, that the legislature of Tennessee passed an act for the organization of a large body of volunteers and militia. Hostilities, however, did not at that time ensue. The Creeks held a convention, in which they resolved to punish those who had committed aggressions, and declared their desire to remain friendly to the United States. Several of the murderers were executed, and addresses of the most pacific kind tendered to Colonel Hawkins, United States ambassador to their nation.

About this time an expedition was commenced by Colonel Newman of Georgia, against the Seminole Indians, who were not considered by the Creeks as part of their nation. The enterprise was successful, the enemy being defeated in several skirmishes, with the loss of nearly fifty warriors.

The smallness of the party engaged in this expedition, unfitted it for doing any thing decisive; and in autumn another was fitted out, consisting of fifteen hundred militia infantry, and six hundred mounted volunteers. They marched from West Tennessee, for the defense of the lower country, the foot troops descending the river in boats, under the command of Major-General Andrew Jackson, whilst the mounted men, under Colonel Coffee, marched by land to Natchez, where both parties arrived and formed a junction in February, 1813. In the following month they were ordered home, and the whole expedition proved a failure.

Meanwhile another detachment of Tennessee volunteers, under Colonel Williams, marched towards the frontiers of Georgia. After reaching the St. Mary's river, and receiving a reinforcement under Colonel Smith, they commenced an expedition against the Seminoles. Three battles were fought, in which the Indians were defeated with the loss of thirty-eight warriors killed, and a still larger number in wounded and pri-

soners. Their houses were burnt, all their corn destroyed, and about four hundred horses, with an equal quantity of cattle, carried away. The detachment remained in the country, until they had destroyed all property, and utterly exterminated the Indians.

The intrigues of Tecumseh and his brother, the prophet, still continued among the Creeks, and had a powerful effect with their younger warriors. But those chiefs who had been the most active in procuring the punishment of the renegadoes in 1812, were at the head of the party which was for peace in the nation, and friendship with the United States. In conjunction with these chiefs, Colonel Hawkins made strenuous but vain efforts to preserve peace. The greater part of their tribes had accepted the offers of Great Britain, their passions were roused against the Americans, and nothing but war could now satiate them. Dissensions ensued among the Creeks themselves, until the friendly party, which was much the weakest, implored the Americans to protect them, and subdue their opponents.

Before the Americans had time to respond to these calls, the storm burst upon the southern settlements. About the 20th of August, 1813, some Choctaw Indians reported that three parties of Creeks were about making an attack on Fort Mimms, in the Tensaw settlement, on the east side of the Alabama, opposite Fort Stoddart, on the forts situated on the forks between the Tombigbee and Alabama, and on those situated more immediately on the Tombigbee. Fort Mimms, the principal object of attack, contained about four hundred people, including one hundred and thirty militia, together with a large amount of supplies and property. Unfortunately the hostilities of the Creeks had been so long anticipated, that the intelligence brought by the friendly Indians was disregarded, and by some disbelieved. With a negligence and culpability rarely equalled in the annals of border difficulties, the commandant remained entirely indifferent to repeated warnings, and subsequently brought destruction upon himself and the garrison.

On the morning of the attack, a large party of the enemy had approached through an open field, to within thirty paces of the gate, before they were discovered. A sentinel then gave the

alarm, but before the gate, which was wide open, could be closed, the Indians raised the war-whoop, and rushed through. Major Bearsley was immediately shot through the body. The fort was defended by a double breastwork, so that, although the Indians had entered the gate, they still found another wall before them. This protracted the conflict for several hours. The savages fired from their positions upon the inner fort, whilst the garrison kept the port-holes, and maintained a fierce conflict with the Indians. At last the enemy succeeded in firing a block-house, which stood near the pickets, and from that the flames were communicated to the other buildings. Despair now seized the stoutest hearts; destruction by fire or the tomahawk was inevitable; and the screams of women, the agonizing cry of men, the crackling and tossing of flames, and the yells of Indians, were terrible. As their only chance of life, the garrison banded together, and rushed through the ranks of the enemy. Man after man fell beneath the tomahawk until but about twenty escaped. Then the savages, like an army of demons, poured over the walls upon the weak and helpless. Children were dashed against the ground, and women scalped and murdered. The remainder took refuge in the principal dwelling-house. This was fired, and the dying wail of the mother and infant, the friend and relation, rose up with the roarings of the conflagration. Little by little, that awful sound grew weaker, then all was still. Three hundred and fifty persons had been hurried into eternity in a few hours, while their mangled bodies were strewed around, still throbbing with the remnants of life, or blackened and crusted by fire.

Meanwhile preparations for marching into the Creek country were actively proceeding in Georgia and Tennessee. About the middle of September, more than three thousand militia, under General Floyd, entered the Creek country from the former state; and soon after a still larger army arrived from Tennessee, in two divisions, one commanded by Major-General John Cocke, the other by General Jackson. The legislature of Tennessee also passed a law authorizing the governor to detach a corps of thirty-five hundred men to the scene of action; and under the authority of the Mississippi territory, fifteen hundred men under





The Prophet, (Brother of Tecumseh.)

Brigadier-General Flourney were collected at Fort Stoddart. The Choctaw Indians also declared war against the Creeks, and tendered their services to co-operate with the Americans in the ensuing campaign.

Early in November, General Jackson had arrived, and encamped with his army at a place called the Ten Islands, on the Coosa river. From this place he despatched General Coffee with nine hundred men to destroy the Tallushatchee towns, about eight miles distant, where he had been informed that there was a body of hostile Creeks. On the 3d, the general arrived within two miles of the principal town, where he divided his command into two columns, the cavalry on the right, under Colonel Allcorn, and Colonel Cannon with his mounted riflemen on the left. The former were ordered to cross a creek in their front, and marching upon the right of the town, encircle it on that side; while the latter were to perform a similar movement on the left, until the two columns joined from opposite sides of the town, which would thus be completely inclosed. This plan was correctly executed, and the troops succeeded in gaining their positions without suffering any loss. Captain Hammond was then sent toward the town to draw the Indians if possible from their

shelter. This stratagem had the desired effect. As soon as the captain had shown his detachment, and given the savages a distant fire, they rushed out against him in a furious manner. He then gradually retreated, drawing the enemy after him until they came within range of the right column, when they were charged and driven back. For the first time, the Indians now perceived the trap which had been laid for them,—that they were completely surrounded with overpowering numbers, and cut off from all possibility of retreat. “They made all the resistance,” says General Coffee, “that an overpowered soldier could do,—they fought as long as one existed—but their destruction was very soon completed. Our men rushed up to the doors of their houses and in a few minutes killed the last warrior. The Indians met death with all its horrors, without shrinking—not one asked to be spared, but fought as long as they could stand or sit. In consequence of their flying to their houses, and mixing with their families, our men in killing the males, without intention killed and wounded a few of the squaws and children, which was regretted by every officer and soldier of the detachment, but which could not be avoided.”

The Indian force in this battle, amounting to about two hundred, were utterly annihilated—not one escaping to report the news of so signal a defeat. About eighty-four squaws and children were taken prisoners, many of them wounded. The Americans lost five killed, and forty-one wounded.

On the 7th of November, a friendly Indian informed General Jackson, that a large number of hostile Creeks were encamped near Talladega, which was hourly waiting an attack. This place was thirty miles from the general’s position, and yet he set out that night, and arrived before the following morning within six miles of the fort. At sunrise he was within half a mile of the enemy’s encampment, and proceeded to form the order of battle. The infantry were disposed in three lines, having the militia on the left and the volunteers on the right. The cavalry, forming the extreme wings, were thrown forward in a curve, with instructions to keep the rear of their columns connected with the flanks of their infantry, so as to encircle and destroy the whole force of the enemy.



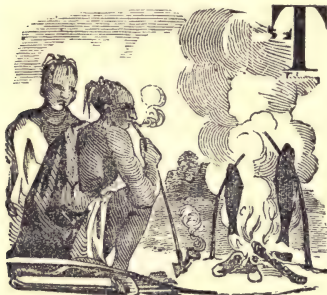
IN this order the main body advanced slowly toward the Indians, while the advance pushed forward and engaged them. Believing the attacking force to be the entire army, the savages charged them with fury, and continued a pursuit, until they were drawn within range of the advancing force. At this time, a few companies of militia were struck with fear, and commenced a disorderly retreat. The action then commenced along the whole line, and for some time was maintained with great spirit. But the disproportion of force was too great, and the fire of the Americans too heavy, to afford the Indians any chance of success. They were compelled to retreat, and were chased with great animation for more than three miles. After the action, two hundred and ninety dead Indians were found upon the ground, and many more had been carried away by the survivors. Jackson's loss was fifteen killed, and about the same number wounded.

Three days after this affair, November 11th, General Cocke despatched Brigadier-General White with a considerable force, against the Hillabee settlements. He was obliged to march one hundred miles through a very rough country, part of which had till recently been in full possession of the enemy. On the route he burned two of their towns, and captured a third. Having arrived within six miles of the Hillabee towns, November 17th, where the Indians were stationed, he halted, arranged his order of battle, and despatched a body of troops with instructions to surround the town before day, and attack it at early dawn. The darkness of the night prevented their arrival before daylight, yet so completely were the Creeks surprised, that every warrior was killed or captured, without having time to offer the least resistance. About sixty were killed, and two hundred and fifty men, women, and children captured. General White arrived with the mounted reserve in time to have decided or improved the victory, had the resistance or flight of the enemy rendered his co-operation necessary.

About ten days after this battle a fourth victory was obtained over the Creeks by the Georgia troops, under General Floyd.



This officer marched against the town of Autossee, on the Tallapoosa, with about nine hundred and fifty militia, and four hundred friendly Indians. His plan was completely to surround the town, cut off all retreat from the river, and thus compel the garrison to surrender. The difficulty of crossing the Tallapoosa disconcerted part of this plan, and it was soon ascertained that beside the fort, which formed the original object of attack, the Indians possessed another, about five hundred yards down the river. Part of the troops were detached against this lower town, while the friendly Indians were sent over the creek to prevent a retreat up the river. A vigorous attack then commenced against the upper town, and a contest ensued which was characterized by that fierce obstinacy ever shown by the red man when fighting an enemy from a sheltered position. By nine o'clock, however, both forts were carried, the enemy driven from them in all directions, and the buildings set on fire.



THE loss of the enemy in this action, though never correctly ascertained, was believed to have reached two hundred. The Americans had eleven killed, and fifty-four wounded, among the latter General Floyd severely, and his adjutant-general, Newman, slightly.

As there were many other populous towns in this vicinity, which could send into the field a large number of warriors, General Floyd considered it inexpedient to pursue his victory, and accordingly retired to his former position on the Chatahoochee.

In December, General Claiborne, with a force of regulars, militia, volunteers, and Choctaw Indians, marched up the Alabama river, to a new fort constructed by Weatherford, who had led the massacre at Fort Mimms. Apprized of his approach, the enemy secreted their squaws and children on the opposite side of the river, and prepared for battle. As the Americans advanced, they were attacked on the left column, composed of volunteers, but after a spirited struggle, succeeded in driving off their assailants, who fled through thick swamps toward the river

The army then entered the town, stripped it of every thing valuable, and set the houses on fire. Thirty dead Indians were found on the field; the Americans lost one killed and six wounded.

About a month after this battle, January 27th, 1814, a large party of warriors attacked General Floyd at his encampment, near the Chatahoochee. The Indians assaulted the camp with so much fury, that in a few minutes they were within thirty paces of the artillery. But after the battle had become general, their efforts grew desultory and ineffectual. The artillery and rifle companies played upon them with great effect, and at daylight a charge with the bayonet drove them back in utter confusion. General Floyd lost seventeen killed, and one hundred and thirty two wounded; the Indians left thirty-seven bodies upon the field, and a large number of their wounded escaped.

On the 17th of January, General Jackson broke up his camp near Ten Islands, and, with a force of nearly twelve hundred men, marched toward the Creek country. Next day he received a reinforcement of three hundred Indians, and on the 21st, was near the junction of the Tallapoosa and Emuckfau creek, where about nine hundred of the enemy were concentrated. Here he formed his army into a hollow square, and spent the night in reconnoitering the Indian position.



**J**UST at six o'clock on the following morning, the savages commenced a vigorous attack on the American left flank, and maintained the assault until daylight. They were charged by General Coffee and Colonels Carroll and Higgins, completely routed at every point, and chased about two miles, with great slaughter. General

Coffee was then detached to destroy their encampment; but while preparing to do so, the right and left of the army were again assaulted, and the battle recommenced. A vigorous charge, conducted by Colonels Carroll and Higgins, repulsed the Indians with loss, and confirmed the victory.

Instead of pursuing his victory by continuing his march into



the Indian country, General Jackson set out on the following day for his former camp. In crossing the Enotichopco creek, an alarm gun gave notice of danger, and soon after an attack began from a party of concealed Indians. Colonel Carroll was at the head of the centre column of the rear guard, its right column was commanded by Colonel Perkins, and its left by Colonel Stump. Having selected the ground on which he was attacked, Jackson determined to cross the creek above and below with his flank columns, fall upon the side and rear of the enemy, and cut them to pieces. This plan was disconcerted by the American rear guard, who, when fired upon, fled precipitately into the centre of the army, carrying consternation and confusion into the flank columns, and leaving but twenty-five men with Colonel Carroll, to arrest the progress of the pursuers. Although this ill-timed retreat threw the main army into confusion, yet Colonel Carroll with his handful of men, maintained his post as long as it was possible to resist overwhelming numbers; and being then joined by Lieutenant Armstrong with the artillery, and Captain Russell, he still continued the contest with success. The artillery was then opened upon the enemy, followed by a vigorous charge, which broke their line, and drove them from the field in confusion. The general then pursued his way without further molestation. The loss of the Americans during the whole expedition was twenty-four killed and seventy-one wounded.

Soon after this battle, General Jackson received a reinforcement of two militia brigades, under Generals Dougherty and Johnson, a regiment of regulars, under Colonel Williams, and several smaller corps. This accession to his force enabled General Jackson to recommence effective operations, and accordingly on the 27th of March, we find him at the Horseshoe bend of the Tallapoosa. Here the Indians were intrenched in large numbers. The situation is remarkably strong by nature, and the Creeks had fortified it with a degree of skill and efficiency rarely evinced by the untutored red man. Across the neck of the bend, where it opens toward the north, they had erected a breastwork of logs from five to eight feet high, possessing great compactness and strength, and extending on both



sides to the river. Through this were cut two ranges of port-holes, suitable for the exercise of small arms. The direction of the wall was such that an army could not approach it without being exposed to a cross fire from the enemy lying in safety behind it. The inclosure contained about eighty acres of ground, and in the furthest extremity of the bend was a village of moderate size. From the breastwork on the neck a ridge of high land extended about half way to the village, the summit of which was comparatively open ground; but on its sides, and on the flat ground along the margin of the river, there had been a heavy forest, the large trees of which were now filled in such a manner, that every one formed a breastwork from which the Indians could in safety assail our troops while crossing the river. Within this fortification, the enemy had collected all their warriors from six towns on the Tallapoosa, numbering in all about one thousand. Among them were several of the greatest prophets and chiefs in the nation, and the principal instigators of the war.



ELYING on the strength of their position, their large force, and the prophetic assurance of success which their fanatic leaders had given them, they entertained no doubt of repulsing our army with the utmost ease. On the other hand, the strength of General Jackson's army, and the spirit which animated his men, inspired him with confidence, that he

would be able to give them a signal defeat.

The attack upon the breastwork commenced about ten o'clock, A. M., by General Coffee, while at the same time a party were detached against the village within the bend. The battle raged for two hours, without much execution on either side, when General Jackson determined to storm the fortification. Led on by Colonel Williams and Major Montgomery, the regular troops were soon in possession of the outside of the breastwork, when they were joined by the militia. For a few minutes an obstinate struggle was maintained at the port-holes, after which our troops mounted over the breastwork and took



Weatherford.

possession of the opposite works. This decided the contest. A dreadful slaughter of the enemy ensued in every direction. Each warrior defended himself with that bravery which desperation inspires; but overpowered by numbers, and surrounded on every side, they sunk down rapidly beneath the superior discipline of their opponents. Of those who attempted to cross the river, "not one escaped; very few ever reached the bank, and those few were killed the instant they landed."

On that disastrous day, less than one hundred of the enemy were able to effect their escape. Five hundred and fifty-seven dead bodies were counted, and at least two hundred and fifty were thrown into the river during the action. Three hundred women and children, with a few warriors were taken prisoners. The total loss of the Americans was forty-nine killed, and one hundred and fifty-four wounded. Among the former was Major Montgomery, an able and gallant officer, whose death was much lamented.

This battle effectually subdued the hostile Creeks, and convinced them of the utter futility of a further continuation of the war. Weatherford, and several other chiefs, delivered themselves to General Jackson, supplicating peace on any terms which the United States might please to grant. The general retired to the Coosa river, and was soon after permitted to

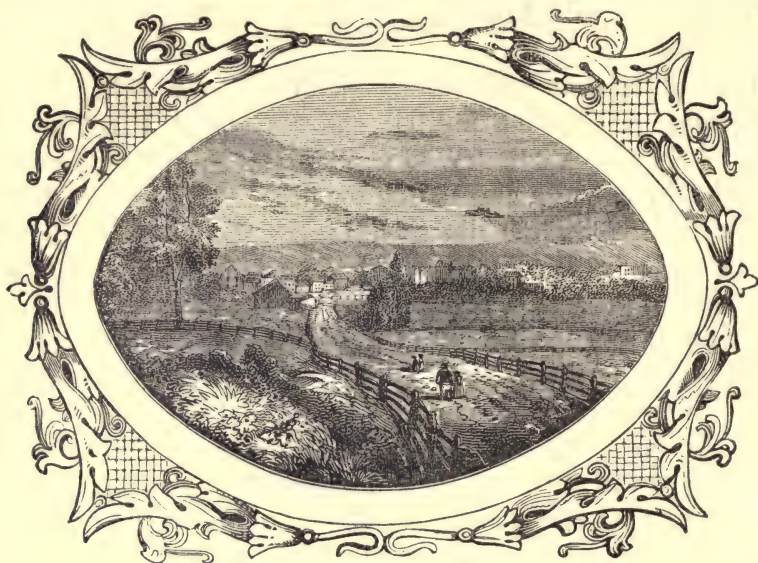
return home with his troops, leaving small garrisons on the river forts.

During the time while these operations were going on, some companies of Carolina militia, under General Pinckney, had entered the Creek country, to support the United States envoy, Mr. Hawkins, while negotiating for peace. The terms offered to the Indians were, that our government should retain as much of the conquered territory as would be a just indemnity for the expenses of the war, and for the injuries and losses sustained by our citizens and the friendly Creeks; that it would reserve the right of establishing such military posts, trading-houses, and roads in their country, as might be deemed necessary, together with the right of navigating all their waters; and that on their part they must surrender their prophets and other instigators of the war, and submit to such restrictions on their trade with foreign nations as our government might dictate.

Thus within seven months after the massacre at Fort Mimms, which may be considered as the commencement of the Creek war, the Indians were completely subdued, and their power broken for ever.







Bladensburg.

## CHAPTER XXII.

Capture of Washington.---Defense of New Orleans.



THE movements of the British blockading squadrons, on the eastern coast, during the summer of 1814, have already been traced to the occupation of Eastport and Castine, in the beginning of September. In their operations along the shores of the Chesapeake bay, and the

southern coast, they have not been followed beyond their attack upon Hampton and Ocracock, in the month of June. At that period, a flotilla, consisting of a cutter, two gun-boats, a galley, and nine large barges, sailed from Baltimore, under Commodore Barney, for the protection of the inlets and harbours in the several parts of the bay. On the 1st of June, being at the mouth of the Patuxent, the commodore discovered two schooners, one of which carried eighteen guns, and immediately gave chase. The

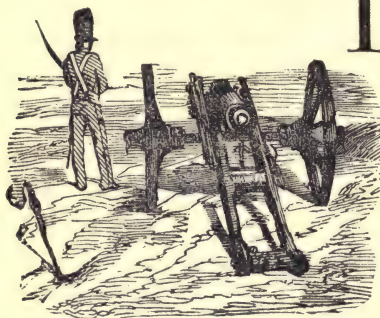
schooners were joined, however, by a large ship, which despatched numbers of barges to their assistance, and the commodore in danger of being cut off from the Potomac, signaled his flotilla to sail up the Patuxent. In that river, he engaged the schooners and the barges, and after beating them off with hot shot, he anchored within three miles of a seventy-four, stationed at its mouth. In the course of a few days the enemy was reinforced by a razee and a sloop of war, and joining the barges of these vessels to those with which they had already engaged Commodore Barney, they followed his flotilla into St. Leonard's creek, two miles above the mouth of which his gun-boats and barges were formed in line of battle, across the channel. From this point the commodore engaged them, and seeing a disposition to fall back, he immediately bore down, put them to flight, and pursued them to within a short distance of their shipping, which consisted of a ship, a brig, and two schooners. In the afternoon of the 10th, the enemy made another attempt upon the flotilla, with twenty barges, and the two schooners. The commodore immediately moved upon them, and after a smart fire, drove the barges down to the eighteen gun vessel, which in attempting to beat out, was so severely handled that her crew ran her aground and abandoned her.

These attempts upon the flotilla were constantly repeated, and its blockade in St. Leonard's continued until the 26th, on the morning of which day, a combined attack of a corps of artillery, which had been despatched from Washington to its assistance, a detachment of the marine corps, and the flotilla itself, was made upon the whole squadron, among which were two frigates. The action continued upwards of two hours, and terminated in driving the enemy from his anchorage. His ships stood down the river, and Commodore Barney finding the blockade raised, sailed out of St. Leonard's, and proceeded up the Patuxent.

The British squadron at the different stations in the Chesapeake, were now every day augmented, by arrivals of transports and ships of the line from England. The cessation of hostilities, which had taken place in Europe, enabled the British government to send out powerful reinforcements to their fleets



and armies already on the coast, and Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane had been despatched with upwards of thirty sail, having on board an army of several thousand men, under Major-General Ross. This force entered the Chesapeake in the course of the summer, and between the land and naval commanders, a plan of attack upon Washington, Alexandria, and Baltimore, was soon after adopted. A few weeks before the repulse of Sir George Prevost at Plattsburg, Admiral Cochrane notified the secretary of state, of his having been called upon by the governor-general, to lay waste and destroy all such towns and districts upon the coast as might be found assailable, and that he had in consequence issued his orders to that effect to all the naval commanders upon the station.



IF this despatch was forwarded with the honourable intent of apprizing the American government of the contemplated attack upon the capital, the object was either wilfully, or through negligence, defeated. For previously to the receipt of this notice at the department of state, the enemy was already ascending, in two

divisions of his fleet, the Patuxent and the Potomac. In the first of these rivers, his force amounted to twenty-seven square rigged vessels, all of which proceeded to Benedict, the head of frigate navigation, and landed about six thousand regulars, seamen, and marines.

Commodore Barney, in obedience to the orders which he had received to that effect, blew up and abandoned his flotilla upon the approach of so powerful a force, and retreated to Nottingham, on the 22d of August, where, with his seamen and marines, he joined the United States army, under Brigadier-General Winder. The enemy approached the Wood Yard, a position twelve miles only from the city, and at which General Winder's forces were drawn up. These consisted of about five thousand men, two thousand five hundred of whom were from Baltimore, and offered battle to the British troops. But General Ross, upon



reaching the neighbourhood of Nottingham, turned to his right and took the road to Marlborough, upon which General Winder fell back to Battalion Old Fields, about eight miles from the city.

The positions now occupied by the two armies were distant from each other about seven miles; and General Winder desiring to know in what manner they had encamped, rode with a small escort to Marlborough, and learned, from several prisoners who were taken, that the British general intended to remain there until the following day. About noon of the 23d, General Ross put his troops in motion, having been previously joined by Admiral Cockburn, and was met by the American advanced corps, under Lieutenant-Colonel Scott and Major Peter, who, after exchanging several rounds, fell back upon the main army. Early on the 24th, the enemy's column resumed its march, and reached Bladensburg, about six miles from Washington, without loss. At Bladensburg, General Stansbury had taken an advantageous position, and by the greatest exertion General Winder was enabled to interpose his whole force before the enemy, including Commodore Barney's flotilla men and marines.

At one, P. M., the action commenced. The Baltimore artillery, under Captain Myers and Macgruder, supported by Major Pinkney's riflemen, were stationed in advance, to command the pass of the bridge, and dealt out a very destructive fire. But the British column advanced upon them in such superior force, that they were obliged to retire. Upon seeing this, the right and centre of General Stansbury's brigade, immediately gave way, and in a few minutes he was deserted by his whole command, except about forty men of Colonel Ragan's regiment, and Captain Shower's company. The 5th Baltimore regiment, under Colonel Sterret, stationed on the left of General Stansbury's brigade, maintained its ground, until, lest it should be outflanked, an order was given for its retreat. The reserve, under Brigadier-General Smith, of the District of Columbia, with Commodore Barney and Lieutenant-Colonel Beall on their right, still remained upon the hill, and continued the contest after the flight of the Maryland brigade.

As the militia retired, the British regulars advanced upon the main road, and coming immediately in front of Commodore Barney's flotilla, he opened an eighteen-pounder upon them, which cleared the road, and for a time disordered their column, and retarded their approach. Two other attempts made by the enemy to pass the battery were also repulsed, and General Ross marched a division of his troops into an open field, with a determination to flank the commodore's right. This attempt also was frustrated by Captain Miller, of the marines, with three twelve-pounders, and the men of the flotilla acting as infantry. After being thus kept in check about half an hour, General Ross began to outflank the right of the battery, in large numbers; and pushed about three hundred men upon General Smith's brigade, which, after exchanging a shot or two, fled as precipitately as the brigade of General Stansbury. In the panic produced by this disorderly retreat, the drivers of the ammunition wagons fled also, and Commodore Barney's small command was left to contend against the whole force of the enemy, with less than one complete round of cartridge. To add to the general misfortune, and to increase the difficulties even of retiring with credit, he had received a severe wound in his thigh, and his horse had been killed under him—two of his principal officers were killed, and Captain Miller and Sailingmaster Martin wounded. The places of these could be promptly supplied from the men acting as infantry, but the means of repulsing the enemy were expended, and the British infantry and marines by this time completely in the rear of the battery. Thus situated, the commodore gave orders for a retreat, and after being carried a short distance from the scene of his gallantry, he fell exhausted by the loss of blood, and was soon after made prisoner by General Ross and Admiral Cockburn, who put him on his parole, and having first removed him to their hospital in Bladensburg, ordered the immediate attendance of their surgeons to dress his wound.

Having thus obtained possession of the pass of the bridge, over the eastern branch of the Potomac, the enemy marched directly upon the capital, and immediately proceeded to the destruction of all the spacious and splendid edifices by which it was adorned. The senate house, the representative hall, the





Commodore Barney.

supreme court room, the president's house, with all its exterior and interior decorations, and the buildings containing the public departments, were very soon demolished, and several private houses burned to the ground. The plunder of individual property was prohibited, however, and soldiers transgressing the order were severely punished. The principal vengeance of Admiral Cockburn, on whom, if the safety of the citizens' dwellings had alone depended, if he is to be judged by his former conduct, they would have rested on a slender guarantee, was directed against the printing-office of the editor of a newspaper, from whose press had been issued frequent accounts of the admiral's depredations along the coast.



The navy-yard, as well as a new first rate frigate, and a sloop of war, were destroyed by order of government, upon the approach of the enemy, to prevent the immense public stores, munitions, and armaments deposited there, from falling into his hands. The patent office alone, in which were collected the rarest specimens of the arts of the country, escaped the insatiable vengeance of a foe, whose destroying arm was directed against the most superb monuments of architectural skill and public munificence. The public documents and official records, the flags and various other trophies of the repeated triumphs of the American arms, and the specie from all the banks in the district, had previously been placed beyond the reach of the cupidity of the invaders, and they returned from an irruption which excited the indignation of all parties in the Union, and drew forth the deprecations of the principal nations in Europe.

The president and the heads of departments, all of whom had visited the rendezvous of the troops at Bladensburg the day before the battle, finding that the force which had been hastily assembled, did not amount to the number called for by the requisitions upon the adjacent states, returned to the metropolis to make arrangements for the augmentation of General Winder's army. This duty, which, in times of less danger, required the exercise of great energy, could not be performed before the enemy had encountered and defeated the corps already collected. The capture of these officers would have caused at least a temporary derangement of the government, and in order that its functions might be resumed immediately after the departure of the enemy, they retired from the metropolis upon his approach. General Winder had also withdrawn with the remnant of his force to Montgomery courthouse; the citizens were incapable of opposing the hostile operations of the British commanders; and the capital was therefore entirely at their mercy.

That division of the enemy's fleet which ascended the Potomac, consisting of eight sail, upon which were mounted one hundred and seventy-three guns, and commanded by Captain Gordon, was directed to attack the city of Alexandria. As they approached up the river, the commander of Fort Warburton, Captain Dyson, destroyed that garrison, and retired with his

artillerists, and the British squadron passed up to the city without annoyance or impediment. The people of Alexandria surrendered their town, and obtained a stipulation on the 29th of August, from the British commander, that their dwellings should not be entered or destroyed. The condition upon which this stipulation was made, required the immediate delivery to the enemy, of all public and private naval and ordnance stores; of all the shipping, and the furniture necessary to their equipment, then in port; of all the merchandise of every description, whether in the town, or removed from it since the 19th of the month; that such merchandise should be put on board the shipping at the expense of the owners; and that all vessels which might have been sunk upon the approach of the enemy, should be raised by the merchants and delivered up, with all their apparatus. These hard and ungenerous conditions were complied with, and on the 6th of September, Captain Gordon moved off with a fleet of prize vessels, which, as well as his frigates and other vessels of war, contained cargoes of booty. In descending the river he was warmly opposed, and received considerable damage from two batteries, at the White House, and at Indian Head, under the respective commands of Captains Porter and Perry, of the navy—the former assisted by General Hungerford's brigade of Virginia militia infantry, and Captain Humphrey's company of riflemen, from Jefferson county; and the latter by the brigade of General Stewart, and the volunteer companies of Major Peter and Captain Birch. The batteries, however, not being completed, and mounting but a few light pieces, could not prevent the departure of the enemy with his immense booty, though they kept up an incessant fire, from the 3d until the 6th of the month, upon the vessels passing down on each of those days. Commodore Rodgers, too, aided by Lieutenant Newcombe and Sailingmaster Ramage, made frequent attempts to destroy the enemy's shipping, by approaching him within the range of musket shot, with several small fire vessels. After the communication of the fire, a change of wind prevented these vessels from getting in between the British frigates, though they excited much alarm among the fleet, whose men were actively employed in extinguishing the flames. These respective forces were

afterwards concentrated, and Commodore Rodgers took possession of Alexandria, with a determination to defend it, notwithstanding its surrender, against another attempt of the enemy, whose fleet was not yet out of sight from the nearest battery.

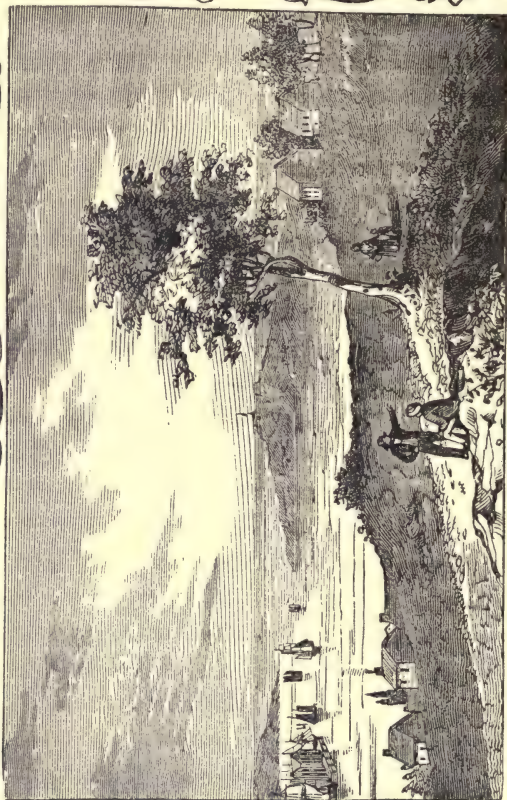
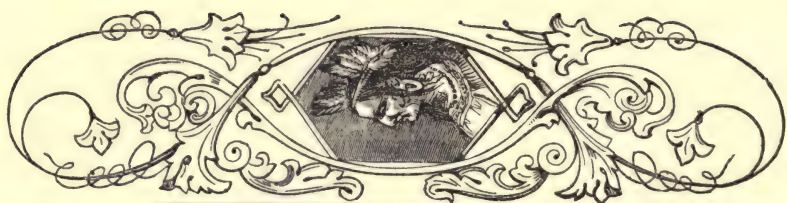
After the embarkation of the troops under General Ross, whose loss at Bladensburg nearly amounted to one thousand men, in killed, wounded, prisoners, deserters, and those who died of fatigue, Admiral Cochrane concentrated the various detachments of his fleet, and made preparations for an attack upon the city of Baltimore.

Despatch vessels were forwarded to all parts of the bay, to call together the frigates stationed near the different shores, and among others the *Menelaus*, commanded by Sir Peter Parker, and then lying in the neighbourhood of Moor's fields. That officer determined on an expedition against a detachment of Maryland volunteers, encamped, under Colonel Read, at those fields, before he obeyed the call of the admiral; and for that purpose landed with two hundred and thirty men, and made a detour to surprise and cut it off. The detachment consisted of one hundred and seventy men; and its commander being apprized of the enemy's motions, was fully prepared to receive him. Sir Peter advanced to a charge, and being repulsed, opened a fire within pistol-shot, which continued nearly an hour. At the end of that time his force was driven back, with a loss of seventeen carried off, and thirteen killed and three wounded left upon the ground. Among the wounded was Sir Peter, who died immediately after being put on board the *Menelaus*. Colonel Read had three men slightly wounded. The *Menelaus* joined the fleet upon the following day, and sailed with it to the mouth of the Patapsco on the 10th of September.

The fleet consisted of nearly forty sail, and the heaviest vessels, ships of the line, anchored across the channel, and commenced the debarkation of the troops, intended for the land attack upon North Point, twelve miles distant from the city. By the morning of the 12th, about eight thousand soldiers, sailors, and marines were in readiness to march upon the town, and sixteen bomb vessels and frigates proceeded up the river, and anchored within two miles and a half of Fort McHenry.







Fort Melleny.



**T**HIS garrison, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel G. Armistead, of the United States artillery; a battery at the lazaretto, commanded by Lieutenant Rutter, of the flotilla; a small work called Fort Covington, by Lieutenant Newcome, of the *Guerriere*; a six gun battery, erected near it, by Lieutenant Webster, of the flotilla; and lines of intrenchments and breastworks hastily thrown up by the people of Baltimore, were relied on for the defense and protection of the city.

At the forts and batteries, one thousand men were stationed; along the breastworks, about four times that number—and all under command of Major-General Samuel Smith, assisted by Brigadier-General Winder, of the United States army, and Brigadier-General Stricker, of the

Baltimore brigade.

In anticipation of the enemy's intention to land at North Point, and to meet and repulse his light parties, or to engage his whole force at a distance from the main works, General Stricker was despatched with part of his brigade, and a light corps of riflemen and infantry, from General Stansbury's brigade, under Major Randal, and several companies of the Pennsylvania volunteers. On the evening of the 11th, this detachment, amounting to three thousand one hundred and eighty-five effective men, reached the meeting-house, near the head of Bear creek, when the volunteer cavalry, under Colonel Biays, were sent three miles, and Captain Dyer's riflemen two miles, in advance. Early on the following morning, Captain Montgomery, with the artillery, Lieutenant-Colonel Sterret, with the 5th, and Lieutenant-Colonel Long, with the 27th regiments, were sent some distance forward. The artillery was planted in the middle of the North Point road, and supported on each flank by the two infantry regiments. The 51st regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Amey, was stationed a few hundred yards in the rear of the 5th; the 39th



under Lieutenant-Colonel Fowler, in the rear of the 27th; and the 6th under Lieutenant-Colonel McDonald, drawn up as a reserve, half a mile in the rear of the whole.

The riflemen were ordered to skirt a low wood, with a large sedge field in its front, under cover of which, as the cavalry fell back, to apprize General Stricker of the approach of the enemy, they were to annoy the British advance, and retire in good order upon the main body of the troops. Soon after these dispositions had been made, the cavalry came in with the intelligence that the enemy's light corps were rapidly advancing along the road, and at the moment when it was expected they would be engaged by the riflemen, that body was seen falling back without having opposed them, under a presumption that the enemy had landed at Back river, in order to cut off their retreat. The general immediately pushed forward two companies from the 5th infantry, one hundred and fifty in number, under Captains Levering and Howard, and commanded by Major Heath of that regiment; about seventy riflemen, under Captain Aisquith; the cavalry, and ten artillerists, with a four-pounder, commanded by Lieutenant Stiles. This detachment having proceeded half a mile, was met by and instantly engaged the enemy's main body.

The situation of the ground, would not admit of the co-operation of the artillery and cavalry; and the infantry and riflemen sustained the whole action with great gallantry, pouring in a rapid and effective fire upon the British column, killing Major-General Ross, and several other officers, and impeding the advance of the British army. Having performed the duty required of them by General Stricker, the whole detachment, with a trifling loss, fell back in excellent order upon the American line. The enemy then moved forward, under Colonel Brooke, upon whom the command had devolved, and at half past two began to throw his rockets upon the left flank of the militia brigade. Captain Montgomery immediately opened his artillery upon him, and the British played upon the left and centre with their six-pounders and a howitzer.

The caannonade continued with great vivacity, until General Stricker ordered the firing to cease, so as to draw the enemy within the range of grape and canister. Colonel Brooke then

covered his whole front with the British light brigade, directed the 4th regiment, by a detour, to gain a lodgment close upon the American left; and formed a line along General Stricker's front, with the 41st regiment, the marines of the fleet, and a detachment of seamen; and placed the 21st regiment, the 2d battalion of marines, and another detachment of seamen, in columns on the main road, with orders to press on the American right, on the first opportunity. General Stricker, seeing that his left flank would be the main object of attack, ordered up the 39th into line on the 27th, and detached two pieces of artillery to the extreme left of Lieutenant-Colonel Fowler's command. Lieutenant-Colonel Amey was also directed to form the 51st at right angles, with his right resting near the left of the 39th.

The whole force of the enemy at that moment pressed forward, his right column advancing upon the 27th and 39th, and attacked those regiments with great impetuosity. The 51st, which was ordered to open upon the enemy in his attempt to turn the rest of the line, delivered a loose fire, immediately broke, fled precipitately from its ground, and in such confusion, that every effort to rally it proved ineffectual. The 2d battalion of the 39th, was thrown into disorder, by the flight of the 51st, and some of its companies also gave way. The remainder and the 1st battalion stood firm. Thus abandoned by the retreat of the 51st, General Stricker made new arrangements for the reception of the enemy, and opened a general fire upon him, from the right, left, and centre.

The artillery sent forth a destructive torrent of canister against the British left column, then attempting to gain the cover of a small log-house, in front of the 5th regiment. Captain Sadtler, with his yagers from that regiment, who were posted in the house, when the British 4th regiment was advancing, had, however, taken the precaution to set fire to it, and the intention of the enemy was therefore defeated. The 6th regiment then opened its fire, and the whole line entered into an animated contest, which continued, with a severe loss to the enemy, until fifteen minutes before four o'clock. At that hour, General Stricker, having inflicted as much injury upon the invaders as could possibly be expected, from a line now but fourteen hun-



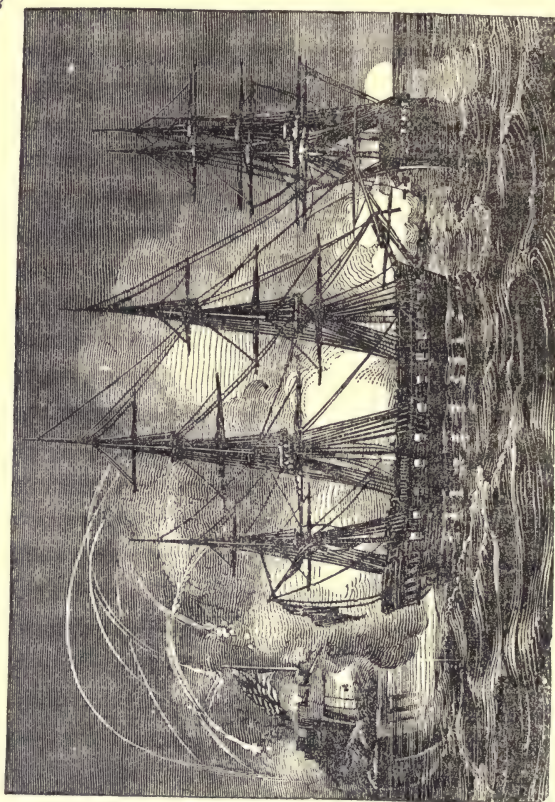
dred strong, against a force amounting, notwithstanding its losses, to at least seven thousand men, ordered his brigade to retire upon the reserve regiment; an order well executed by the whole line, which in a few minutes rallied upon Lieutenant-Colonel McDonald. From the point occupied by this regiment, General Stricker, in order to refresh his troops, and prepare them for a second movement of the enemy, retired to a position half a mile in advance of the left of Major-General Smith's intrenchments. Here he was joined by General Winder, who, with General Douglass' Virginia brigade, and the United States dragoons, under Captain Bird, took post upon his left.

Whilst all these movements were in operation, General Smith was actively engaged in manning the trenches and batteries with Generals Stansbury's and Foreman's brigades, a detachment of seamen and marines, under Commodore Rodgers, Colonels Co-bean and Finly's Pennsylvania volunteers, Colonel Harris's Baltimore artillery, and the marine artillery, under Captain Stiles. Colonel Brooke did not advance with his columns further than the ground on which General Stricker had been previously formed, where he remained during the night of the 12th. Early on the following morning, he received a communication from Admiral Cochrane, that the frigates, bomb ships, and flotilla of barges, would take their stations, to bombard the town and fort, in the course of the morning. At daybreak of the 13th, the land forces, therefore, again moved forward and occupied a position two miles eastward of the intrenchments.

The day was chiefly employed in manœuvring by both parties. Colonel Brooke frequently attempting to make a detour through the country, to the Harford and York roads; and Generals Winder and Stricker adapting their movements to those of the enemy, the better to frustrate his designs. At noon the British columns were concentrated directly in front of the American line, and Colonel Brooke advanced to within a mile of the works, drove in the outposts, and made arrangements for an attack at night. Generals Winder and Stricker were then ordered to station themselves on the enemy's right, and in the event of an attack upon the breastworks, to fall upon that flank or on his rear.







Bombardment of Fort Melien

The assault was not made, however, and the enemy, probably, thinking he would be outflanked, and having discovered the strength of the defenses, withdrew from his position in the course of the night, and re-embarked his troops in the evening of the 14th. His retreat was not discovered until break of that day, in consequence of the darkness of the night; and though a heavy fall of rain continued throughout the morning, General Winder, with his dragoons, and the Virginia militia, Major Randal, with his light corps, and the whole militia and cavalry were sent in pursuit. The excessive fatigue of the troops, all of whom had been three days and nights under arms, in the most inclement weather, prevented their annoying the enemy's rear with much effect, and they made prisoners of none but stragglers from his army.

At the moment when Colonel Brooke advanced along the Philadelphia road, the frigates and bomb ships of the fleet, approached within striking distance of the fort, Colonel Armistead had already disposed his force to maintain the cannonade with vigour; a company of regular artillery, under Captain Evans, and another of volunteer artillery, under Captain Nicholson, manned the bastions in the Star fort; Captains Bunbury and Addison's sea fencibles, and Captain Berry's, and Lieutenant Pennington's artillery were stationed at the water batteries; and about six hundred infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart, and Major Lane, were placed in the outer ditch, to repulse an attempt to land. The bombardment commenced.

All the batteries were immediately opened upon the enemy, but the shot falling very far short of his vessels, the firing ceased from the fort, or was maintained only at intervals, to show that the garrison had not sunk under the tremendous showers of rockets and shells, incessantly thrown into the batteries. Thus situated, without the power of retaliating the attack of the enemy, Colonel Armistead and his brave men endured their mortification with an unyielding spirit, during the whole bombardment, which continued until seven o'clock on the morning of the 14th.

Under cover of the night, the British commanders despatched a fleet of barges to attack and storm Fort Covington. The attempt was repulsed, however, and the assailants retired, with



an immense loss to their bomb vessels, and on the morning of Wednesday, the whole stood down the river, and rejoined Admiral Cochrane's fleet. The loss in the fort amounted to four killed, and twenty-four wounded : among the killed were two gallant young volunteer officers, Lieutenants Clagget and Clem. The entire loss of the enemy has not yet been ascertained. That of the Americans on the field of battle did not fall short of one hundred and fifty, which, being added to the killed and wounded in the fort, makes a total of one hundred and seventy-eight. The invaders having thus retired from what they called a demonstration upon Baltimore, the safety of the citizens was secured, and the different corps were relieved from further duty.

The plan of operations, however, which had been adopted by the British cabinet, to destroy and lay waste the principal towns and commercial cities, assailable either by their land or naval forces, was not to be abandoned because of this repulse, gallant and effective as it was. The cities of Charleston, Savannah, Baltimore, and Washington, were destined to be burnt and plundered ; and New Orleans, the great emporium of all the wealth and treasure of the western states, was to be seized, and held as a colony of Great Britain. The failure of her arms, in an assault upon either of these places, was not to prevent an attack upon another, no matter what the slaughter ; and the separate commanders were directed to concentrate their forces, or draw from the Bermudas such an augmentation as should be necessary, and in the event of successive repulses upon other objects, to bend all their strength against the city of New Orleans, and its defenses on the Mississippi. At the Bermudas, a powerful and well appointed fleet and army was for this purpose collected, and their arrival upon the southern coast daily anticipated.

Admiral Cochrane had in the mean time directed a smaller squadron of vessels, then fitting out at Pensacola, in the territory of a neighbouring nation with whom the United States were at the same moment at peace, for an expedition against some of the defenses by which the entrance to New Orleans was protected, to make the earliest preparation for an assault upon Fort Bowyer, a garrison situated at a point called Mobile.

In the early part of September, this squadron, consisting of

two sloops of war and two gun brigs, mounting in all ninety guns, and commanded by Captain Percy, was already on its way to the intended attack.

During the summer, the British brig *Orpheus* had landed a number of officers in Appalachicola bay, who entered into arrangements with the disaffected Creeks of the southern states, by which they agreed to assist the enemy in their designs against Louisiana. About the same time Colonel Nicholls sailed from the Bermudas to Havana, in order to solicit the co-operation of the Spanish authorities at that place; but failing in this, he proceeded to Pensacola, and landed, contrary to the wishes of the captain-general. After establishing his head-quarters, he enlisted and publicly drilled bands of Indians, clothing them in the British uniform.

Early in September, Nicholls addressed a package of letters to the noted Lafitte, at that time leader of a numerous band of lawless privateers, whose principal station was at Barataria. The bearer, Mr. Lockyer, enlarged on the subject of them, urging Lafitte to enter into the service of his Britannic majesty, with all those who were under his command, or over whom he had sufficient influence; and likewise to loan the British army all the armed vessels at Barataria, to aid in the intended attack on the fort of Mobile. The captain insisted much on the great advantages which would thence result to Lafitte and his crews; offered him the rank of captain in the British service, and the sum of thirty thousand dollars, payable at his option, in Pensacola or New Orleans; urging him not to let slip an opportunity so favourable for acquiring fortune and consideration. On Lafitte's requiring a few days for reflection, Captain Lockyer observed that no reflection could be necessary, respecting proposals which obviously precluded hesitation, as he was a Frenchman, and of course now a friend to Great Britain, proscribed by the American government, exposed to infamy, and had a brother at that very time loaded with irons in the jail at New Orleans. Every other argument likely to work on the ambition or avarice of the privateer was used with artful address by this minion of British authority. Lafitte, however, refused to give a decisive answer; but with a promptness that does honour to his patriotism, he hastened to forward a report of his interview, together with the



despatches, to the American authorities at New Orleans. He also requested permission to enter the American service, and establish a military post at Barataria. This was not granted.

Disappointed in this affair, the British began to concentrate their preparations at Pensacola and Appalachicola. In the latter place, besides troops, they landed twenty thousand stand of arms, with ammunition, blankets, and clothing, to be distributed among the Indians. They also used every means to detach the southern slaves from their masters.

Meanwhile the Americans had been organizing bands of militia, reinforcing the small regulars in New Orleans and other stations, and adopting other measures of defense. One feeling pervaded the south—hatred to the ruthless invaders who had burned cities and towns, devastated districts, and committed deeds of public wrong, fit only for ages of the darkest barbarism.

As the movements of the enemy left no ground to doubt that Fort Bowyer was soon to be attacked, Major Lawrence, the commandant, made the utmost exertions to place it in a condition for a vigorous resistance, while the brave garrison ardently longed for an opportunity of evincing their zeal and devotedness for the honour and interest of their country.

Fort Bowyer was a redoubt formed on the sea-side, by a semi-circular battery of four hundred feet in development, flanked with two curtains sixty feet in length, and joined to a bastion whose capital line passes through the centre of the circular battery. The bastion is capable of containing but two pieces of artillery. Inside, the fort is one hundred and eighty feet in length, from the summit of the bastion to the parapet of the circular battery, and two hundred feet for the length of the chord of the arc described. The interior front of the parapet was formed of pine wood, which a single shell could have set on fire. The fort was destitute of casements, even for the sick, the ammunition or provisions. Beside these inconveniences, the whole work was badly situated, being overlooked by several mounds of sand at the distance of from two to three hundred yards. On the summit of these it would have been easy for an enemy to mount pieces of artillery, so that their plunging fire would command the inside of the fort.



On the 12th of September, four large vessels appeared near Mobile Point, and Major Lawrence ordered the whole garrison to enter the fort, and keep themselves in readiness for action. From that time each man passed the night at his post, and under arms. The whole garrison numbered but one hundred and thirty men including officers, with twenty pieces of cannon, several of which were useless.

On the morning of September 12th, six hundred Indians and Spaniards, and one hundred and thirty British marines, landed some distance from the fort; and on the evening of the same day two sloops of war, and two brigs anchored within six miles. Parties reconnoitered the works next morning, and a few shots were fired upon them in the afternoon. Similar demonstrations were made on the 14th. At two o'clock, on the 15th, the ships formed in line of battle near the fort. Major Lawrence then convened a council of officers, who unanimously resolved, "That in case of being, by imperious necessity, compelled to surrender, (which could only happen in the last extremity, on the ramparts being entirely battered down, and the garrison almost wholly destroyed, so that any further resistance would be evidently useless,) no capitulation should be agreed on, unless it had for its fundamental article, that the officers and privates should retain their arms and their private property, and that on no pretext should the Indians be suffered to commit any outrage on their persons and property; and, unless full assurance were given them, that they would be treated as prisoners of war, according to the custom established among civilized nations."

At half past four, the enemy's four ships commenced the attack, which soon became general. The British had erected a land battery, which also opened upon the fort, which was soon wrapped in clouds of smoke. The flag of the *Hermes*, the principal vessel, was shot away, and for a few minutes, the firing on both sides ceased. It was soon renewed, and the *Hermes*, losing her anchor, was drifted within full range of the fort, where she remained more than fifteen minutes, exposed to a fire that swept almost every thing on deck. About this time the American flag was shot away, and the enemy's troops on shore believing that the fort had surrendered, marched toward it. A volley of grape-

shot soon undeceived them, and they hastily retired beyond the mounds of sand. The *Hermes* had now run aground, and being utterly unmanageable, she was set on fire. The three remaining ships, with much difficulty got to sea. The garrison continued their fire upon the *Hermes* until night, when she appeared in flames, burning until eleven, at which time the powder became ignited, and she blew up with a tremendous explosion.

In this assault the enemy numbered thirteen hundred and thirty men, with ninety-two pieces of artillery; while the garrison consisted of but one hundred and thirty men, with twenty cannon, several of them unfit for use. The American loss was four killed and four wounded; that of the enemy two hundred and thirty-two, of whom but seventy were killed.

This noble defense spread a thrill of exultation throughout the south, and inspired, in no little degree, that spirit of determined patriotism, which was soon to produce such glorious results.

On the 21st, General Jackson issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of Louisiana, in which, after setting forth the perfidious conduct of the British on the coast, and their intrigues with Lafitte, he implored their zealous assistance in repelling the invaders. A similar address was published to the free coloured population.

As the expedition against Fort Bowyer had sailed from Pensacola, General Jackson determined to reduce that place, notwithstanding its belonging to a neutral nation. Accordingly on the 6th of November, 1814, he arrived before the town with four thousand men, and summoned it to surrender. His flag was fired upon; and on its return, reported to the general that both Spanish and English colours were flying from the walls. Believing that so wanton an outrage originated entirely from the British, Jackson sent a letter to the governor, by a prisoner, demanding a satisfactory explanation of the affront. The governor immediately despatched an officer with assurances of his having had no participation in the insult, adding, that if the general was pleased to renew the communication, he would guaranty the messenger a proper reception. This was done, and the following conditions were offered:—To receive an American garrison in the forts St. Michael and Barrancas, until the Spanish



government could procure a sufficient force to enable them to maintain their neutrality against its violation by the British, who had possessed themselves of the fortresses, notwithstanding the remonstrance and protest of the Spanish governor. That the American forces should be withdrawn, when such a force should arrive. These conditions having been refused, the messenger declared, agreeably to his instructions, that however painful to the general's feelings, recourse would be had to arms.

On the 7th of November, the American army marched to the attack in three columns. The centre was composed of regular infantry, with two pieces of artillery, under Major Woodruff. The remaining columns, with a battalion of volunteer dragoons from Mississippi, marched in the rear. When in sight of the town, the centre column was ordered to charge, which it did in the face of a Spanish battery, losing eleven men, but carrying the guns at the point of the bayonet. The Spaniards had four killed and six wounded. The governor now sent a flag of truce to the American general, and hostilities ceased. It was agreed that the block-houses of the town, Barrancas, and fort St. Michael should receive an American garrison. But the commandant of St. Michael refused to obey the governor's order, and held possession of the fort. General Jackson offered him the same propositions that had been made the night before, and half an hour to determine. Then having resigned the command to Major Pierce, with eight hundred men, and instructions to get possession of the fort before night, either by negotiation or force, he retired to his camp with the remainder of the troops. During the afternoon the St. Rose battery, opposite Barrancas, was blown up by the Spaniards; and at ten o'clock, P. M., Colonel Sotto, the commandant of St. Michael, surrendered without opposition. The fort was immediately taken possession of by the Americans. Public and private property in this station, and all others of the city, was respected with a carefulness that excited the greatest astonishment and pleasure among the inhabitants.

Next morning the Spanish governor refused to issue an order for the surrender of Barrancas, alleging that it would be disobeyed. As it commanded the entrance into Pensacola bay, and was of the utmost importance, Jackson determined on assaulting



it. While preparations were making for this purpose, an explosion was heard, and flames were seen proceeding from the fort. The cause was soon ascertained; the British had persuaded the commandant to blow up the works, and retire to Havana, with all his force, amounting to three or four hundred men. The object of the expedition being accomplished, General Jackson determined to withdraw the greater part of his army from the Spanish territory, and march back to Mobile and New Orleans. He set out on the 9th, and after stopping for some days at the former place, he reached New Orleans, December 2d. On the same day he reviewed the battalion of uniform companies of New Orleans militia, commanded by Major Daquin. Their appearance and behaviour afforded him much satisfaction.

The arrival of General Jackson gave a new complexion to affairs in the city. Hitherto all attempts to adopt measures of defense had been feeble. The legislature had appointed a joint committee of both houses, to concert with the governor, Commodore Patterson, and the military commandant, such measures as might be deemed most expedient. But there was no concentration of power, nor even of feeling. The citizens distrusted the abilities of their civil and military authorities. Unprofitable disputes increased the difficulty. Credit was destroyed; the banks had all suspended payment, and business was utterly stagnant. But General Jackson united all parties, arrested all discord, and gave instant animation to the measures of defense. On the second day after his arrival, the general visited Fort St. Philip, in order to ascertain its condition, and to examine what parts of the river below New Orleans it might be expedient to fortify. He ordered the demolition of the wooden barracks within the fort, several additional pieces of artillery to be mounted on the rampart, and a thirty-two-pounder, and a mortar in the covered way. He also ordered two batteries to be constructed, mounting twenty-four-pounders.

On the 10th General Jackson wrote to the governor of the state, informing him that the river banks could be well defended, and urging the expediency of requesting the planters to loan their slaves for the purpose of throwing up embankments. He stated the dangerous position of affairs, and the necessity of

immediate action. The governor and legislature cordially responded to his views, and were immediately seconded by the inhabitants.

On the afternoon of the 13th, six gun-boats, under Lieutenant Jones, who had been sent out to watch the movements of the British fleet, encountered a number of the enemy's barges. Manœuvring took place until after midnight, when the lieutenant was forced to anchor near Malheureux island. On the same day a tender was set on fire to prevent its falling into the hands of the British. Early on the 14th, the enemy captured the tender Alligator. The whole British flotilla then attacked the gun-boats, and an action ensued, in which one hundred and eighty-two men, distributed in boats, fought three-quarters of an hour, with twelve hundred veterans, in forty-two large barges, carrying nine and twelve-pounders, and twenty-four-pound carronades, in all numbering forty-three pieces. They had six men killed, and thirty-five wounded. The British had several barges sunk, and lost more than two hundred men.

From this time until the 21st, every precaution was taken to provide against the expected attack. General Jackson armed all his troops, reviewed them daily, wrote by express to Generals Coffee, Carrol, and Thomas, to join him with all speed, and declared the city under strict martial law. "All classes of society were animated with the most ardent zeal. The young, the old, women, children, all breathed defiance to the enemy. It was known that the enemy was on our coast, within a few hours' sail of the city, with a presumed force of between nine and ten thousand men; whilst all the forces we had yet to oppose him amounted to no more than one thousand regulars, and from four to five thousand militia; yet such was the universal confidence inspired by the activity and decision of the commander-in-chief, added to the detestation in which the enemy was held, and the desire to punish his audacity, should he presume to land, that not a single warehouse or shop was shut, nor were any goods or valuable effects removed from the city."

On the 21st, twelve men were sent in a boat to a settlement of Spanish fishermen, on the left bank of the Bayou Bienvenu, above its entrance into Lake Borgne, in order to give notice of

any attempt of the enemy to penetrate that way. The fishermen were in the British service; and, on arriving at their village, the detachment found but one there, the others, under pretence of fishing, having gone as pilots to the British barges. The men kept up an incessant watch for the enemy until midnight of the 22d, when a noise was heard, and each man seized his arms. Five barges filled with men, and provided with artillery, were soon perceived. Seven men entered their boat, but being perceived, were all captured. But four of the whole detachment escaped, and three of these, after numerous hardships, were subsequently captured. The enemy then pushed forward to General Villery's plantation, captured his son and several others, and took possession of the estate.

Of the events which followed, we have the following account from Eaton's Life of Jackson :



**B**AYOU BIENVENU, through which the landing was made, is an arm of considerable width, stretching toward the Mississippi, from Lake Borgne, and about fifteen miles south-east of New Orleans. It had been reported to General Jackson, on the 23d, that, on the day before, several strange sail had been descried off *Terre au Bœuf*. To ascertain correctly the truth of the statement, Majors Tatum and Latour, topographical engineers, had been sent off, with orders to proceed in that direction, and learn if any thing were attempting there. It was toward noon of the 23d, when they started. Approaching General Villery's plantation, and perceiving at a distance, soldiers, and persons fleeing hastily away, they at once supposed the enemy had arrived. What, however, was but surmise, was presently, and on nearer observation, rendered certain; and it was now no longer a doubt, but that the British had landed, in considerable force, and had actually gained, unobserved, the house of General Villery, on the bank of the Mississippi, where they had surprised, and made prisoners, a company of militia, there posted.

“Major Tatum, hastening back, announced his discovery. Preparations to act were immediately made by General Jackson.



The signal guns were fired, and expresses sent forward, to concentrate the forces; resolving, that night, to meet the invaders, and try his own and their firmness.

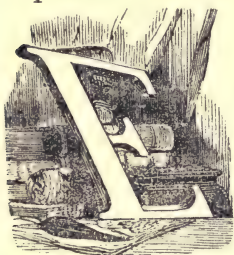


THE hour to test the bravery of his troops had now arrived. The approach of the enemy, flushed with the hope of easy victory, was announced to Jackson, a little after one o'clock in the afternoon. There were too many reasons, assuring him of the necessity of acting speedily, to

hesitate a moment, on the course proper to be pursued. Could he assail them, and obtain even a partial advantage, it might be beneficial—it might arrest disaffection—buoy up the despondent—determine the wavering, and bring within his reach resources for to-morrow, which might wholly fail, should fear once take possession of the public mind. It was a moment, too, of all others, most propitious to success. He well knew the greater part of his troops were inured to marching and fatigue, while those opposed to him were just landed from a long voyage, and were as yet without activity, and unfitted for bodily exertion. Moreover, a part only might have arrived from the shipping, while the remainder would be certainly disembarked as early as possible. These circumstances seemed to augment, in his behalf, the chances of victory, if now sought; but if deferred, they might, in a little time, disappear. He resolved, at all events, to march, and that night give them battle. Generals Coffee and Carroll were ordered to proceed immediately from their encampment, and join him with all haste. Although four miles above, they arrived in the city in less than two hours after the order had been issued. These forces, with the 7th and 44th regiments, the Louisiana troops, and Colonel Hinds's dragoons, constituted the strength of his army, which could be carried into action against an enemy, whose numbers, at this time, could only be conjectured. It was thought advisable to leave Carroll and his division behind; for notwithstanding there was no correct information of the force landed through Villery's canal, yet Jackson feared that this

might be only a feint, intended to divert his attention, while, in all probability, a much stronger and more numerous division, having already gained some point higher on the lake, might, by advancing in his absence, gain his rear, and succeed in their views. Uncertain of their movements, it was essential he should be prepared for the worst, and, by different dispositions of his troops, be ready to resist, in whatever quarter he might be assailed. Carroll, therefore, at the head of his division, and Governor Claiborne, with the state militia, were directed to take post on the Gentilly road, leading from Chef Menteur to New Orleans, and to defend it to the last extremity.

“Colonel Hayne, with two companies of riflemen, and the Mississippi dragoons, was sent forward to reconnoiter their camp, learn their position and their numbers; and, in the event they should be found advancing, to harass and oppose them at every step, until the main body should arrive.



VERY thing being ready, General Jackson commenced his march, to meet and fight the veteran troops of England. An inconsiderable circumstance, at this moment, evinced what unlimited confidence was reposed in his skill and bravery. As his troops were marching through the city, his ears were assailed with the screams and cries of in-

numerable females, who had collected on the way, and seemed to apprehend the worst of consequences. Feeling for their distresses, and anxious to quiet them, he directed Mr. Livingston to address them in the French language. “Say to them,” said he, “not to be alarmed: the enemy shall never reach the city.” It operated like an electric shock. To know that he himself was not apprehensive of a fatal result, inspired them with altered feelings; sorrow was ended, and their grief converted into hope and confidence.

“The general arrived in view of the enemy, a little before dark. Having previously ascertained from Colonel Hayne their position, and that their strength was about two thousand men,\*

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\* This opinion, as it afterwards appeared, was incorrect. Their number, at the commencement of the action, was three thousand, which was shortly afterwards increased by additional forces.

he immediately concerted the mode of attack, and hastened to execute it. Commodore Patterson, commanding the naval forces, with Captain Henly on board the *Caroline*, had been directed to drop down, anchor in front of their line, and open upon them from the guns of the schooner; which being the signal for attack, was to be waged simultaneously on all sides. The fires from their camp disclosed their position, and showed their encampment, formed with their left resting on the river, and extending at right angles into the open field. General Coffee, with his brigade, Colonel Hinds's dragoons, and Captain Beal's company of riflemen, was ordered to oblique to the left, and, by a circuitous route, avoid their pickets, and endeavour to turn their right wing; having succeeded in this, to form his line, and press the enemy towards the river, where they would be exposed more completely to the fire of the *Caroline*. The rest of the troops, consisting of the regulars, Plauche's city volunteers, Daquin's coloured troops, the artillery under Lieutenant Spoots, supported by a company of marines, commanded by Colonel McKee, advanced along the bank of the Mississippi, and were commanded by Jackson in person.

"General Coffee had advanced beyond their pickets, next the swamp, and nearly reached the point to which he was ordered, when a broadside from the *Caroline* announced the battle begun. Patterson had proceeded slowly, giving time, as he believed, for the execution of those arrangements contemplated on the shore. So sanguine had the British been in the belief that they would be kindly received, and little opposition attempted, that the *Caroline* floated by the sentinels, and anchored before their camp, without any kind of molestation. On passing the front picket, she was hailed in a low voice, but returning no answer, no further question was made. This, added to some other attendant circumstances, confirmed the opinion that they believed her a vessel laden with provisions, which had been sent out from New Orleans, and was intended for them. Having reached what, from their fires, appeared to be the centre of their encampment, her anchors were cast, and her character and business disclosed from her guns. So unexpected an attack produced a momentary confusion; but, recovering, they answered her by a



discharge of musketry, and flight of congreve rockets, which passed without injury, while her grape and canister were pouring destructively on them. To take away the certainty of aim afforded by the light of their fires, these were immediately extinguished, and they retired two or three hundred yards into the open field, if not out of the reach of the cannon, at least to a distance, where, by the darkness of the night, they would be protected.



OFFEE had dismounted his men, and turned his horses loose, at a large ditch, next the swamp, in the rear of Lorond's plantation, and gained, as he believed, the centre of the enemy's line, when the signal from the Caroline reached him. He directly wheeled his columns in, and, extending his line parallel with the river, moved towards

their camp. He had scarcely advanced more than a hundred yards, when he received a heavy fire, from a line formed in his front: this, to him, was an unexpected circumstance, as he supposed the enemy lying principally at a distance, and that the only opposition he should meet, until he approached towards the levee,\* would be from their advanced guards. The circumstance of his coming up with them so soon was owing to the severe attack of the schooner, which had compelled them to abandon their camp, and form without her reach. The moon shone, but reflected her light too feebly to discover objects at a distance. The only chance, therefore, of producing certain injury, with this kind of force, which consisted chiefly of riflemen, was not to venture at random, but only to discharge their pieces when there should be a certainty of felling the object. This order being given, the line pressed on, and, having gained a position near enough to distinguish, a general fire was given; it was too severe and destructive to be withstood; the enemy gave way, and retreated,—rallied,—formed,—were charged, and again re-

\* Embankments formed along the river, to confine it in its bed.

treated. These gallant men, led by their brave commander, urged fearlessly on, and drove them from every position they attempted to maintain. Their general was under no necessity to encourage and allure them to deeds of valour : his own example was sufficient to excite them. Always in the midst, he displayed a coolness and disregard of danger, calling to his troops, that they had often said they could fight, now was the time to prove it.

"The enemy, driven back by the resolute firmness and ardour of their assailants, had now reached a grove of orange trees, with a ditch running past it, protected by a fence on the margin. It was a favourable position, promising security, and was occupied with a confidence that they could not be forced to yield it. Coffee's dauntless yeomanry, strengthened in their hopes of success, moved on, nor discovered the advantages against them, until a fire from the whole British line showed their defense. A momentary check was given ; but, gathering fresh ardour, they charged across the ditch, gave a deadly and destructive fire, and forced them to retire. Their retreat continued, until, gaining a similar position, they made another stand, and were again driven from it, with considerable loss.

"Thus the battle raged, on the left wing, until the British reached the bank of the river ; here a determined stand was made, and further encroachments resisted : for half an hour the conflict was extremely violent on both sides. The American troops could not be driven from their purpose, nor the British made to yield their ground ; but at length, having suffered greatly, the latter were under the necessity of taking refuge behind the levee, which afforded a breastwork, and protected them from the fatal fire of our riflemen. Coffee, unacquainted with their position, for the darkness had greatly increased, already contemplated again to charge them ; but Major Moulton, who had discovered their situation, assured him it was too hazardous ; that they could be driven no further, and would, from the point they occupied, resist with the bayonet, and repel, with considerable loss, any attempt to dislodge them. The place of their retirement was covered in front by a strong bank, which had been extended into the field, to keep out the river, in consequence of the first being encroached upon, and undermined in

several places: the old one, however, was still entire, in many parts, and gave them security from the broadsides of the schooner, which lay off at some distance. A further apprehension, lest, by moving still nearer the river, he might greatly expose himself to the fire of the *Caroline*, which was yet spiritedly maintaining the conflict, induced Coffee to retire until he could hear from the commanding general, and receive his further orders.



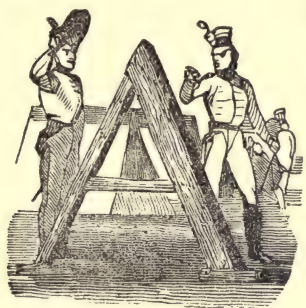
URING this time, the right wing, under Jackson, was no less prompt and active. A detachment of artillery under Lieutenant Spotts, supported by sixty marines, formed the advance, and had moved down the road, next the levee. On their left was the 7th regiment of infantry, led by Major Piere. The 44th, commanded by Major Baker, was formed on the extreme left; while

Plauche's and Daquin's battalions of city guards, were directed to be posted in the centre, between the 7th and 44th. The general had ordered Colonel Ross, who, during the night, acted in the capacity of brigadier-general, on hearing the signal from the *Caroline*, to move off by heads of companies, and, having reached the enemy's line, to deploy, and seek to unite the left wing with the right of General Coffee's. This order was omitted to be executed; and the consequence was an early introduction of confusion in the ranks, whereby was prevented the important design of uniting the two divisions.

"Instead of marching in column from the first position, the troops were wheeled into an extended line, and moved off in this order, except the 7th regiment, next the person of the general, which advanced agreeably to the instructions that had been given. Having sufficient ground to form on at first, no inconvenience was at the moment sustained: but this advantage presently failing, the centre was compressed, and forced in the rear. The river, from where they were, gradually inclined to the left, and diminished the space originally possessed: farther in, stood Lo-



rond's house, surrounded by a grove of clustered orange trees : this pressing the left, and the river the right wing to the centre, formed a curve, which threw the principal part of Plauche's and Daquin's battalions without the line. This might have been remedied, but for the briskness of the advance, and the darkness of the night. A heavy fire from behind a fence immediately before them, had brought the enemy to view. Acting in obedience to their orders, not to waste their ammunition at random, our troops had pressed forward against the opposition in their front, and thereby threw those battalions in the rear.



FOG rising from the river, which, added to the smoke from the guns, was covering the plain,—gradually diminishing the little light shed by the moon, and greatly increasing the darkness of the night: no clue was left, to tell how or where the enemy were situated. There was no alternative but to move on, in the direction of their fire, which subjected the as-

sailants to material disadvantages. The British, driven from their first position, had retired back, and occupied another, behind a deep ditch, that ran out of the Mississippi towards the swamp, on the top of which was a high fence. Here, strengthened by increased numbers, they again opposed the approach of our troops. Having waited until they had come sufficiently near to be discovered, they discharged, from their fastnesses, a fire upon the advancing army. Instantly our battery was formed, and poured destructively upon them; while the infantry, coming up, aided in the conflict, which was for some time spiritedly maintained. At this moment, a brisk sally was made upon our advance, when the marines, unequal to the assault, were already giving way. The adjutant-general, and Colonels Piatt and Chotard, with a part of the 7th, hastening to their support, drove the enemy, and saved the artillery from capture. General Jackson, perceiving the advantages they derived from their position, ordered their line to be charged. It was obeyed with cheerfulness, and executed with promptness. Pressing on, our troops gained the ditch, and, pouring across it a well-aimed fire

compelled them to retreat, and abandon their intrenchment. The plain, on which they were contending, was cut to pieces, by races from the river, to convey the water. They were, therefore, very soon enabled to take another situation, equally favourable with the one whence they had just been driven, where they formed for battle, and, for some time, gallantly maintained themselves; but were at length forced to yield it, and retreat.

"The enemy, discovering the firm and obstinate resistance made by the right wing of the American army, and perhaps presuming its principal strength was posted on the road, formed the intention of attacking violently the left. Obliquing for this purpose, an attempt was made to turn it. At this moment, Daquin's and the battalion of city guards were marched up, and, being formed on the left of the 44th, met and repulsed them.

"The time of the contest prevented many of those benefits which might have been derived from the artillery. The blaze of the enemy's musketry was the only light by which they could judge of their positions, or be capable of taking their own to advantage; yet, notwithstanding, it greatly annoyed them, whenever it could be brought to bear. Directed by Lieutenant Spotts, a vigilant and skilful officer, with men to aid him, who looked to nothing but a zealous discharge of their duty, it rendered the most essential and important services.



HE enemy had been thrice assailed and beaten, and made to yield their ground for nearly a mile. They had now retired, and, if found, were to be again sought for through the dark. The general determined to halt, and ascertain Coffee's position and success, previously to waging the battle further, for as yet no communication had passed between

them. He entertained no doubt, from the brisk firing in that direction, but that he had been warmly engaged; but this had now nearly subsided; the Caroline, too, had almost ceased her operations; it being only occasionally that the noise of her guns disclosed the little opportunity she possessed of acting efficiently.



“The express despatched to General Jackson, from the left wing, having reached him, he determined to prosecute the successes he had gained no further. The darkness of the night—the confusion into which his own division had been thrown, and a similar one on the part of Coffee, all pointed to the necessity of retiring from the field, and abandoning the contest. The bravery and firmness already displayed by his troops, had induced the belief, that by pressing on he might capture the whole British army: at any rate, he considered it but a game of venture and hazard, which, if unsuccessful, could not occasion his own defeat. If, incompetent to its execution, superior numbers or superior discipline should compel him to recede from the effort, he well knew the enemy would not have temerity enough to attempt pursuit. The extreme darkness—their entire ignorance of the situation of the country, and an apprehension lest their forces might be greatly outnumbered, afforded him sufficient reasons, on which to ground a belief, that although beaten from his purpose, he would yet have it in his power to retire in safety: but on the arrival of the express from General Coffee, learning the strong position to which the enemy had retired, and that a part of the left wing had been detached, and were in all probability captured, he determined to retire from the contest, nor attempt a further prosecution of his successes. General Coffee was accordingly directed to withdraw, and take a position at Lorond’s plantation, where the line had been first formed: and thither the troops on the right were also ordered to be marched.

“The last charge made by the left wing, had separated from the main body, Colonels Dyer and Gibson, with two hundred men, and Captain Beal’s company of riflemen. What might be their fate—whether captured, or had effected their retreat, was at this time altogether uncertain; be that as it might, Coffee’s command was thereby considerably weakened.

“Colonel Dyer, who commanded the extreme left, on clearing the grove, after the enemy had retired, was marching in the direction he expected to find General Coffee; he very soon discovered a force in front, and hastened towards it. Arriving within a short distance, he was hailed, ordered to stop, and to report to whom he belonged: Dyer and Gibson advanced, and stated



they were of Coffee's brigade; by this time they had arrived within a short distance of the line, and perceiving the name of their brigade was not understood, their apprehensions were awakened, lest it might be a detachment of the enemy; in this opinion they were immediately confirmed, and wheeling to return, were fired upon and pursued. Gibson had scarcely started when he fell; before he could recover, a soldier, quicker than the rest, had reached him, and pinned him to the ground with his bayonet; fortunately the stab had but slightly wounded him, and he was only held by his clothes: thus pinioned, and others briskly advancing, but a moment was left for deliberation;—making a violent exertion, and springing on his feet, he threw his assailant to the ground, and made good his retreat. Colonel Dyer had retreated about fifty yards, when his horse dropped dead; entangled in the fall, and slightly wounded in the thigh, there was little prospect of relief, for the enemy were briskly advancing: his men being near at hand, he ordered a fire, which checking their approach, enabled him to escape. Being now at the head of his command,—perceiving an enemy in the direction he had not expected, and uncertain how or where he might find General Coffee, he determined to seek him to the right, and moving on with his little band, forced his way through the enemy's lines, with a loss of sixty-three of his men, who were killed and taken. Captain Beal, with equal bravery, charged through the enemy, carrying off some prisoners, and losing several of his own company.

“This reinforcement of the British had arrived from Bayou Bienvenu after night. The boats that had landed the first detachment, had proceeded back to the shipping, and having returned, were on their way up the bayou, when they heard the guns of the *Caroline*; moving hastily on to the assistance of those who had debarked before them, they reached the shore, and knowing nothing of the situation of the two armies, came up in the rear of General Coffee's brigade. Coming in contact with Colonel Dyer and Captain Beal, they filed off to the left, and reached the British camp.

“This part of Coffee's brigade, unable to unite with, or find him, retired where they had first formed, and joined Colonel

Hinds's dragoons, which had remained on the ground where the troops had first dismounted, to cover their retreat, in the event it became necessary.

"Jackson had gone into this battle with a confidence of success; and his arrangements were such as would have insured it, even to a much greater extent, but for the intervention of circumstances that were not and could not be foreseen. The Caroline had given her signals, and commenced the battle a little too early, before Coffee had reached and taken his position, and before every thing was fully in readiness to attain the objects designed; but it was chiefly owing to the confusion introduced at first into the ranks, which checked the rapidity of his advance, gave the enemy time for preparation, and prevented his division from uniting with the right wing of General Coffee's brigade.

"Colonel Hinds, with one hundred and eighty dragoons, was not brought into action during the night. Interspersed as the plain was with innumerable ditches, cut in different directions, it was impossible that cavalry could act to any kind of advantage: they were now formed in advance, to watch, until morning, the movements of the enemy.

"From the experiment just made, Jackson believed it would be in his power on renewing the attack to capture the enemy: he concluded, therefore, to call down General Carroll with his division, and assail him again at the dawn of day. Directing Governor Claiborne to remain at his post, with the Louisiana militia, for the defense of the Gentilly road, he despatched an order to Carroll, in the event there had been no appearance of a force during the night, in the direction of Chef Menteur, to hasten and join him with his command; which order was executed by one o'clock in the morning. Previously, however, to his arrival a different conclusion was taken. From prisoners who had been brought in, and some deserters, it was ascertained that the strength of the enemy during the battle was four thousand, and with the reinforcements which had reached them, after its commencement, it was then not less than six:—at any rate, it exceeded his own greatly, even after the Tennessee division should be added. Although very decided advantages had been obtained, yet they had been procured under circumstances that

might be wholly lost in a contest waged in open day, between forces so disproportioned, and by undisciplined troops against veteran soldiers. Jackson well knew it was incumbent upon him to act a part entirely defensive: should the attempt to gain and destroy the city succeed, numerous difficulties would arise, which might be avoided, so long as he could hold the enemy in check, and halt him in his designs. Prompted by these considerations,—that it was important to pursue a course calculated to assure safety; and believing it attainable in no way so effectually as in occupying some point, and by the strength he might give it, make up for the inferiority of his numbers; he determined to forbear all further efforts, until he should more certainly discover the views of the enemy, and until the Kentucky troops should reach him, which had not yet arrived. Pursuing this idea, at four o'clock, having ordered Colonel Hinds to occupy the ground he was then leaving, and to observe the enemy closely, he fell back, and formed his line behind a deep ditch that ran at right angles from the river. There were two circumstances strongly recommending the importance of this place: the swamp, which, from the high lands at Baton Rouge, skirted the river at irregular distances, and was in many places almost impervious, had approached here within four hundred yards of the Mississippi, and hence, from the narrowness of the pass, was more easily to be defended; added to which, there was a deep canal, whence the dirt being thrown on the upper side, already formed a tolerable breastwork. Behind this his troops were formed, and proper measures adopted for increasing its strength, with a determination never to abandon it; but there to resist to the last, and defend those rights which were sought to be outraged and destroyed.

“The soldier who has stood the shock of battle, and knows what slight circumstances often produce decided advantages, will be able, properly, to appreciate the events of this night. Although the dreadful carnage of the 8th of January, hereafter to be told, was in fact the finishing blow, that struck down the towering hopes of those invaders, and put an end to the contest; yet in the battle of the 23d, is to be found abundant cause, why success resulted to our arms, and safety was given to the country.



The British had reached the Mississippi without the fire of a gun, and had encamped upon its banks, as composedly as if they had been seated on their own soil, and at a distance from all danger. These were circumstances awakening a belief that they expected little opposition, were certain of success, and that the troops with whom they were to contend, would scarcely venture to resist them: resting thus confidently, they would the next day have moved forward, and succeeded in the accomplishment of their designs. Jackson, convinced that an early impression was essential to ultimate success, had resolved to assail them at the moment of their landing, and ‘attack them in their first position.’ we have, therefore, seen him, with a force, inferior by one half, to that of the enemy, at an unexpected moment, break into their camp, and with his undisciplined yeomanry, drive before him the pride of Europe. It was an event that could not fail to destroy all previous theories, and establish a conclusion, our enemy had not before formed, that they were contending against valour inferior to none they had seen;—before which their own bravery had not stood, nor their skill availed them: it had the effect of satisfying them, that the quantity and kind of troops it was in his power to wield, must be different from what had been represented; for, much as they had heard of the courage of the man, they could not suppose, that a general, having a country to defend, and a reputation to preserve, would venture to attack, on their own chosen ground, a greatly superior army, and one, which, by the numerous victories achieved, had already acquired a fame in arms; they were convinced that his force must greatly surpass what they had expected, and be composed of materials different from what they had imagined.

“The American troops, which were actually engaged, did not amount to two thousand men: they consisted of part of

Coffee's brigade and Captain Beal's company,	-	648
The 7th and 44th regiments,	- - - -	763
Company of marines and artillery,	- - - -	82
Plauche's and Daquin's battalions,	- - - -	488
And the Mississippi dragoons, under Colonel	}	186
Hinds, not in the action,		
		<hr/> 2167

which for one hour maintained a severe conflict with a force of four or five thousand, and retired in safety from the ground with the loss of but twenty-four killed, one hundred and fifteen wounded, and seventy-four made prisoners; while the killed, wounded and prisoners of the enemy, were not less than four hundred.



OUR officers and soldiers executed every order with promptness, and nobly sustained their country's character. Lieutenant-Colonel Lauderdale, of Coffee's brigade, an officer on whom every reliance was placed, fell at his post, and at his duty: he had entered the service, and descended the river, with the volunteers, under General Jackson, in the winter of 1812—passed through all the hardships and difficulties of the Creek war, and had ever manifested a readiness to act when his country needed his services. Young, brave, and skilful, he had already afforded evidences of a capacity, which might in future, have become useful; his exemplary conduct, both in civil and military life, acquired for him a respect, that rendered his fall a subject of general regret. Lieutenant McLelland, a valuable young officer, of the 7th, was also among the number of the slain.

“Coffee's brigade, during the action, imitating the example of their commander, bravely contended, and ably supported the character they had established. The unequal contest in which they were engaged, never occurred to them; nor for a moment checked the rapidity of their advance. Had the British known they were mere riflemen, without bayonets, a firm stand would have arrested their progress, and destruction or capture would have been the inevitable consequence; but this circumstance being unknown, every charge they made was crowned with success, producing discomfiture, and routing and driving superior numbers before them. Officers, from the highest to inferior grades, discharged what had been expected of them. Ensign Leach, of the 7th regiment, being wounded through the body, still remained at his post, and in the performance of his duty. Colonel Reuben Kemper, enterprising and self-collected, amidst the confusion introduced on the left wing, found himself at the

head of a handful of men, detached from the main body, and in the midst of a party of the enemy; never did any man better exemplify the truth of the position, that discretion is sometimes the better part of valour: to attempt resistance was idle, and could only eventuate in destruction; with a mind unclouded by the peril that surrounded him, he sought and procured his safety through stratagem. Calling to a group of soldiers who were near, he demanded where their regiment was; lost themselves, they were unable to answer: but taking him for one of their own officers, they followed, as they were ordered, to his own line, where they were made prisoners.

The 7th regiment, commanded by Major Piere, and the 44th, under Major Baker, aided by Major Butler, gallantly maintained the conflict—forced the enemy from every secure position he attempted to occupy, and drove him a mile from the first point of attack. Confiding in themselves, and their general, who was constantly with them, exposed to danger, and in the thickest of the fight, inspired by his ardour, and encouraging by his example, they advanced to the conflict, nor evinced a disposition to leave it, until the prudence of their commander directed them to retire.



FROM the violence of the assault already made, the fears of the British had been greatly excited; to keep their apprehensions alive was considered important, with a view partially to destroy the overweening confidence with which they had arrived, and compel them to act, for a time, upon the defensive. To effect this, General Coffee, with his brigade, was ordered down on the 24th, to unite with Colonel Hinds, and make a show in the rear of Lacoste's plantation. The enemy, not yet recovered of the panic produced by the first assault, already believed it was in contemplation to urge another attack, and immediately formed to repel it; but Coffee having succeeded in recovering some of his horses, which were wandering along the sides of the swamp; and in regaining part of the clothing his troops had lost, returned to the line, leaving to be conjectured the objects of his movement.



An English writer gives the following interesting account of the action of the 23d of December :—" When the shades of evening fell, the fires were made to blaze more brightly ; supper was despatched, and the men prepared themselves for rest ; but a little before eight o'clock the attention of some was drawn to a large vessel, which seemed to be stealing up the river, till she came opposite to the British station, when her anchor was dropped, and her sails leisurely furled. Various were the opinions entertained of this stranger. She was hailed, but no answer was returned. All idea of sleep, however, was now laid aside, and several musket shots were fired, of which not the slightest notice was taken. At length, all her sails being fastened, and her broadside swung toward the camp, a voice was distinctly heard exclaiming, ' Give them this for the honour of America.' The flashes of her guns instantly followed, and a shower of grape shot swept down numbers of the British troops. An incessant cannonade was then kept up, which could not be silenced, as our troops had no artillery, and the few rockets that were discharged deviated so much from their object, as to afford only amusement for the enemy. Under these circumstances, therefore, all were ordered to leave the fires, and shelter themselves under the dikes, where they lay, each as he could find room, listening in painful silence to the iron hail among the huts, and to the shrieks and groans of those that were wounded.

" The night was dark as pitch ; the fires were all extinguished, and not an object was visible, except from the momentary flashes of the guns, when a straggling fire called attention toward the pickets, as if some more dreadful scene was about to open : nor was it long before suspense was cut short by a tremendous yell, and a semicircular blaze of musketry, which showed that the position was surrounded by a superior force ; and that no alternative remained, but to surrender, or to drive back the assailants. The first of these plans was instantly rejected ; for the troops, rushing from their lurking places, and dashing through their bivouac, under heavy discharges from the vessel, lost not a moment in attacking the foe, without the slightest attention to order, or the rules of disciplined warfare : the combat, which was left to individual valour and skill, lasted till three in the

morning; and though the enemy was finally repulsed, no less than five hundred of our finest troops and best officers were left on the field: the rest then retired to their former lurking places, to be out of reach of their enemy on the river; which, when daylight appeared, was discovered to be a fine schooner of eighteen guns, crowded with men. In the cold dikes, however, they were compelled to remain the whole ensuing day, without fire and without food; for whenever the smallest number began to steal away from shelter, the vessel opened her fire.

“In the mean time, the remainder of the troops were disembarking in haste to rejoin their comrades; and as the schooner’s guns were heard at the distance of at least twenty miles over the water, and in the silence of the night, the most strenuous exertions were made by the boats’ crews: nor was a moment lost in returning to the island; so that the whole army was brought into position before dark on the 24th; but the advanced brigade was still fettered to the bank, while another large ship now cast anchor about a mile from their annoying enemy: as soon, however, as darkness had set in, a change of position was effected, and the division was stationed in the village of huts: the front of the army being then covered by a strong chain of outposts, they remained quiet during the night; and next day General Keene was relieved from further care and responsibility by the unexpected arrival of Sir Edward Packenham and General Gibbs; the former of whom had been despatched from England, to take the chief command, as soon as the death of General Ross was known. The arrival of Packenham, adored as he was by the army, elicited the utmost enthusiasm; and he had scarcely reached the camp, before he proceeded to examine, with a soldier’s eye, every point of attack or defense. Of the American army nothing could be seen but a corps of five hundred mounted riflemen, hovering about the British front, and watching every motion; the city was not in sight; and no advance could be made, until the vessels on the river were disposed of: as delay was now dangerous, nine field-pieces, two howitzers, and a mortar were brought down to the bank as soon as it became dark; a battery was quickly thrown up against the schooner; and at dawn, on the 26th, a heavy cannonade was opened upon



her with red-hot shot : nor was it long before her crew were seen hastening into their boats ; while the smoke first, and then the flames, began to rise from her decks ; and, in about an hour, she blew up : the guns were then turned against the ship ; but not wishing to share the fate of her comrade, she set up every inch of canvas ; and being impelled both by sailing and towing, succeeded in getting out of the range of shot. All apparent obstacles being now removed, the army advanced to a more forward position ; and arrangements were quietly made during the day till sunset : but from that period until near dawn the whole time was spent in wakefulness and alarm ; for the American riflemen harassed the pickets ; fired on the sentinels as well as the officers who went the rounds ; and, disregarding all the usages of civilized warfare, thought only of diminishing the number of their enemies by picking off every individual whom they could reach. As soon as day began to break, they retired ; and our troops formed in two columns : the right, under General Gibbs, took post near the skirts of the morass, throwing out its skirmishers across the plain ; while the left, under Keene, drew up on the road near the river, and was covered by the rifle corps, which extended itself to meet the skirmishers of the right column : with this division went the artillery ; and at a given signal, the whole moved forward in high spirits, for about four or five miles, without the slightest check. At length they came in view of the American army, very advantageously posted behind a canal, which ran from the morass to within a short distance of the road : along its line were formidable breastworks ; while on the road, and at various other points, were powerful batteries, aided by a large flotilla of gun-boats on the river, flanking the position. As the left column passed a few houses, built at a turning of the road, and which concealed the enemy from view, it was suddenly checked by a destructive fire from the battery and the shipping : scarcely a bullet passed over, or fell short of its mark ; but striking full into the midst of the British ranks, made dreadful havoc : the houses also on the left, which had been purposely filled with combustibles, were now fired with red-hot shot ; so that, while whole ranks were mowed down by the artillery, the survivors were scorched by flames, or half suffocated with



smoke: the troops, however, were not long suffered to remain in this situation; for, being ordered to quit the path, and form in the fields, the British artillery was brought up against that of the enemy; but being inferior both in number of guns and weight of metal, it was soon obliged to retire with great loss. The infantry, having formed in line, now advanced under a heavy discharge of round and grape-shot, till they were stopped by the canal, the depth of which could not be ascertained; they were therefore ordered to take shelter in a wet ditch, sufficiently deep to cover the knees; where, leaning forward, they concealed themselves as well as they could behind some high rushes on its brink: in the mean time, the advance of the right column had been stopped by similar impediments; and nothing seemed left but to withdraw the troops from their perilous situation: a party of courageous seamen were employed to remove the dismounted guns, which service they effected under the whole fire of the enemy; and then regiment after regiment stole away, amid discharges similar to those which saluted their approach; retiring to a position in the plain, about two miles from the enemy's works, and in full sight of their army."

The action of the 23d saved Louisiana; for had the enemy not been attacked with such impetuosity, when they had scarcely effected their disembarkation, they would either that night or the next morning, have marched against the city, which, in its then defenseless condition, with about five thousand men, mostly militia, must inevitably have fallen.

The three following days were occupied in erecting fortifications, and reconnoitering the enemy's positions. Early on the 27th, a battery of twelve and eighteen-pounders opened upon the American schooner *Caroline*, and in about fifteen minutes set her on fire. She was abandoned by her crew, and soon after blew up. The guns were then directed against the *Louisiana*, but without causing any damage. In the evening the British land forces drove back the American advance guards, and took possession of *Bienvenu's* and *Chalmette's* plantations. All the buildings on the latter were blown up by order of General Jackson. The British slowly continued their march, advancing in columns, preceded by several pieces of artillery, some playing



Fortifying of New Orleans.

on the Louisiana, and others on the American intrenchments. The Louisiana suffered the columns to advance a considerable space, and then opened on them a tremendous and well-directed fire. The example was followed by the land troops, and the enemy's artillery silenced. So excellent was the Louisiana's position, that on one occasion a single ball from her killed fifteen men. Her fire finally broke the columns, forcing them back to the plantations, where they covered themselves by some buildings on Bienvenu's field. They also abandoned several batteries established on the river the preceding night. Their loss was between two and three hundred men; that of the Americans, seven killed and ten wounded.

At this time the British regular troops numbered about ten thousand men. General Gibbs's division had landed, and Sir Edward Packenham had taken command of the army, with his head-quarters at General Villery's house.

Some skirmishing took place on the 31st, and a cannonade was kept up between the Louisiana and some batteries until afternoon. During the night, the enemy erected two batteries at the distance of six hundred yards from the American lines, and about half that distance from the river bank.

On the morning of January 1st, 1815, a thick fog covered the

ground until eight o'clock. At this time the British opened a brisk fire from three batteries, mounting in all eighteen large guns. A shower of congreve rockets accompanied the balls, continuing with unprecedented activity for fifteen minutes. This was answered by a steady fire from the American lines, and in less than an hour that of the enemy slackened. The head-quarters of General Jackson were destroyed, and himself and staff narrowly escaped being shot. Two gun carriages were also destroyed, and two artillery caissons blown up. At ten o'clock, some platoons of sharp shooters penetrated into the neighbouring woods in order to reconnoiter the American left; but they were promptly met by General Coffee's brigade and driven back.

The enemy's fire continued to slacken until noon, and at one o'clock the two batteries on the right were abandoned. The other threw a few balls and rockets, until three P. M. when it also ceased. Deep silence then ensued, and the assailants retired to their camp, after a most active service of ten hours. The Americans lost during the day, thirty-four in killed and wounded.

On the 4th two thousand two hundred and fifty Kentucky militia arrived in the city, under Major-General Thomas. These troops being almost entirely destitute of decent clothing, were supplied by the legislature of Louisiana and the subscription of private individuals. On the 6th, Sailing-Master Johnson burnt a British brig, loaded with rum and biscuit, capturing ten prisoners. The same day an unusual stir was observed among the enemy, who covered the banks of Villery's canal, dragging boats, inspecting arms, marching and exercising. At the same time the Americans erected a small redoubt of two six-pounders, commanding the river bank and front of the line.

General Jackson had now eight distinct batteries constructed, mounting in all twelve guns, of different calibre, the largest however, being a thirty-two-pounder, under command of Lieutenant Crawley, late of the Caroline. The works were one mile in extent, from the river to the Cypress swamp, and terminated in a bend to the left of about two hundred yards. On the right of these works were stationed the 7th regiment, Major Plauche, Major Lacoste, and Major Daquin's battalions, and the



44th regiment, amounting in all to thirteen hundred and eighty-nine men, and commanded by Colonel Ross of the 44th; the centre was composed of General Carroll's, and part of General Adair's division, and amounted to sixteen hundred men; on the left was stationed the command of General Coffee, whose brigade consisted of five hundred men; so that the whole line was defended by three thousand four hundred and eighty-nine men. On the opposite side, the works erected by General Morgan were defended by two hundred and seventy-six of the Louisiana contingent, one hundred and seventy-six of the 2d, or Colonel Cavalier's regiment, and the 1st and part of the 6th, comprising one hundred and ten, under Colonel Degian, the whole amounting to five hundred and forty-six men. To these were added, on the night of the 27th, a reinforcement of five hundred men, from General Adair's Kentucky militia, under Colonel Davis. Commodore Patterson erected further batteries on the same side of the river, to annoy the approach of the enemy, if he should attempt it, along the levee on the right bank of the river, and in the line which covered General Morgan's troops were planted one twelve-pounder, and two brass sixes.

During the whole night of the 7th, busy sounds of preparation were heard in the enemy's camp; and before daylight next morning, the American outposts entered camp, and announced that the enemy were approaching in great force. At dawn the news was confirmed; rows of glittering troops, and deep columns of infantry, stretched from the wood to the river, covering the whole field, and presenting a scene of terrible grandeur rarely witnessed in America. A rocket discharged from the wood toward the river was the signal for assault. The troops gave three cheers, and swept along in close column, with fascines and scaling-ladders. Clouds of rockets preceded them, and continued to fall during the whole attack. Three batteries now opened a tremendous fire upon them, but they still rushed on, until within reach of the Tennessee and Kentucky rifles, which, joined with the fire of artillery, mowed them down by companies. The rapid discharges now resembled rattling peals of thunder, and, notwithstanding the utmost exertions of the British officers, their columns faltered. They were then marched



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obliquely, but this rendered the slaughter greater; the files became mixed and broken, the whole column broke, and many of the troops ran to shelter themselves among the neighbouring bushes. The remainder retired to the ditch, where they had been when first perceived. At this place, the officers succeeded with much difficulty in rallying their troops, and drew them up for a second attack. In order to be less encumbered, their knapsacks were laid at the edge of the ditch. The rear was also brought up as a reinforcement.

This assault was received with the same steady fire that had repulsed the first. The British, however, advanced much nearer than before; but were driven back in the utmost confusion, and in defiance of all the exertions of the officers, did not stop their flight, until without the reach of danger.

In the commencement of the attack, the honourable Sir Edward Packenham fell a victim to his own intrepidity, while endeavouring to animate his troops. The command then devolved on General Gibbs, who was also mortally wounded; General Keene was borne from the field, dangerously wounded. Many other distinguished officers fell, and the track of the column was marked with piles of the dead and dying. The



officers found it impossible to form the troops a third time, and they passed the remainder of the day near the ditch.

Some of the enemy's troops had advanced into the wood, either to make a false attack or to ascertain if a real one were practicable. They were speedily driven back by General Coffee's rifles. During the attack on the left, a column had also advanced on the right, drove in the American outposts, and entered an unfinished redoubt. The small garrison were either killed or captured, and the British remained masters of the fort. Here, however, they were attacked by Colonel Renee's riflemen, cut to pieces, and the advancing column completely foiled. The British batteries, which had kept up a continual fire during the charge, were all silenced.

During the main assault upon General Jackson's position, a second attack was made on the right bank of the Mississippi, against about eight hundred Louisiana militia, under General Morgan. The enemy crossed at daybreak, attacking and driving back about one hundred men sent to oppose them. It had been their intention to assault Morgan's position simultaneously with the commencement of the main action; but in this they were disappointed by being carried a great distance by the current. A small number of Americans, under Colonel Davis, who had just arrived from Jackson's position, and were hungry, cold, and exhausted, were sent to oppose the British. After a spirited resistance they were driven back. The victors then pushed rapidly against the left of General Morgan's defenses; but received so heavy a fire of artillery and musketry, as obliged them to give ground. They then attacked the right and centre, turned Colonel Davis's detachment, routed the Kentucky militia, and entered the works. They then attacked and carried the left. The defeat of the main army, under Packenham, rendered it useless for the British to pursue this advantage, and the detachment returned to their boats.

The loss of the British in the attack on General Jackson's position, was two hundred and ninety-three killed, twelve hundred and sixty-seven wounded, and four hundred and eighty-four missing. Almost all their valuable officers were killed or wounded. General Jackson had but six men killed, and seven



wounded ; but the action with General Morgan swelled the total loss to about five hundred.



ON the following day, the 9th, Admiral Cochrane directed two bomb vessels, one sloop of war, a brig, and a schooner, to station themselves before Fort St. Philip, with a view to its bombardment and destruction. On that day they commenced an attack, and continued throwing shells into the fort until the 17th in the evening, when the commandant, Major Overton, opened a heavy mortar, (not until then in readiness,) and threw the

line of ships into such disorder, that on the morning of the 18th, they retired to the anchorage of the fleet.

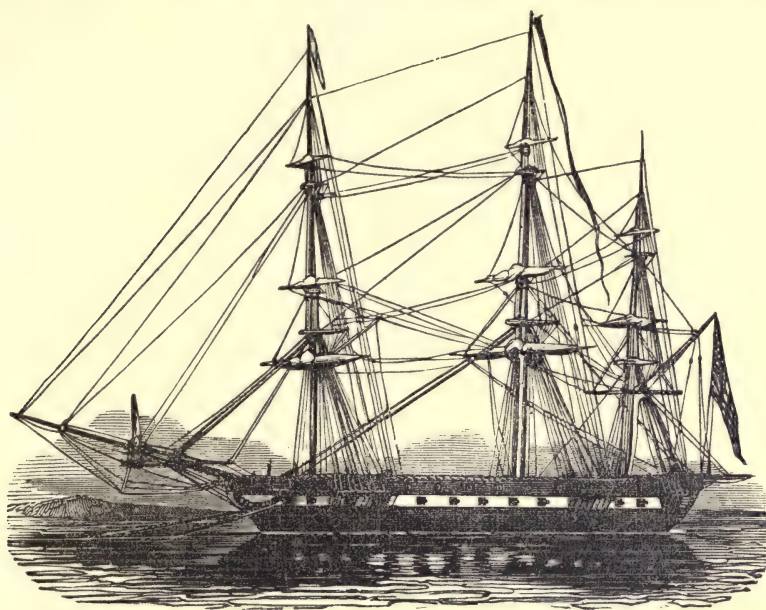
The expedition which had been thus extensively planned in England, and for the fitting out of which an immense treasure had been exhausted, was thus resisted, and entirely destroyed, by the valour and perseverance of a small army, principally made up of volunteers and militia, and commanded by a general, whose military career, though brilliant and almost unparalleled, was commenced but two years before. The slaughter which attended this repulse of the invading army was on their side never surpassed at any other battle. Besides their generals and other officers of high rank, the British lost in killed, wounded, and missing, about four thousand men. The American, killed, wounded, and missing, did not exceed five hundred.

The British fleet, however, continued in the neighbourhood, and on the 10th of February, General Lambert having landed near Fort Bowyer, with a large body of his troops, demanded of Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence the surrender of the garrison. In its rear an extensive and heavy battery had been planted, and the powerful force by which it was surrounded, made it expedient that the fort should capitulate on honourable terms, or that

the garrison should submit to the sword. Colonel Lawrence chose that line of conduct which propriety and humanity dictated, and the enemy took possession of the fort.

On the same day the British sloop of war *Brazen* arrived off the station, with intelligence that a treaty of peace had been concluded upon between the American and British ambassadors at Ghent, which had met the approbation of the prince regent of England. Not long after General Jackson was apprized, by the secretary of war, of the ratification of the treaty by the president and senate, and all hostilities immediately ceased. A regular and mutual exchange of prisoners was entered upon, and the volunteers and militia were honourably discharged, and sent to their homes, with the gratitude and applause of their country.





## CHAPTER XXIII.

*Close of the Naval Campaign of 1814.*



VERY attempt to escape from the blockade of the frigates *United States* and *Macedonian*, and the sloop of war *Hornet*, at New London, having failed, until the only season at which they could possibly escape had elapsed, the *Hornet* was ordered to remain at her station as a guard ship, whilst the frigates were to be moved up New London river to the head of navigation for heavy vessels, and there to be dismantled. Commodore Decatur and the crew of the *United States* were transferred to the frigate *President*, then moored at New York. In the course of the winter, a cruise



to the East Indies was determined on, at the navy department, to be performed by a squadron, consisting of that frigate, the sloop of war Peacock, then also at New York, the sloop of war Hornet, and the Tom Bowline, a merchant vessel, bought into the service as a store ship. The Hornet was, therefore, directed to proceed to the same harbour.

On the night of the 18th of November Captain Biddle passed the blockading squadron without being discovered, and joined Commodore Decatur, at New York. That port had been also constantly blockaded, and several frigates, sloops of war, and a razee, were at that time cruising off the hook.

On the 14th of January, Commodore Decatur thinking it more likely to get to sea with the President singly, directed Captain Warrington to follow him with the Peacock and Hornet as soon as the Tom Bowline was in readiness, and having assigned the island of Tristun d'Acunha, as the first place of rendezvous, proceeded to the bay, with a view of escaping from Sandy Hook in the night. In consequence of the negligence of the pilot, the President struck upon the bar, and remained there thumping, upwards of two hours. This accident caused her ballast to shift, and, when extricated from this situation by the rise of the tide, it was discovered that she had entirely lost her trim. The course of the wind forbidding her return to port, the commodore determined, nevertheless, upon running out to sea, and did not doubt but she would soon recover that ease in sailing for which she had been long celebrated. At daylight he fell in with the British squadron, composed of the Majestic, (razees,) the frigates Endymion, Tenedos, and Pomone, and the despatch brig, which immediately gave chase. The President was lightened as much as possible, but the superior sailing of the enemy's ships, enabled them to gain rapidly upon her, and the leading frigate, the Endymion, of forty-nine guns, and mounting twenty-four-pounders on her gun deck, got close under her quarters and commenced firing.

Commodore Decatur, finding that the Endymion was cutting up his rigging, without his being able to annoy her, determined to bear up and engage, and if possible to run her on board, and in the event of carrying her, to sail off and abandon the Presi-

dent. But the enemy manœvered to avoid this plan, and the conflict continued two hours, and ended in silencing and beating off the *Endymion*, with her hull and rigging much cut up, her masts and spars badly injured, and a great proportion of her crew killed and wounded. The President was also considerably damaged, and lost twenty-five men killed, and sixty wounded; among the former, Lieutenants Babbit and Hamilton, and Acting Lieutenant Howel; among the latter, the commodore, and Midshipman Dale, who lost a leg, and died of his wounds at Bermuda.

By this time the rest of the squadron came within two miles of the President. The *Endymion* had hauled off to repair, and Commodore Decatur made another effort to escape. But in three hours, the *Pomone* and *Tenedos* lay along-side, and the *Majestic* and *Endymion* were within a short distance of him. The gallant commodore, not choosing to sacrifice the lives of his crew in a useless contest with a squadron of ships mounting not less than one hundred and ten guns, received the fire of the nearest frigate, and surrendered. He was taken on board the *Endymion*, to whose commander he refused to deliver his sword when required, alleging that if they had been singly engaged, that officer would inevitably have been captured, and that he had struck to the whole squadron. The enemy, however, asserted that the President had been conquered by the *Endymion* alone; that the damage was sustained in a storm which rose up after the battle; and having repaired both vessels, sent the prize from Bermuda to England under her convoy. There she was lightened and laid in dock along-side an old seventy-four, which was deeply laden, to give her a smaller appearance in the water than the President.

The United States frigate *Constitution*, which had been some time repairing at Boston for a cruise, sailed from that port on the 17th of December, still under the command of Captain Stewart. After cruising in various parts of the ocean, and in the track for outward and homeward bound convoys, until the 20th of February, she fell in with two strange men-of-war sail, at ten minutes past one, P. M., on that day. One of these being to windward, was bearing up for the *Constitution*, and at 2<sup>h</sup>. 30<sup>m</sup>. displayed signals and squared away to the westward to join her

consort. The Constitution set every rag in chase, and a few minutes before three commenced firing from her forward guns on the gun deck. At 3<sup>h</sup> 15<sup>m</sup> the main royal-mast of the Constitution was carried away, and enabled the enemy's vessels to distance her fire. Before five a new royal-mast was completed, and a little while after the breeze freshened, and the ship to leeward tacked to the southward under all sail. At six the two ships hauled to on the larboard tack, in line, and in ten minutes the Constitution ranged ahead of the sternmost, brought her on the quarter, her consort on the bow, at two hundred yards distance, and opened a broadside, which was immediately returned.

An exchange of broadsides continued until the three ships were completely enveloped in smoke, upon the clearing away of which the Constitution found herself abreast of the headmost ship, and Captain Stewart ordered both sides to be manned, backed topsails, and dropped into his first position. The ships on the bow backed sails also. The Constitution's broadsides were then fired from the larboard battery, and in a few minutes the ship on the bow perceiving her error in getting sternboard, filled away with an intention of tacking athwart the bows of the Constitution, and the ship on the stern fell off, perfectly unmanageable. The Constitution then filled away, in full pursuit of the former, came within one hundred yards of her, and gave her several raking broadsides. She made all sail before the wind, with a view to escape, and Captain Stewart knowing her crippled situation would enable him to overhaul her at any time after securing her consort, wore round, and ranged along-side the latter ship, from which a gun was fired to leeward to signify that she had surrendered. Possession was then taken, by Lieutenant Hoffman, of his Britannic majesty's frigate Cyane, Captain Gordon Falkon, of thirty-four guns, thirty-two-pound carronades. Her commander and officers being brought on board, Captain Stewart sailed in chase of the other vessel, and in a short time discovered her, standing for him on the weather bow.

In a few minutes the enemy fired a broadside, which being instantly returned, he tacked ship, made all sail, and at that







moment received a rake from the starboard broadside of the Constitution. Upon gaining his wake, Captain Stewart opened a fire from his gun deck chase guns with such effect that the enemy hove too and surrendered, with five feet water in his hold, his masts tottering, and nothing but the smoothness of the sea preventing them from going overboard. Lieutenant Ballard was sent on board, and took possession of his Britannic majesty's ship *Levant*, Captain Douglass, of eighteen thirty-two-pound carronades, and two large twelve-pounders.

The loss on board the *Cyane* and *Levant* amounted to forty men killed, and nearly double that number wounded; on board the Constitution, where no other spar was lost than the fore top gallant yard, four men were killed and eleven wounded. On the 10th of March Captain Stewart entered the harbour of Port Praya with his prizes, and on the 11th a British squadron, consisting of the *Leander*, Sir George Collier, the *Newcastle*, Lord George Stewart, neither of them carrying less than sixty guns, and the frigate *Acasta*, Captain Kerr, of forty-four guns, which had sailed from the eastern coast of the United States, in quest of the Constitution, appeared off its entrance. Captain Stewart immediately made sail, escaped from the harbour with his squadron, and was closely pursued by the enemy's three ships. After a long and perilous chase, the Constitution and *Cyane* escaped their pursuers, and arrived safely in the United States, but the *Levant*, after whom all sail was made by the enemy's ships, ran into Port Praya, with a heavy fire of broadsides from the *Leander* and *Newcastle*, to put herself under the protection of the neutral port. The neutrality of the Portuguese was not regarded by the British squadron, however, and they recaptured the *Levant*, and carried her into Barbadoes.

A few days after the departure of the President from New York, the *Peacock*, *Hornet*, and *Tom Bowline* left that harbour without knowing of her capture. On the third after sailing from Sandy Hook, (the 23d of January,) the *Hornet* parted company with the *Peacock* and *Tom Bowline*, and directed her course towards the island of Tristan d'Acunha, the first designated rendezvous for the squadron. On the 23d of March she descried the British brig *Penguin*, Captain Dickenson, of eighteen guns,



and a twelve-pound carronade, to the southward and eastward of the island. This vessel had been fitted out, and twelve supernumerary marines put on board, with whom her crew amounted to one hundred and thirty-two men, to cruise for the American privateer *Young Wasp*.

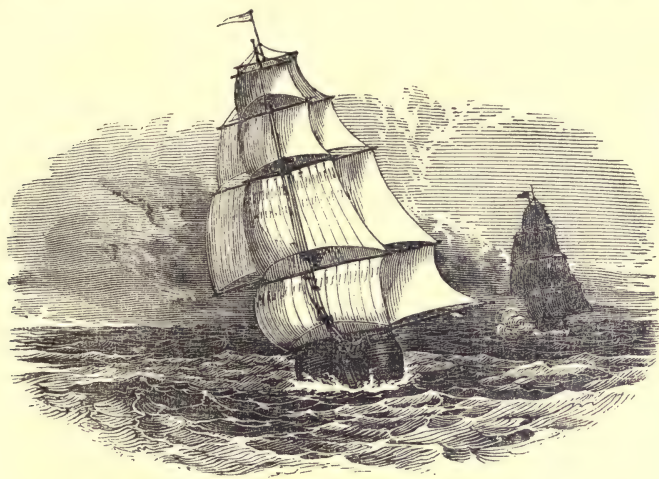
Captain Biddle immediately made sail, cleared the island, and hove to, until the *Penguin*, at the same time coming down, should be within striking distance. At forty minutes past one, P. M., the *Penguin* hauled her wind on the starboard tack, hoisted English colours, and fired a gun at musket-shot distance. The *Hornet* immediately luffed to, sent up an ensign, and gave the enemy a broadside. A constant fire was kept up for fifteen minutes, the *Penguin* all that time gradually nearing upon the *Hornet*, when Captain Dickenson gave orders to run her on board, and was killed by a grape-shot before he saw them executed. Lieutenant McDonald, upon whom the command of the *Penguin* then devolved, bore her up, and running her bowsprit in between the main and mizzen rigging of the *Hornet*, ordered his crew to board. His men, however, seeing the *Hornet*'s boarders not only ready to repel them, but waiting for orders to jump upon the *Penguin*'s deck, refused to follow him. At that moment the heavy swell of the sea lifted the *Hornet* ahead, and the enemy's bowsprit carried away her mizzen shrouds and spanker boom, and the *Penguin* hung upon the *Hornet*'s quarter-deck, with the loss of her foremast and bowsprit. Her commander then called out that he had surrendered. Though he was not distinctly understood, Captain Biddle ordered his marines to cease firing, and demanded of the *Penguin* whether she had struck. An officer of the *Hornet* discovered a man taking aim at Captain Biddle, after the surrender, and called to him to avoid the fire. He had scarcely done so, when a musket ball struck the captain in the neck, severely wounding him, and passing through his coat collar. Two marines, to whom the man was pointed out, who had discharged his piece at their commander, immediately fired at and killed him before he brought it from his shoulder. The *Penguin* just then got clear of the *Hornet*, and the latter wore round to give the enemy a fresh broadside, when her commander called out a second time that he had sur-



Hornet and Penguin.







Escape of the Hornet.

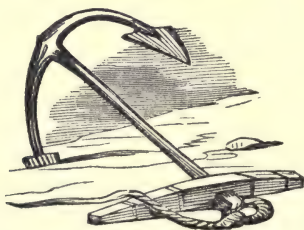
rendered. The severest exercise of authority became necessary to prevent the Hornet's crew, who were incensed at the enemy's firing after he had struck, from discharging the broadside. Twenty-two minutes after the commencement of the action, she was taken possession of by Mr. Mayo, of the Hornet. The Penguin was so much injured, that Captain Biddle determined upon taking out her crew and scuttling her—after doing which, he sent his prisoners to St. Salvador in the Tom Bowline, by which vessel and the Peacock he was joined on the 25th of the month. In this action the Penguin lost fourteen men killed, and twenty-eight wounded; the Hornet, one killed, and eleven wounded; among the latter, her first lieutenant, Conner, dangerously.

Having bent a new suit of sails, and repaired his rigging, Captain Biddle was in a perfect condition to prosecute the cruise, and, together with the Peacock, after waiting the full time for Commodore Decatur at the island of Tristan d'Acunha, sailed on the 12th of April for the Cape of Good Hope. On the 27th they discovered a British ship of the line, with an admiral's flag. The Peacock and Hornet immediately separated, and made all sail in different directions from the stranger, who came up in pursuit of the latter. The chase commenced at about two o'clock of the 27th, and continued until ten in the morning of the

30th, during which time the enemy's bow guns were continually fired—his vessel frequently gained upon, and was as often dropped by the *Hornet*; and Captain Biddle, after throwing overboard every heavy article at hand, and all his guns but one, at length effected his escape, and went to St. Salvador for the purpose of refitting. On his arrival there, he gained intelligence of the conclusion of hostilities between the two nations, and soon after sailing thence, returned to the United States about the latter end of July, and was promoted to the rank of post captain.

The capture of the *Cyane*, the *Levant*, and the *Penguin*, took place before the expiration of the time limited by the 2d article of the treaty of peace, to constitute their legality, and the only one of them which got into port, the *Cyane*, was taken into the service of the United States.

Thus terminated a war of two years and eight months, in which the naval arms of the United States were fifteen, and those of Great Britain four times triumphant; and during which the former lost three frigates, seven sloops, and five smaller vessels of war; whilst the latter lost five frigates, nineteen sloops of war, one of which was blown up by a land battery, several gun-brigs and schooners, two brigs cut out from under the guns of a fort, and upwards of fifteen hundred merchantmen, captured by private armed vessels. The operations of the American armies were, at the commencement of the war, not quite so successful:—Defeat, disgrace, and disaster, in many instances, followed their movements; but the struggle was eventually closed by a succession of achievements, which reflected the highest lustre upon the American name, and ranked the United States among the first nations of the earth.











Francis Hillishago.

## THE FIRST SEMINOLE WAR.



At the commencement of the war of 1812, numbers of Indians in the southern states, dissatisfied with the American government, retired into Florida, where, being countenanced by the Spanish authorities, they formed themselves into small bands for the purposes of plunder and aggression. In September, 1812, a settlement on the St.

Johns river was attacked, and eight persons murdered: and soon after an escort, consisting of a captain and twenty men, was surprised by a considerable party, the captain and another man killed, six wounded, and all their wagons carried into St. Augustine. Similar outrages were committed during the whole war, to an extent that kept several of the southern states in continual alarm.

When Colonel Nicholls was expelled from Pensacola by Ge-

neral Jackson, he went to Florida, and immediately commenced a regular organization of the negroes and Indians. In order to strengthen this, he visited England, accompanied by the distinguished Seminole chief, Francis Hillishago, and concluded a treaty of friendship with that nation. Some time after leaving, he was succeeded in the government by Ambrister and Arbuthnot.

Things remained in this unpropitious condition until 1817, when a small tract, called Amelia Island, was attacked by some adventurers, and the Spanish garrison expelled. It was then employed as a depot for smuggling goods. This lawless trade was carried on until December 22d, when by order of President Monroe, Captain Henley seized the island and drove away the outlaws.

Previous to this, Colonel Clinch, with five hundred Indians and a number of United States troops, was sent against a fort erected by the savages on the Appalachicola. On the 10th of July, 1816, the army moved up the river in schooners and gun-boats. When near the fort, a watering party of seven men were attacked by Indians and negroes, five were killed, one escaped, and one captured, tortured, and put to death. The garrison numbered four hundred savages and negroes, who had twelve pieces of artillery. The colonel's gun-boats contained but a twelve-pounder, and twenty-five men each; but although admonished of the enemy's force, he determined on an attack. He had scarcely commenced firing, when a hot shot struck the principal magazine, and the fort was blown up with a fearful explosion, carrying with it the shattered remains of two hundred and seventy-three of the garrison. Only three of the remainder escaped unhurt. This event broke up a large horde of desperadoes, and terminated the war in that district.

In the fall of 1817, the family of Mr. Garrett, in East Florida, was attacked during his absence from home, and his wife and two children butchered. Soon after a man named McKrimmon was captured, and tied to the stake preparatory to being burned. He was rescued only through the intercession of one Milly, daughter of the principal chief, Hillishago, who, like Poca-



hontas rushed toward her father, and implored him to spare the prisoner. Being subsequently ransomed, he married his deliverer.

In November, General Gaines, commander in Florida, received orders from Washington, to open negotiations with the Creeks, in order to transport them to the country ceded by the United States government. This the Indians refused to do; and when their chief, Hornetlimed, was summoned by the general to appear at the fort, he answered by a haughty defiance. Next day Major David E. Twiggs was sent against the fort with two hundred and fifty men. After repelling an attack on the road and killing several of the assailants, he reached the town and found it deserted.

After this affair, Gaines despatched Major Muhlenburg, from the head-quarters at Fort Scott, to Mobile, with three vessels, for the purpose of obtaining provisions. Beside the crew, he had on board a number of volunteers with their wives and children. Sickiness obliged him to halt on the Appalachicola, where he was soon reinforced by forty men, under Lieutenant Scott. The major detached half of the crew, for his own use, and placing seven women, four children, and his sick on board the lieutenant's boat, he sent him back to Fort Scott. When near Flint river, the party were attacked by some savages under Hornetlimed, and all were killed except six soldiers, who escaped, and one woman made prisoner. The scalps were taken to the red pole at Mickasuky village and added to the number already there.

On receiving intelligence of this outrage, the secretary of war wrote to General Jackson, ordering him to repair immediately to Fort Scott and take charge of the war. Eight hundred men were given him, with authority to draw volunteers from the neighbouring states, should that number be insufficient for the campaign.

This communication reached General Jackson January 12th, 1818. He then issued a proclamation to the Tennessee volunteers, to join him in the coming campaign. This was effectual, and a number were soon on their way to Fort Scott. On the 9th of March, the general himself arrived there, having mus

tered on the road more than one thousand militia, mostly from Georgia. Finding the garrison very destitute of provisions, he determined to win supplies from the enemy, and on the 10th, pushed toward the Appalachicola. On the march he was joined by General Gaines, and built Fort Gadsden where the Indian fort had stood that was blown up by Colonel Clinch. Continuing his march, he was joined on the 1st of April by the Tennessee men. The same day he drove back a party of Indians, and took possession of their village. Numerous scalps were found strung upon the red war pole, and others in different wigwams.

About this time, a party numbering five hundred Indians and negroes surrounded the Spanish fort, St. Marks, and demanded its surrender. This place was one of great importance, being strongly built, and having served formerly as the main depot of the Indians, and scene of all their councils. As the Spanish garrison was very weak, Jackson determined to anticipate the enemy, and accordingly marched to the fort and took possession without opposition, sending the garrison and authorities to Pensacola. Here he captured the chiefs Hornet-limed and Hillishago, both of whom were hung. Arbuthnot was also captured.

After garrisoning the captured station, General Jackson proceeded against the Suwanee towns, where he arrived April 16th. After a slight resistance in which two Indians were taken and eleven killed, the settlement was taken, the huts destroyed, and some provisions secured. Two days after, Ambrister was captured. On the 22d a court of inquiry convened for the trial of this man and Arbuthnot, and, after six days' session, found them guilty of inciting the Indians to aggression, and gave as their opinion that they were worthy of death. General Jackson sentenced Arbuthnot to be hung, and Ambrister to be shot. The sentence was executed on the 29th. On the same day the general returned to Fort Gadsden.

Intelligence now arrived that the defeated Seminoles were mustering near Pensacola. It was also rumoured that they were assisted and encouraged by the Spanish garrison at that place. Although Spain was then at peace with the United States, Ge

neral Jackson resolved on marching into the territory, and capturing the garrison at Pensacola. Accordingly he left Fort Gadsden on the 10th of May, at the head of twelve hundred men, and on the 22d arrived near Pensacola. On notifying the Spanish governor, he was ordered to quit the country. Disregarding this, he entered the city on the 24th, and immediately commenced operations for assaulting Fort Barrancas, whither the governor with his small force had retired. A bombardment of this was kept up until the 27th, when it surrendered, and the Spanish authorities were sent to Havana. Soon after General Jackson took possession of the whole territory, garrisoned different stations, and broke up all the Indian villages. He then retired to the Hermitage, in Tennessee, leaving the command with General Gaines, who, under his orders, speedily took possession of St. Augustine.

President Monroe, in his message of November, 1818, thus speaks of the condition of affairs in Spanish Florida:

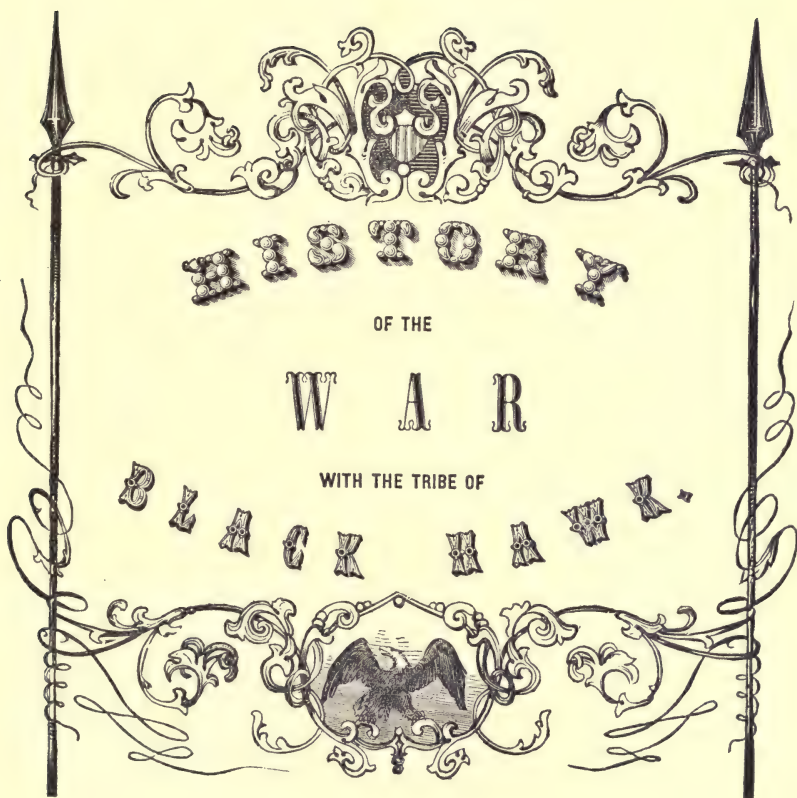
“A state of things has existed in the Floridas, the tendency of which has been obvious to all who have paid the slightest attention to the progress of affairs in that quarter. Throughout the whole of those provinces to which the Spanish title extends, the government of Spain has scarcely been felt. Its authority has been confined almost exclusively to the walls of Pensacola and St. Augustine, within which only small garrisons have been maintained. Adventurers from every country, fugitives from justice, and absconding slaves, have found an asylum there. Several tribes of Indians, strong in the number of their warriors, remarkable for their ferocity, and whose settlements extend to our limits, inhabit those provinces. These different hordes of people, connected together, disregarding, on the one side, the authority of Spain, and protected by an imaginary line which separates Florida from the United States, have violated our laws prohibiting the introduction of slaves, have practised various frauds on our revenue, and committed every kind of outrage on our peaceable citizens, which their proximity to us enabled them to perpetrate. The invasion of Amelia Island last year by a small band of adventurers not exceeding one hundred and fifty in number, who wrested it from the inconsiderable Spanish



force stationed there, and held it several months, during which a single effort only was made to recover it, which failed, clearly proves how completely extinct the Spanish authority had become; as the conduct of those adventurers while in possession of the island as distinctly shows the pernicious purposes for which their combination had been formed."

The forcible occupation of a neutral territory, elicited much attention in the United States, and subjected General Jackson to much censure. The government promptly surrendered the captured posts to the Spanish crown, but did not think proper to call the general to account for his actions. The Seminole war was, however, ended for that time; and the cession of Florida to the United States in 1819, put an end to all difficulties with Spain.











Black Hawk.

## BLACK HAWK'S WAR.



**F**EW Indian chiefs have elicited more respect for their admirable qualities, or more sympathy for their misfortunes and patriotic sufferings, than Black Hawk. This chief was the very personification of an Indian brave, and his capability of planning a great enterprise, executing it, and rallying around him the united efforts of his people was fully displayed during the war to which he has given a name.

Black Hawk was born about the year 1767, on the Rock river, Illinois. At the age of fifteen he took a scalp from an enemy, and was in consequence promoted by his tribe to the rank of a brave. Engaging soon afterwards in an expedition against the Osages, he fought several battles, highly distinguished

himself, and brought back a number of trophies. As a reward he was permitted to participate in a great scalp dance, held by his nation in commemoration of victory. His reputation being thus established, he frequently led war parties against the enemies of his tribe, and was in almost every case successful. The influence and military knowledge which he thus acquired, were fitting him for a contest in which, though unfortunate, he was to acquire undying reputation.

The treaty concluded in 1804, by Governor Harrison, with the Sacs and Foxes, by which the latter ceded their lands east of the Mississippi, was executed by a few chiefs, without the knowledge or consent of the nation. Although this gave rise to much dissatisfaction among the Indians, no act of serious opposition took place, until the United States government erected Fort Madison upon the Mississippi. This at once revived their jealousies and an attempt was made to cut off the garrison. From that time the whites regarded the Indians as enemies, and were by no means scrupulous in their dealing or intercourse with them.

A short time previous to this, the admission of Illinois into the Union as a state had given a new cause for dispute. Attracted by the fertile soil of that rich territory, emigrants from all parts poured into it, and in a short time the land occupied by the Sacs and Foxes was completely surrounded by white settlers. These soon began to commit outrages upon their red neighbours, in order to hasten their departure from the ceded territory. In 1827, when the tribes were absent from home on a hunting excursion, some of the whites set fire to their village, by which forty houses were consumed. With commendable forbearance the Indians paid no apparent attention to this dishonourable act, but quietly rebuilt their dwellings. They raised the fences which had been broken down, and saved as much of their corn as was possible.

The American government now determined to sell the land occupied by these tribes, and they were accordingly advised to remove. Keokuk, the chief, with a majority of the nation determined to do so; but Black Hawk, and a party which he had gained over to himself, resolved to remain at all hazards.

Meanwhile the whites committed greater acts of violence upon the Indians than before. The latter at last took up arms, and a war would certainly have taken place, had not General Gaines, commander of the western division of the army, hastened to the scene of action. This able and prudent officer immediately convened a council of the principal chiefs, in which it was agreed that the Indians should instantly remove. They accordingly crossed the river and settled on its western bank. Notwithstanding this measure, a majority of the Indians were on peaceful terms with the United States. But Black Hawk and his band determined on returning to Illinois, alleging that they had been invited by the Potawatamies, residing on Rock river, to spend the summer with them and plant corn on their lands. They recrossed the river, and marched toward the above named Indians, but without attempting to harm any one upon the road. The traveller passed by them without receiving any injury, and the inmates of the lowly hut experienced no outrage. There is little doubt but this amicable disposition would have continued had not the whites been the first to shed blood. Five or six Indians, in advance of the main party, were captured, and excepting one who escaped, put to death by a battalion of mounted militia. That one brought the news to Black Hawk, who immediately determined on revenge. He accordingly planned an ambuscade into which the militia were enticed, fired upon, and fourteen of their number killed. The remainder fled in disorder.

As war had now begun, the Indians seemed resolved to do all the mischief in their power. Accordingly they divided into small parties, proceeded in different directions, and fell upon the settlements which were at that time thinly scattered over the greater part of Illinois. By this means they committed such outrages that the whole state was in the greatest excitement. Governor Reynolds ordered out two thousand additional militia, who, on the 10th of June, assembled at Hennepin, on the Illinois river, and were soon engaged in pursuit of the Indians.

On the 20th of May, 1832, a party attacked a small settlement on Indian Creek, killed fifteen persons, and took considerable plunder. On the 14th of June, five persons were killed near Galena. General Dodge being in the neighbourhood, imme-



diately marched with his mounted men in pursuit of the enemy. After advancing about three miles, he discovered twelve Indians, whom he supposed to be part of those who committed the murders. He commenced an active pursuit, and drove the Indians into a swamp. The mounted men rushed in and soon met them. No resistance was made; every Indian was killed, their scalps taken off and borne away in triumph.

Meanwhile General Atkinson was pursuing the main party, under Black Hawk, who was encamped near the Four Lakes. Instead of crossing the country to retreat beyond the Mississippi as was expected, he descended the Wisconsin, to escape in that direction, by which means General Dodge came upon his track, and commenced a vigorous pursuit. On the 21st of July, the general, with about two hundred men, besides Indians, overtook him on the Wisconsin, forty miles from Fort Winnebago. The Indians were in the act of crossing the river. After a short engagement they retreated, and it being dark the whites could not pursue them, without disadvantage to themselves. In this encounter Black Hawk's party lost, as is supposed, about forty men.

The Indians were now in a truly deplorable condition; several of them were greatly emaciated for want of food, and some even starved to death. In the pursuit previous to the battle, the soldiers found several lying dead on the road. Yet so far from being subdued they resolved to continue hostilities as long as they were able.

Meanwhile an army under General Scott, destined for the subjugation of Black Hawk, and the removal of all the north-western Indians to lands beyond the Mississippi, had been attacked by an enemy far more fatal than the Indians. With about one thousand regular troops, Scott sailed from Buffalo in a fleet of steamboats, across Lake Erie for Chicago. This was early in July. On the 8th of that month, the Asiatic cholera appeared on board the vessel in which were General Scott, his staff, and two hundred and twenty soldiers. In six days fifty-two men died, and soon after eighty were put on shore sick at Chicago.

In the summer Scott left Chicago with but four hundred effective men, and hurrying on to the Mississippi, joined General



General Scott.

Atkinson at Prairie du Chien, immediately after the battle, near the Badare river, which resulted in the defeat of Black Hawk.

Previous to this affair, a captured squaw had informed the whites that Black Hawk intended to proceed to the west side of the Mississippi, above Prairie du Chien—the horsemen striking across the country, whilst the others proceeded by the Wisconsin. A number of the latter were made prisoners on the road.

Meanwhile, several circumstances transpired to prevent the escape of the main body under Black Hawk. The first was his falling in with the Warrior steamboat, (August 1st,) when in the act of crossing the Mississippi. Wishing to escape, he displayed two white flags, and about one hundred and fifty of his men came to the river without arms and made signs of submission. The commander of the boat ordered his men to fire, which they did, and the fire was returned. The engagement lasted an hour, when the wood of the steamboat failing, it proceeded to the Prairie. The Indians lost twenty-three killed, and a number wounded; the whites had one wounded.

Next day, after a toilsome and dangerous march, General Atkinson overtook Black Hawk, and immediately gave battle. Generals Posey and Alexander marched down the river with the right wing, and stationed themselves near the Indian encampment, in order to prevent a retreat. The battle lasted about three hours, the Indians disputing the ground with the greatest obstinacy. Their loss in killed and wounded was about two hundred; that of the Americans twenty-seven.

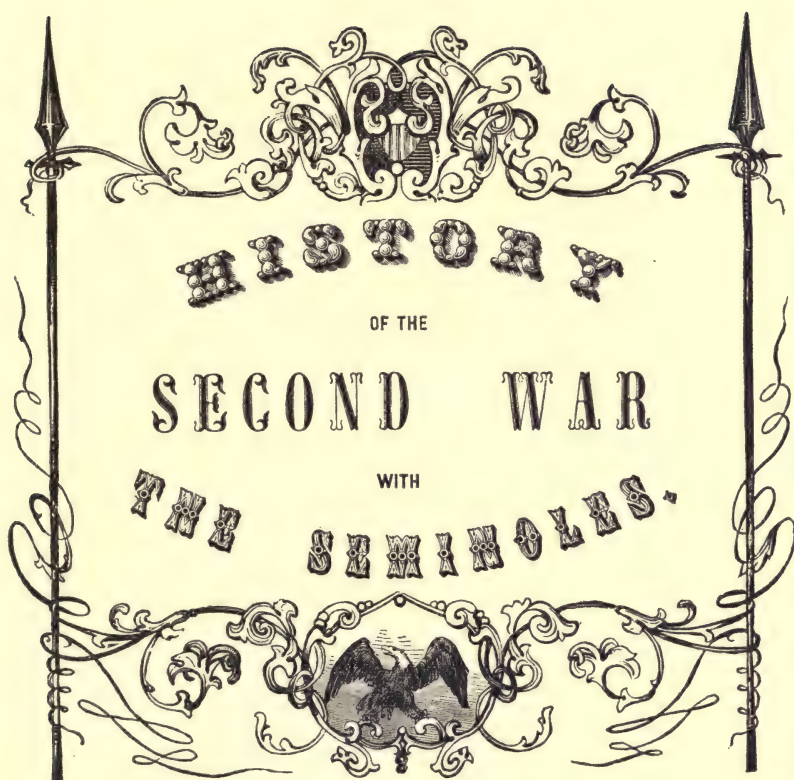
This action terminated the war, for although Black Hawk escaped, yet his men continually deserted him and came over to the whites. Finally the warrior himself surrendered to the American agent at Prairie du Chien. In his speech on this occasion, he regretted his being obliged to close the war so soon, without having given the whites much more trouble. He asserted that he had done nothing of which he had any reason to be ashamed, but that an Indian who was as bad as the white men would not be allowed to live in his community. He concluded as follows :

“Farewell, my nation! Black Hawk tried to save you, and revenge your wrongs. He drank the blood of some of the whites. He has been taken prisoner, and his plans are stopped. He can do no more. He is near his end. His sun is setting, and he will rise no more. Farewell to Black Hawk.”

Immediately after this battle, General Scott, as we have mentioned, joined Atkinson, but their contemplated operations were for some weeks hindered by the dreadful scourge, which had already fearfully thinned the army. It was late in September, before the disease was driven from camp. Negotiations then commenced with the Sacs and Foxes, and were admirably conducted by General Scott, who obtained a region of five million acres from the Indians on terms satisfactory to both parties.

At the return of peace, Black Hawk was taken to Washington, where he had an interview with President Jackson. He was then conducted through the principal Atlantic cities, and every where received with the most marked attention and hospitality. He was then set at liberty and returned to his own nation. He died on the 3d of October, 1838, at his village on the Des Moines river.



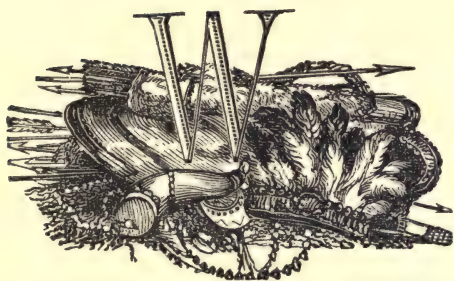






Osceola.

## THE FLORIDA WAR.



**W**HILE Florida was a Spanish province, it was a refuge for disaffected savages, whence a system of aggression was carried on against the United States. That, however, which is denominated by way of pre-eminence the

Florida war, began in 1835. A treaty had been concluded with the Seminole warriors, by which they agreed to relinquish all the land for a certain sum, and to retire beyond the Mississippi. It was further stipulated that a party of Indians should visit the territory in question, and give their opinion concerning it. They accordingly proceeded thither, and on their return, reported very favourably of the country.



Every thing now promised a speedy conformity to the wishes of the American government. But at this important moment, John Hext, one of the chief men of the tribe, who exerted over it a very great influence, died. This opportunity for self-aggrandizement was seized by the celebrated Osceola, or Powell, who quickly rose to the same importance as Hext himself. But he wielded it for far different purposes. He was utterly opposed to emigration, and by every art in his power, inflamed the minds of the people against that measure, and against the whites themselves. His conduct became at length so violent that he was arrested by the Indian agent, and put in irons; but on subsequently professing to renounce his opposition he was released.

On the 19th of July, 1835, five Indians, who, for the purpose of hunting, had met by appointment, near Hogstown settlement, were attacked by a party of white men, and flogged with cow-hide whips. While this was going on, two other Indians arrived, who raised the war-whoop and fired upon the whites. The firing was returned, one of the Indians killed and the other wounded. Three of the whites were also wounded.

On the evening of August 6th, Dalton, the mail carrier from Camp King to Tampa Bay, was murdered by a party of red men. When news of this outrage reached General Thompson, the Indian agent, he convened the principal chiefs, who promised to bring the offenders to justice. This was not done; and it soon became evident that a formidable opposition would in a little while burst forth against the settlers of Florida. The savages retired into the wilds and forests, collected arms, and avoided as much as possible all intercourse with the whites.

In September, Charley Amathla, a friendly chief of great influence, while journeying with his daughter was shot by some Mickasukies, led by Osceola. Similar outrages increased so fast, that the interior settlements were abandoned, families deserted the products of many years' labour and fled to other states, and the commandant of the region, General Clinch, was obliged to call on the government for larger forces to resist the Indians. The general's force numbered but two hundred and fifty men; and receiving no assistance from President Jackson, he obtained six hundred and fifty militia from the executive of Florida.

With this reinforcement he marched against the station on the Ouithlacoochee river.

On the 23d of December, the companies of Captains Gardiner and Frazer, of the United States army, marched, under the command of Major Dade, from Tampa Bay for Camp King. On the road, Dade wrote to Major Belton, urging him to forward a six-pounder, which had been left four miles behind, in consequence of the failure of the team which was to have been used in transporting it. Three horses were purchased with the necessary harness, and it joined the column that night. From this time no more was heard of the detachment until the 29th of December, when John Thomas, one of the soldiers, returned, and on the 31st, Rawson Clarke. The melancholy fate of his companions was related by the latter as follows :

"It was eight o'clock. Suddenly I heard a rifle shot in the direction of the advanced guard, and this was immediately followed by a musket shot from that quarter. Captain Frazer had ridden by me a moment before, in that direction. I never saw him afterwards. I had not time to think of the meaning of these shots before a volley, as if from a thousand rifles, was poured in upon us from the front, and all along our left flank. I looked around me, and it seemed as if I was the only one left standing in the right wing. Neither could I, until several other volleys had been fired at us, see an enemy—and when I did I could only see their heads and arms peering out from the long grass, far and near, and from behind the pine trees. The ground seemed to me an open pine barren, entirely destitute of any hammock. On our right and a little to our rear was a large pond of water some distance off. All around us were heavy pine trees, very open, particularly towards the left, and abounding with long high grass. The first fire of the Indians was the most destructive, seemingly killing or disabling one half of our men.

"We promptly threw ourselves behind trees, and opened a sharp fire of musketry. I for one, never fired without seeing my man, that is, his head and shoulders. The Indians chiefly fired lying or squatting in the grass. Lieutenant Bassinger fired five or six pounds of canister from the cannon. This appeared to frighten the Indians, and they retreated over a little hill to our



left, one-half or three-quarters of a mile off, after having fired not more than twelve or fifteen rounds. We immediately began to fell trees, and erect a little triangular breastwork. Some of us went forward to gather the cartridge boxes from the dead, and to assist the wounded. I had seen Major Dade fall to the ground by the first volley, and his horse dashed into the midst of the enemy. Whilst gathering the cartridges, I saw Lieutenant Mudge, sitting with his back reclining against a tree, and evidently dying. I spoke to him, but he did not answer. The interpreter, Louis, it is said, fell by the first fire.\*

"We had barely raised our breastwork knee-high, when we again saw the Indians advancing, in great numbers, over the hill to our left. They came on boldly till within long musket-shot, when they spread themselves from tree to tree to surround us. We immediately extended as light infantry, covering ourselves by the trees, and opening a brisk fire from cannon and musketry. I do not think that the former could have done much mischief, the Indians were so scattered.

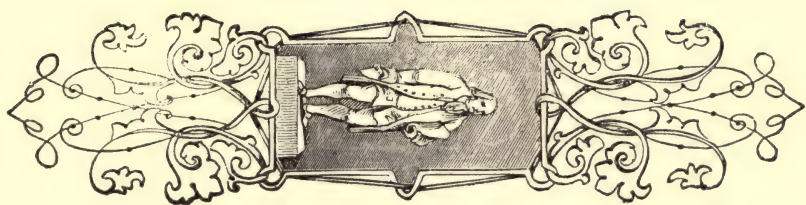
"Captain Gardiner, Lieutenant Bassinger, and Dr. Gatlen were the only officers left unhurt by the volley which killed Major Dade. Lieutenant Henderson had his left arm broken, but he continued to load and fire his musket, resting on the stump until he was finally shot down. Toward the close of the second attack, and during the day he kept up his spirits and cheered the men. Lieutenant Keyes had both his arms broken in the first attack; they were bound up and slung in a handkerchief, and he sat for the remainder of the day, until he was killed, reclining against the breastwork, his head often reposing upon it, regardless of every thing that was passing around him.

"Our men were by degrees all cut down. We had maintained a steady fire from eight until two P. M., and allowing three-quarters of an hour interval between the first and second attack, had been pretty busily engaged for more than five hours. Lieutenant Bassinger was the only officer left alive, and he severely wounded. He told me, as the Indians approached, to lie down

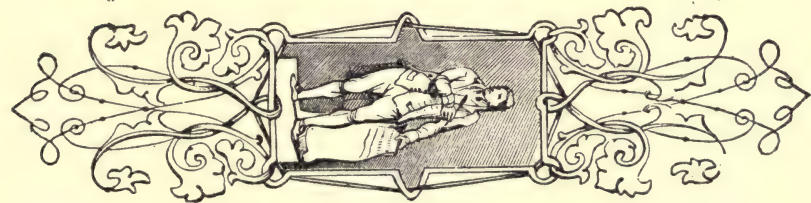
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\*This individual merely feigned death, and on being found by the Indians, was spared, and read to them all the despatches and letters found about the dead.





Massacre of Major Dade's Detachment.







Micanope.

and feign myself dead. I looked through the logs and saw the savages approaching in great numbers. A heavy made Indian of middle stature, painted down to the waist, and whom I supposed to have been Micanope, seemed to be the chief. He made them a speech, frequently pointing to the breastwork. At length they charged into the work. There was none to offer resistance, and they did not seem to suspect the wounded being alive—offering no indignity, but stepping about carefully, quietly stripping off our accoutrements, and carrying away our arms. They then retired in a body, in the direction from whence they came.

“Immediately after their retreat, forty or fifty negroes and Indians on horseback, galloped up, alighted, and having tied their beasts, commenced, with horrid shouts and yells, the butchering of the wounded, together with an indiscriminate plunder, stripping the dead of clothing, watches, and money, and splitting open the heads of all who showed the least signs of life with their axes and knives. This bloody work was accompanied with obscene and taunting derision, and oft repeated shouts.





**L**IEUTENANT BASSINGER, hearing the negroes and Indians butchering the wounded, at length sprang up, and asked them to spare his life. They met him with the blows of their axes and their fiendish laughter. Having been wounded in five different places myself, I was pretty well covered with blood; and two scratches that I had re-

ceived on the head gave me the appearance of having been shot through the brain: for the negroes, after catching me up by the heels, threw me down, exclaiming that I was dead enough. Then, stripping me of my clothes, shoes, and hat, they left me. After serving all the dead in this manner they trundled off the cannon in the direction the Indians had gone, and went away. I saw them shoot down the oxen in their gear and burn the wagon.

“One of the other soldiers who escaped, says they threw the cannon in a pond, and burned its carriage also. Shortly after the negroes went away, one Wilson, of Captain Gardiner’s company, crept from under some of the dead bodies, and seemed to be hardly hurt at all. He asked me to go with him back to the fort, and I was going to follow him, when, as he jumped over the breastwork, an Indian sprang from behind a tree and shot him down. I then lay quiet until nine o’clock that night, when D. Long, the only living soul beside myself, and I started upon our journey. We knew it was nearest to go to Fort King, but we did not know the way, and had seen the enemy retreat in that direction. As I came out I saw Dr. Gatlen lying stripped amongst the dead. The last I saw of him whilst living, was kneeling behind the breastwork, with two double-barrel guns by him, and he said, ‘Well, I have got four barrels for them!’ Captain Gardiner, after being severely wounded, cried out, ‘I can give you no more orders, my lads, do your best!’ I last

saw a negro spurn his body, saying with an oath, 'that's one of their officers.'

"My comrade and myself got along quite well until the next day, when we met an Indian on horseback, armed with a rifle, coming up the road. Our only chance was to separate—we did so. I took the right and he the left of the road. The Indian pursued him. Shortly afterwards I heard a rifle shot, and a little after another. I concealed myself among some scrub, and saw palmetto, and after awhile saw the Indian pass looking for me. Suddenly, however, he put spurs to his horse, and went off at a gallop towards the road.

"I made something of a circuit before I struck the beaten track again. That night I was a good deal annoyed by the wolves, who had scented my blood, and came very close to me. The next day, the 30th, I reached the fort."

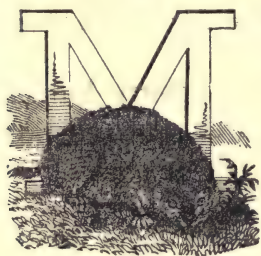
Thus perished one hundred and six men, under circumstances of hopelessness and misery, rarely equalled in modern warfare. Intelligence of this tragic event spread a degree of horror throughout the country, lasting and powerful; and even at the present day, the name of the gallant, ill-fated Dade, is a spell-word to conjure up feelings of sorrow. Three of the whole command escaped.

Soon after this affair, (January 6th, 1836,) thirty Indians attacked the family of Mr. Cooly, on New river, while he was absent from home. They murdered Mrs. Cooly, three children, and Mr. Flinton their teacher. During this transaction, the neighbouring families made their escape into the more thickly settled territory. The fact that Cooly had long resided among the Indians, learned their language, and always treated them with kindness, renders this massacre more atrocious.

Previous to this, (December 31st,) General Clinch had had a severe engagement with the savages, near the Ouithlacoochee river. On the 29th, he had marched from Fort King with a considerable force. At four o'clock in the morning, (31st,) after leaving all his baggage, provisions, &c., protected by a guard, under Lieutenant Dancy, he pushed toward the ford, intending to surprise the main body of the Indians who were supposed to be concentrated on the west bank. On reaching it about day-



light, he found instead of a good ford, a deep and rapid stream, and no means of crossing except in an old and damaged canoe. Undismayed by these difficulties, the troops entered the boat with alacrity, the dragoons swimming their horses. When about one half had succeeded in gaining the opposite bank, the battalion of regulars, consisting of about two hundred men, were attacked by the enemy, led by Osceola, and strongly posted in the swamp and scrub, which extended from the river. This little band, aided by Colonel Warren, Major Cooper, and Lieutenant Yeoman, with twenty-seven volunteers, met the attack of the savage enemy, nearly three times their number, with Spartan valour. The action lasted nearly an hour, during which time the troops made three brilliant charges into the swamp and scrub, driving the enemy in every direction; and although after the last charge nearly one-third of their number had been cut down, they were found sufficiently firm and steady to form a new line of battle, which gave entire protection to the flanks and position of crossing. No inducement could prevail on the remainder of the army to cross the river, and assist their companions.



MEANWHILE the eastern settlements in the neighbourhood of San Augustin were ravaged by the enemy, many of the inhabitants slain, and the negroes carried away. So disastrous were these ravages, that in East Florida, five hundred families were driven from their homes, and their entire possessions destroyed by the Indians.

During these transactions, General Gaines, commander of the southern division of the United States army, was actively engaged in raising a body of troops sufficient to suppress all opposition. He reached Fort King on the 22d of February, and whence moved down the Outhlacoochee. On the 27th, he had a slight skirmish with the enemy at General Clinch's crossing-place, where he lost one killed and eight wounded. Next day the army was again attacked, Lieutenant Izard mortally wounded, one man killed and two others wounded. Skirmishing was renewed on the 29th, one man killed and thirty-three wounded.



The general himself received a shot in his lower lip. This partisan warfare was continued until the 5th of March, three men were wounded on the 2d of that month, and on the 4th, one killed and two wounded.

On the 5th, a number of Indians, headed by Osceola, appeared before General Gaines's camp, and expressed their willingness to terminate hostilities. They were told that on condition of retiring south of the Ouithlacoochee, and attending a council when called on by the United States commissioners, they should not be molested. To this they agreed; but at this moment General Clinch, who had been summoned by express from Fort Drane, encountered their main body; and supposing themselves surrounded by deliberate stratagem, they fled with precipitation. This unfortunate accident put an end to negotiations for that time. Soon after, ascertaining that he had been superseded, General Gaines transferred the command to General Clinch, who retired with his whole force to Fort Drane.

General Scott now received the chief command in Florida, and commenced a new plan of operations, which, as is believed, would have speedily terminated the war; but unexpectedly he was superseded, and summoned to Washington on court-martial. His trial eventuated in full, honourable acquittal from all blame, but meanwhile he had been superseded by General Jessup. The measures of this officer were unimportant.

The summer and fall of 1837 passed away without any prospect of a reconciliation with the Indians; but in December, Colonel Z. Taylor, who commanded a regiment of Jessup's troops, came upon the trail of the Indians, and commenced a vigorous pursuit. On the 25th, at the head of about five hundred men, he came up with about seven hundred Indians, on the banks of the Okee-cho-bee lake, under the celebrated chiefs, Alligator, Sam Jones, and Coacoochee. This battle was sought by both parties. On the day previous to the engagement, the colonel had received a challenge from Alligator, informing him of his position, and courting an attack. The Indians were posted in a thick swamp, covered in front by a small stream, whose quicksands rendered it almost impassable. Through this the Americans waded, sometimes sinking to the waist in mud and water,

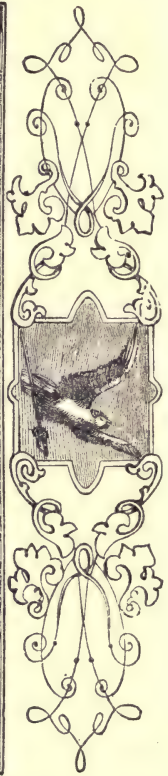
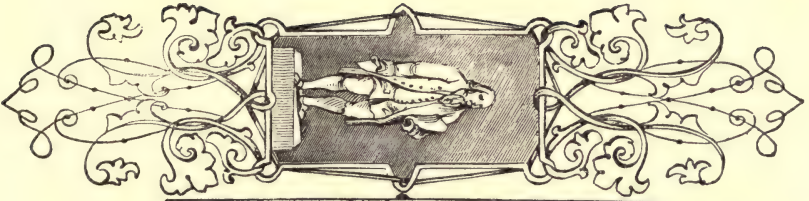
and totally unable to employ their horses. On reaching the borders of the hammock, the advance received a heavy fire, which killed their leader, (Colonel Gentry,) and drove them back in confusion. The main body then rushed into action, attacking the enemy under a galling fire, and fought from half-past twelve until three P. M., although exposed to the full range of the enemy's fire. With one exception, every officer in the 6th infantry was shot down, and one of the companies had but four members untouched. The Indians were forced from their position, and driven a considerable distance toward the extremity of Okee-cho-bee lake.

Colonel Taylor thus describes the appearance of the battlefield, together with his operations immediately subsequent to the action :

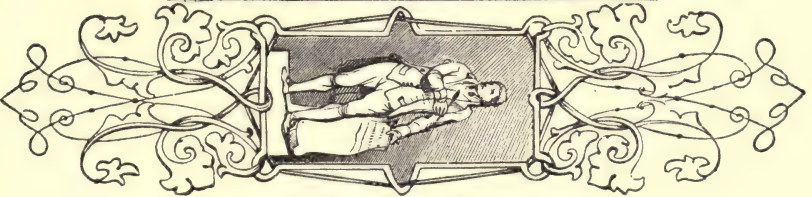
"Here I trust I may be permitted to say that I experienced one of the most trying scenes of my life, and he who could have looked on it with indifference, his nerves must have been differently organized from my own. Besides the killed, (twenty-six in number,) there lay one hundred and twelve wounded officers and soldiers, who had accompanied me one hundred and forty-five miles, most of the way through an unexplored wilderness, without guides, who had so gallantly beaten the enemy under my orders, in his strongest position, and who had to be conveyed back through swamps and hammocks, from whence we set out without any apparent means of doing so. This service, however, was encountered and overcome, and they have been conveyed thus far, (Fort Gardiner,) and proceeded on to Tampa Bay, on rude litters, constructed with the axe and knife alone, with poles and dry hides—the latter being found in great abundance at the encampment of the hostiles. The litters were carried on the backs of our weak and tottering horses, aided by the residue of the command, with more ease and comfort to the sufferers than I could have supposed possible, and with as much as they could have been in ambulances of the most improved and modern construction.      \*      \*      \*      \*      \*      \*      \*      \*

"We left our encampment on the morning of the 27th for the Kissamee, where I had left my heavy baggage, which place we reached about noon on the 28th. After leaving two companies





Battle of Okeechobee.







and a few Indians to garrison the stockade, which I found nearly completed on my return, by that active and vigilant officer, Captain Monroe, 4th artillery. I left the next morning for this place, where I arrived on the 31st, and sent forward the wounded next day to Tampa Bay, with the 4th and 6th infantry, the former to halt at Fort Frazer, remaining here myself with the 1st, in order to make preparations to take the field again as soon as my horses can be recruited, most of which have been sent to Tampa, and my supplies in a sufficient state of forwardness to justify the measure."



**I**N consequence of this battle, Colonel Taylor was enabled to advance further into the Indian country than any previous commander had done. So difficult, however, was the transportation of supplies, that the Seminoles were still able to maintain their old fastnesses among swamps and forests, thus rendering their complete removal, and the consequent termination of the war, impracticable. Soon after the battle the rank of brevet brigadier-general was conferred upon Taylor, and in April, 1838, he was appointed to the chief command in Florida. He had several small skirmishes with the Indians, but could never again force them to a general battle. Bloodhounds were finally employed by the army in order to trace the enemy's hiding-places; but after a full trial they were found totally incompetent, and consequently abandoned.

The most heart-rending barbarities were committed about this time by the savages. A Mr. Gray, with one of his children was shot while sitting in the house with his family. A second child shared the same fate, and a third was bayoneted. On another occasion a little boy was shot, and his father wounded. Soon after a whole family were killed, and afterwards burned with their dwelling. About the same time a widow and five children were butchered. The following extracts, from the journals of that period, describe further atrocities:

"On Saturday night between nine and ten o'clock, the family of Mr. Green Chairs, about ten miles from town, (Tallahassee,)

was attacked by the Indians. Mrs. Chairs was sitting by the table sewing, surrounded by her interesting family, consisting of her husband and six children. An Indian rifle was fired and Mrs. Chairs fell dead. Mr. Chairs instantly sprang up, and seizing his rifle, closed the doors and windows, and determined to defend his dwelling. He directed the four elder children to make their escape by the back door. One of them, a young lady of seventeen, was seen and pursued by the savages, but wearing a black cloak, she was enabled to conceal herself in some bushes. Mr. Chairs at the same time discovered that the house had been fired; and so rapid was the progress of the flames, that this new danger and the consternation produced by the death of his wife, caused him to forget his two youngest children. He fled, leaving them—and both helpless infants were burned to cinders with his dwelling and all it contained."

"Two wagons," says the Tallahassee Star "left Fort Frank Brook, on Monday, (July, 1839,) and after proceeding a short distance, they were fired upon by Indians, from a hammock, and two men killed. The body of one was afterwards found horribly mutilated, with the eyes dug out, the throat cut, and otherwise disfigured. The body of the other could not be found."

About the same time a small command under Colonel Harney were attacked by a large body of Indians. The particulars of this affair are thus given in a cotemporary journal, dated Garey's Ferry, East Florida, August, 1839 :

"On the 28th of July, four dragoons, two wounded, arrived here, and reported the massacre of a large body of Colonel Harney's command, who were sent to the Caloosahatchee to establish a trading-house in conformity with Macomb's treaty. The Indians had for some time manifested the most friendly dispositions, daily visiting the camp, and trading with the sutler. So completely had they lulled the troops into security, that no defense was erected and no guard maintained. The camp was on the margin of the river. At dawn on the 23d of July, the enemy made a simultaneous attack on the camp and the trading-house. Those who escaped the first discharge fled naked to the river, and effected their escape in some fishing smacks. Colonel Harney was among them. The sergeant and four others,



while descending the river, were called to the shore by a well known Indian, who spoke English well, with the assurance that they would not be harmed. They complied, and were instantly butchered. Altogether eighteen were killed. Colonel Harney afterwards cautiously approached the spot, and found eleven bodies shockingly mutilated, and two hundred and fifty Indians in the neighbourhood, dancing and whooping in savage triumph."

The particulars of another massacre perpetrated in 1840, are thus given by a St. Augustine paper :

"It becomes again our mournful duty to record the successful effusion of blood in this ill-fated territory, and the triumphant accomplishment on the part of the Indians of an adventure bordering on romance. Indian Key, a small spot of not over seven acres in extent, about thirty miles from our main land, on our southern Atlantic coast, was invested by seventeen boats, containing Indians, seven of its inhabitants murdered, the island plundered, and its buildings burned.

"About two o'clock on the morning of the 7th instant, a Mr. Glass, in the employ of Mr. Houseman, happening to be up, saw boats approaching, and informed a person in the same employ, when they passed into Mr. Houseman's garden and were satisfied that the boats contained Indians. The Indians now commenced firing upon the house of Mr. Houseman, and Dr. Perrine, the former of whom with his family, and Mr. Charles Howe and his family succeeded in escaping to boats and crossed over to Tea-table Key. The family of Dr. Perrine passed through a trap door into their bathing-room, from whence they got into the turtle crawl, and by great efforts removed the logs and escaped to the front of Houseman's store. They then went to a boat at the wharf which six Indians had partly filled, and were in the store after a further supply. They then pushed off and pulled with an oar, a paddle, and poles toward the schooner Medium. When they had rowed a mile, they were met by a boat and taken to the schooner.

"Mr. Motte and wife, and Mrs. Johnson, a lady of seventy years of age, fled into an out-house, from whence Mrs. Motte was dragged by an Indian, and while in the act of calling on her

husband, 'John, save me!' she was killed. Mr. Motte shared the same fate, and was scalped; but the old lady, as she was dragged forth, suddenly jerking from the Indian, broke his hold and escaped under a house. Her grandchild, a daughter of Mrs. Motte, aged four years, was then killed with a club, and the infant strangled and thrown into the water. This was seen by Mrs. Johnson from her hiding-place; but the Indians firing the building, she was again forced to flee, and after secreting herself under Malony's wharf, was finally rescued. James Sturdy, a boy about eleven years of age, hid himself in the cistern under Mr. Houseman's house, and was scalded to death by the burning building heating the water. The remains of an adult skeleton were found among the ruins of Dr. Perrine's house, supposed to be the doctor, as well as that of a child, thought to have been a slave of Mr. Houseman.

"The Indians were what is known as Spanish Indians, and were headed by Chekekia, the same chief who led the party that massacred the men at Caloosahatchee. They obtained a great amount of plunder from the houses and stores; and whilst engaged in obtaining these articles, Mrs. Perrine, with her two daughters and a little son, reached a boat partially loaded, and put off to the schooner *Medium*, lying at some distance. They were promptly rescued by a boat coming to their assistance, and were taken to the schooner.



ON Mr. Houseman reaching Tea-table Bay, Midshipman Murray, United States Navy, started with his only available force of fifteen men and two swivels. Ten of the men were in hospital, so sick as to be certainly unfit for duty; but on urging their claim were permitted to accompany the others, hoping to cut off the boats, and thus prevent the escape of the Indians. On the second fire of his guns, they recoiled overboard, and the Indians then commenced a fire upon his boat, from a six-pounder belonging to Mr. Houseman, charged with musket-balls, and drove back this active officer.



"Communication was immediately despatched to Lieutenant McLaughlin, who was at Key Biscayne, with the United States schooners Flirt and Ostego and they proceeded down. The Indians, however, had escaped, after maintaining possession of the island twelve hours, carrying off large quantities of powder and other articles, and laying the little settlement in ashes. All escaped save the unfortunates named above.

"Among all the bold and lawless feats which have characterized the enemy during the war, there is nothing that will bear comparison with this. We have seen the murdered remains of the citizen and soldier almost within sight of the garrison, when the white flag of overture was waving to these inhuman rascals in acts of kindness. We have seen the armed rider stricken by the bullet from the covert of the hammock, and the carriage of the traveller made to receive the last life-blood of its occupant. We have seen the faithlessness of the tribe, even when the humanity of the white man was devising every means for its comfort, planning their accursed schemes of murder, and Caloosahatchee, the ground of confidence and good will, red with the blood of our troops and citizens. But an island we had thought safe. As little would we have looked for an avalanche amid the sands of Arabia, or the glowing warmth of the equator amid Greenland's icy mountains, as an attack from Indians upon an island. A force, too, of seventeen canoes, averaging five men each, make a voyage of at least thirty miles from the main land, ransack, pillage, and destroy, and return in safety!"

In 1840, General Taylor requested permission to retire from Florida, which was granted, and in April, General Armistead was appointed to succeed him. The operations of this officer were necessarily of the same tedious and unsatisfactory character as most of his predecessors had been, and in May, 1841, he was succeeded by Colonel Worth.

This officer commenced the campaign under very unfavourable circumstances, having no less than twelve hundred men sick and unfit for duty. On assuming command he is said to have named the 1st of January, 1842, as the time when he hoped to bring the war to a close.



In August the famous chief, Wild Cat, surrendered his whole band, including Coacoochee and his family, at Tampa. On the 13th the example was followed by a considerable number of Hospitaki's party, and next month by many of the Tallahassee tribe. Subsequently, various chiefs and their bands were regularly brought in.

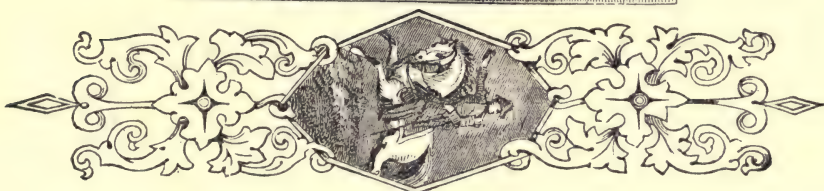
Nothing, however, of a decisive nature took place until the 19th of April, 1842, when Colonel Worth found the enemy in considerable force, strongly fortified, near Okeehumpee swamp. An immediate attack was made and the Indians totally defeated. Every trail made in their flight was taken and pursued until dark, and renewed on the following morning, the detachments marching each day, some twenty and some thirty miles. The scene of this battle was the big hammock of Palaklakhaha. As a reward for his services in this affair, Worth was brevetted by government, brigadier-general. Soon after, (May 4th,) Hallush-Tustemuggee, with eighty of his band, came to Palatka and submitted, and on the 12th of August, Colonel Worth announced in general orders, that the Florida war was ended. This assertion, however, was premature, for hostilities again recommenced, and Worth received the surrender of a large body of Creeks at Tampa.

The battle of Palaklakhaha was the last important incident of the Florida war. Its close was thus announced by President Tyler, in his message of December 7th, 1842.

"The vexatious, harassing, and expensive war which so long prevailed with the Indian tribes inhabiting the peninsula of Florida, has happily been terminated: whereby our army has been relieved from a service of the most disagreeable character, and the treasury from a large expenditure. Some casual outbreaks may occur, such as are incident to the close proximity of border settlements and the Indians; but these, as in all other cases, may be left to the care of the local authorities, aided, when occasion may require, by the forces of the United States. A sufficient number of troops will be maintained in Florida, so long as the remotest apprehension of danger shall exist; yet their duties will be limited rather to the garrisoning of the necessary posts than to the maintenance of active hostilities. It is to be hoped



Battle of Palaklakhana.







that a territory so long retarded in its growth, will now speedily recover from the evils incident to a protracted war, exhibiting in the increased amount of its rich productions, true evidences of returning wealth and prosperity. By the practice of rigid justice towards the numerous Indian tribes, residing within our territorial limits, and the exercise of parental vigilance over their interests, protecting them against fraud and intrusion, and at the same time using every proper expedient to introduce among them the arts of civilized life, we may fondly hope, not only to wean them from the love of war, but to inspire them with a love of peace and all its avocations. With several of the tribes, great progress in civilizing them has already been made. The schoolmaster and the missionary are found side by side, and the remains of what were once numerous and powerful nations may yet be preserved as the builders up of a new name for themselves and their posterity."

The war with the Seminoles in Florida, was certainly the most unsatisfactory, and least glorious one, in which our country has ever been engaged. Millions of dollars were expended upon it, without any apparent result. The ablest generals of the country, those who had won laurels from Wellington's veterans, many years before, and have since overthrown army after army in Mexico, were baffled and enervated; the government was disgraced at home and abroad; and a handful of roving, plundering savages, rendered one of the finest portions of our territory almost uninhabitable, and its name a spell-word of terror, which even now frequently lingers on the ear, as the remembrance of some distressing dream. The leader of the Indians, Osceola, notwithstanding his being compared with the unfortunate hero of Mount Hope, was, at best, a drunken, lawless vagabond, despised by many of the savages themselves. Most of his followers were like himself, and almost all the hordes, who were active in their outrages upon the whites, were composed of Indians and runaway negroes.

There is, however, much reason to believe that the Florida war was hastened, perhaps actually caused by the imprudence of the whites themselves. Individual licenses, committed in direct opposition to the will of government, and without its

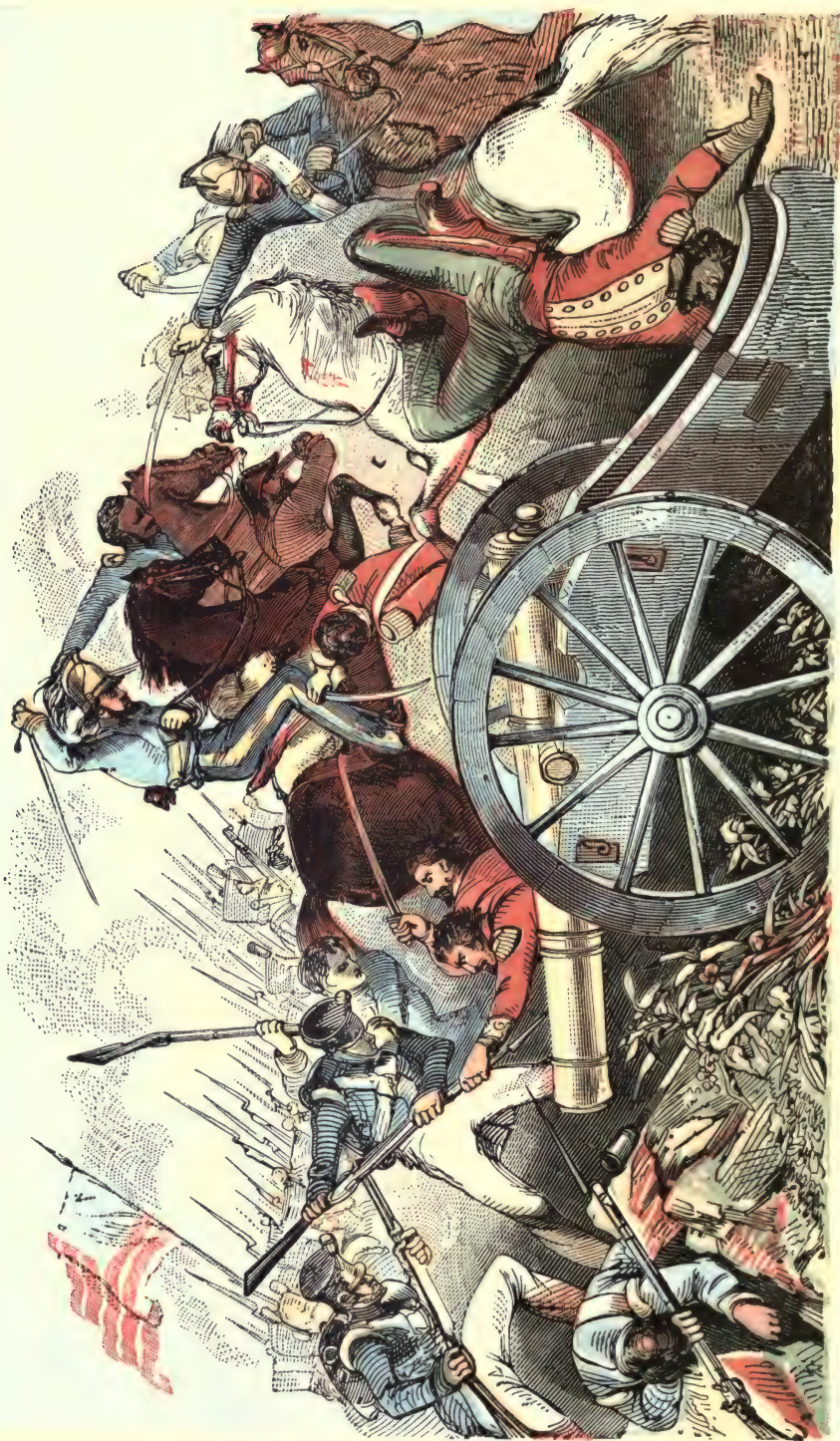
knowledge, led to acts of retaliation. These in turn were revenged, until parties assumed an attitude to which the only alternative was war. For some time these petty outrages were merely regarded as ordinary murders, without any train of eventful circumstances; and thus the Indians were enabled to plan their schemes, and select the most favourable fastnesses for security. But the massacre of Dade's command roused the country from its lethargy. The warning, however, had come too late; and what might have been accomplished without bloodshed, if attempted in time, had now grown utterly unmanageable.

All the Florida Indians are now transported to the Indian territory, and the possibility of another "Florida War" for ever obviated.

















Corpus Christi.

## WAR WITH MEXICO.

### CHAPTER I.

#### *Commencement of the Mexican War.*



THE federal form of government was abolished in Mexico, in the year 1835, in consequence of a revolution, which transferred the direction of affairs to General Santa Anna. As military dictator, this officer abolished the state governments, together with the privilege of representatives in the general congress, and formed the whole nation into a central or consolidated republic, of which each

state became a department. The people of Texas and part of Tamaulipas declared this measure unconstitutional, and when their protestations were disregarded, arose in open revolution.

By aid of volunteer adventurers from the United States, they defeated Santa Anna at San Jacinto, (April 21st, 1836,) and soon after established a government of their own, similar to that of the United States. Mexico, however, refused to acknowledge their independence, and continued to make efforts for the recovery of her lost territory.

In 1837, the congress of Texas expressed their desire to be admitted as a state into the American Union; but the proposal was at that time rejected by the latter. The scheme, however, was revived under the administration of President Tyler, by whom it was very favourably entertained; but a treaty to that purpose, signed by commissioners of both nations, was rejected by the United States senate. The measure, however, was finally passed by the latter body, (March 1st, 1845,) on certain conditions. In the ensuing summer these were accepted by the Texan congress, and thus the nationality of the infant republic became merged in that of its powerful rival.

Meanwhile Mexico was no idle spectator. When she became satisfied that the project of annexation was seriously entertained by the American legislature, her minister at Washington was instructed to use all possible means to prevent the consummation of the act. This duty he faithfully performed; and when advised that his representations had been useless—that the resolution of annexation had passed the senate, he announced his mission closed, declaring the scheme of annexation “an act of aggression the most unjust which can be found recorded in the annals of modern history; namely that of despoiling a friendly nation, like Mexico, of a considerable portion of her territory.” He returned to Mexico, and for awhile all intercourse with the United States was closed. So strong was the popular feeling against the measure, that President Herrera, who favoured an adjustment of the difficulty by treaty, was compelled to resign, and General Paredes elected to succeed him.

In September, President Polk authorized an inquiry of the Mexican government if it would be willing to receive a minister extraordinary, invested with ample powers for a termination of difficulties. To this request the Mexican congress acceded, asking, meanwhile, that during the proposed negotiations, the

“When orders were given during the past summer for concentrating a military force on the western frontier of Texas, our troops were widely dispersed, and in small detachments occupy-



ing posts remote from each other. The prompt and expeditious manner in which an army, embracing more than one half of our peace establishment, was drawn together, on an emergency so sudden, reflects great credit on the officers who were intrusted with the execution of these orders, as well as upon the discipline of the army itself."

The presence of this force, in Texas, was no doubt one reason for the rejection of Mr. Slidell.

On the 21st of March, 1845, General Zachary Taylor was appointed commander-in-chief of the "Corps of Observation," with orders to hold the forces under his command, ready to enter Texas whenever directed. On the 15th of June he was apprized of the probable speedy acceptance of the terms of annexation by the Texan congress, and received orders of a confidential nature to enter the annexed territory. The instructions to this effect (written by Mr. Bancroft, during the sickness of Secretary Marcy) were as follows :

"In anticipation of that event, [the above-mentioned action of the Texan congress,] you will forthwith make a forward movement with the troops under your command, and advance to the mouth of the Sabine, or to such other point on the Gulf of Mexico, or its navigable waters, as in your judgment will be most convenient for an embarkation, at the proper time, for the western frontier of Texas. \* \* \* \* \* The point of your ultimate destination is the western frontier of Texas, where you will select and occupy on or near the Rio Grande del Norte, such a site as will consist with the health of your troops, and will be best adapted to repel an invasion, and to protect, what, in the event of annexation, will be our western border. You will limit yourself to the defense of the territory of Texas, unless Mexico should declare war against the United States."

In August General Taylor marched with all his forces to Corpus Christi, where he remained until March 11th of the next year, when, under instructions from the war department, he broke up his camp and pushed forward for the Rio Grande. At the Arroyo Colorado he was met by a party of stragglers, who appeared disposed to oppose his crossing ; but no opposition was actually offered. On the 24th, he took undisputed possession of



Point Isabel.

Point Isabel. Previous to this he had been met by a deputation, protesting against his march, and threatening war if it were persisted in. Some buildings at the point were fired by the Mexicans, but the conflagration was arrested by Colonel Twiggs. Leaving at this place four hundred and fifty men, with ten cannon and ample supplies of powder and ball, under Major John Munroe, General Taylor continued his advance. On the 28th he erected the national flag on the banks of the Rio Grande, opposite Matamoras.

On the following day Brigadier-General Worth, with his staff, crossed the river, with despatches to the municipal authorities. He was met by a Mexican delegation, the reception of the papers declined, and his request of an interview with the American consul refused.

This unpropitious affair was but the commencement of difficulties. Immediately after, all communication with General Taylor was closed, and symptoms of approaching war daily multiplied. In order to prepare for it, General Taylor commenced the erection of a fort, to be defended by extensive works. More than one thousand men were employed upon it night and day. This redoubt, under the name of Fort Brown, subsequently

became famous for its successful defense against the bombardment of the enemy, and for the death of its defender, Major Jacob Brown.

The death of Colonel Truman Cross, the first victim of the Mexican war, occurred on the 10th of April. This officer was in the habit of riding out every morning for the purpose of exercise, and on this occasion was observed to remain from camp longer than usual. This circumstance occasioned many fears in camp, especially as the country was known to abound in numbers of lawless rancheros, who respected neither friend nor foe. Small parties were despatched in every direction, but without being able to obtain any information of him. General Taylor wrote to the authorities of Matamoras, but they avowed their entire ignorance of the colonel's fate. Eleven days passed in a state of suspense, mingled with the faint hope that notwithstanding the protestations of the Mexicans, he was a prisoner in Matamoras.

On the 21st, the melancholy truth was ascertained. A straggler entered camp, and stated that the body of an American officer lay at some distance off. He guided a party to a thicket, in which lay the colonel's remains. The spot was at a short distance from a road leading near the river. The body had been stripped, and the flesh torn from it by vultures. The remains were recognized principally by the teeth, scalp, the stock, and one shoulder strap. He is said to have been surrounded by a party, commanded by the notorious Romano Falcon. The men were anxious to carry him into Mexico, but to this their leader objected, and on finding his followers resolute, he shot the colonel with a pistol.

The remains were interred with military honours on the 26th. The funeral escort was composed of a squadron of dragoons and eight companies of infantry, the whole superintended by Colonel Twiggs. It was a solemn pageant, witnessed by thousands of friends and foes, and threw a deep melancholy over the whole American army. "The high rank of the deceased," says General Taylor, in his order of the previous day, "and the ability and energy which he carried into the discharge of the important duties of his office, will cause his loss to be severely felt in the



service; while the untoward circumstances of his demise will render it peculiarly afflicting to his family and personal friends."

When news of this event reached the United States it caused much excitement. All felt it to be but the prelude to that wholesale slaughter, inseparable from the fearful policy of a national appeal to arms. Niles's National Register thus notices it:

"War is a horrible evil. The news of the death of the first victim in this new war into which our country is plunged, has brought with it a deepening sense of the evils, inseparable from the mad conflict of man with man, be the occasion what it may. An acquaintance formed in early life—a warm and steadfast friend from the commencement of that acquaintance, a generous, open-hearted, ardent, intelligent and talented man—one who was in all attributes a man among men—is the first victim. His father forty years since, through many an ardent struggle, political and national, was shoulder to shoulder with us in war, with arms in his hand, and in peace or war, with as ardent patriotism at heart as ever animated a citizen or a republican. His son is snatched from our hopes as well as from a wide circle of friends, and from his own wife, now widowed and left with her orphans to a life—how desolate and lonely! Wreaths may encircle the brow of victors in the coming contest; but what shall compensate for sufferings of which this is but a type of what must be the price at which they are purchased.

Previous to this (April 11th) General Ampudia entered Matamoros with large reinforcements, and assumed supreme command. The occasion was one of exultation to the inhabitants. On the following day he addressed a note to General Taylor, requesting him to break up his camp and march for the Rio Nueces within twenty-four hours. It concludes as follows:

"If you insist in remaining upon the soil of the department of Tamaulipas, it will clearly result that arms, and arms alone, must decide the question; and in that case I advise you that we accept the war to which with so much injustice on your part you provoke us, and that on our part this war shall be coveted conformably to the principles of the most civilized nations: that is to say, that the laws of nations and of war shall be the guide of my operations; trusting that on your part the same will be observed."

In his answer to the above, General Taylor replied, "The instructions under which I am acting, will not permit me to retrograde from the position I now occupy. In view of the relations between our respective governments, and the individual suffering which may result, I regret the alternative which you offer; but at the same time wish it understood, that I shall by no means avoid such alternative, leaving the responsibility with those who rashly commence hostilities."

Ampudia did not attempt the enforcement of his threat, and General Taylor continued the strengthening of his fortifications. "We have a field-work under way," he observes in a letter, "besides having erected a strong battery and a number of buildings for the security of our supplies, in addition to some respectable works for their protection. We have mounted a respectable battery, two pieces of which are long eighteen-pounders, with which we could batter or burn down the city of Matamoras, should it become necessary to do so. When our field-work is completed and mounted with its proper armament, five hundred men could hold it against as many thousand Mexicans. \* \*

"Fronting each other, and for an extent of more than two miles, and within musket range are batteries shotted, and the officers and men, in many instances, waiting impatiently for orders to apply the matches; yet nothing has been done to provoke the firing of a gun, or any act of violence."

The death of Lieutenant Porter, who was killed (April 17th) by some Mexicans while searching for the body of Colonel Cross, tended to exasperate the Americans still further against the enemy. The occurrence is thus described by an officer of the general's camp.

Lieutenant Dobbins, 3d infantry, and Lieutenant Porter, of the 4th, left camp on the 17th instant, each with a detachment of two non-commissioned officers and ten privates, to reconnoiter the surrounding country, from ten to twenty miles, in search of a band of robbers known to have been in that vicinity, and who were supposed to have murdered Colonel Cross, and also to learn, if possible something of his fate. The two parties took different directions. It rained hard during the night. On the second day Lieutenant Porter met a party of Mexicans, one of whom snapped

his piece at him. In return he discharged both barrels of his gun at the Mexican, who disappeared in the thorny thicket. The Americans captured the camp of the marauders, ten horses, saddles, &c.

“This was at noon of the 19th, about eighteen miles above General Taylor’s camp, and six from the Rio del Norte. The lieutenant continued his search, and about four p. m. of the same day, fell in with another party of Mexicans, which, probably, had been joined by those whom he had already left. It was now raining heavily. The Americans were fired on and one of their privates killed. They made an attempt to return the fire, but their powder had been wetted, and they were exposed to the full range of the enemy without the ability to defend themselves. The lieutenant, as was reported by his sergeant, made a sign with his hand for his men to extend to the right. The party thus became separated in the thickets. The sergeant and four privates returned to camp on the 20th, and gave the above account.

“A detachment of thirty dragoons was despatched early the next morning to reconnoiter the position, and search for Lieutenant Porter and those of his party who were missing. They returned the same night, without having learned any thing of them, the thickets being so dense that it was impossible for horses to move through them. They, however, fell in with Lieutenant Dobbins, who said that he would continue to look for Lieutenant Porter a day or two longer. The next day, about noon, the corporal and three men of the lieutenant’s party returned, saying that they feared he had been killed. One of them stated that he had seen him fall from his horse; and another that he dismounted and staggered towards a thicket while volleys of musketry were pouring around him.”

A letter, dated the 24th, gives the following additional particulars:

“The whole of Lieutenant Porter’s party have returned to camp, except himself and the soldier who was killed by the first fire of the Mexicans, in the rencounter of the 19th. Private Arns, who came in last of the company, states that he was within five or six feet of Lieutenant Porter when he fell. He received a ball which penetrated his thigh, and no doubt parted the artery



He immediately laid down, and expired very soon afterwards. The soldier previously killed lay within five yards of him.

“Private Arns remained near the bodies of the lieutenant and the soldier for some time, concealed in the dense thicket, and hoping that relief would come to bear the bodies away. He was at last obliged to make his own way to camp.”

On the same day, (April 17th,) two American schooners bound for Matamoras were warned off the coast by General Taylor, and the mouth of the Rio Grande declared to be in a state of blockade. This proceeding drew forth an angry letter from Ampudia, who threatened serious results in case of its being persisted in. The reply of the general was firm but temperate. He entered at length into all the circumstances of mutual importance which had transpired since his march from Corpus Christi, asserting the blockade to be but a necessary consequence of the state of war, declared to exist by Ampudia himself; and that inasmuch as the measure had been reported to government, he could not remove it unless under orders therefrom. He concluded as follows:

“In conclusion I take leave to state that I consider the tone of your communication highly exceptionable, where you stigmatize the movement of the army under my orders as ‘marked with the seal of universal reprobation.’ You must be aware that such language is not respectful in itself, either to me or my government; and while I observe in my own correspondence the courtesy due to your high position, and to the magnitude of the interests with which we are respectively charged, I shall expect the same in return.”

About this time papers were circulated through the American camp, addressed almost exclusively to the *foreigners* of Taylor’s army, urging them to desert the cause in which they were engaged. These appeals were most artfully worded, and calculated to arouse every motive likely to act to the prejudice of the American cause. Arista’s despatch (dated April 20th) concludes as follows:

“It is to no purpose if they tell you, that the law for the annexation of Texas justifies your occupation of the Rio Bravo del Norte; for by this act they rob us of a great part of Tamaulipas,

Coahuila, Chihuahua, and New Mexico; and it is barbarous to send a handful of men on such an errand against a powerful and warlike nation. Besides, the most of you are Europeans, and we are the *declared friends* of a majority of the nations of Europe. The North Americans are ambitious, overbearing, and insolent as a nation, and they will only make use of you as vile tools to carry out their abominable plans of pillage and rapine.

“I warn you in the name of justice, honour, and your own interests and self-interest, to abandon their desperate and unholy cause, and become *peaceful Mexican citizens*. I guaranty you, in such case, a half-section of land, or three hundred and twenty acres, to settle upon, gratis. Be wise, then, and just, and honourable, and take no part in murdering us who have no unkind feelings for you. Lands shall be given to officers, sergeants, and corporals, according to rank, privates receiving three hundred and twenty-acres, as stated.

“If in time of action you wish to espouse our cause, throw away your arms and run to us, and we will embrace you as true friends and Christians. It is not decent nor prudent to say more. But should any of you render important service to Mexico, you shall be accordingly considered and preferred.”

Immediately after the blockade of the Rio Grande, parties of Mexicans commenced crossing the river, spreading themselves so as to occupy various positions along its eastern bank. These crossings took place both above and below General Taylor's camp; and apprehensive of being surrounded by an overwhelming force, he despatched a reconnoitering party in each direction. The fate of one of these, conducted by Captain Thornton is thus vividly described by a journal of that period.

“On the evening of the 23d, General Taylor's spies brought in intelligence to the effect that about two thousand five hundred Mexicans had crossed the Rio Grande to the Texas side, above the American fort, and about fifteen hundred of the same had crossed below. The general immediately despatched a squadron of dragoons to each place of crossing, for the purpose of reconnoitering them and ascertaining their position. The squadron ordered below was in command of Captain Ker; the one above was commanded by Captain Thornton, and composed of Captain

Hardee, Lieutenants Kane and Mason, with sixty-one privates and non-commissioned officers.

"The former commander, Captain Ker, on arriving at the point where it was supposed they had crossed, found that the report was false, but that they had crossed above.

"Thornton's command had proceeded up the Rio Grande about twenty-four miles, and, as was supposed, to within about three miles of the Mexican camp, when the guide refused to go further, stating for his reason that the whole country was infested with Mexicans. The captain, however, proceeded on with his command about two miles, when he came to a farmhouse, which was entirely inclosed by a chaparral fence, with the exception of that portion of it which bordered on the river, and this was so boggy as to be impassable.

"Captain Thornton entered this inclosure through a pair of bars, and approached the house for the purpose of making some inquiry, his command following him. When the whole party had entered the inclosure, the enemy, having been concealed in the chaparral, about two thousand five hundred in number, completely surrounded him and commenced firing upon his command. He then wheeled his command, thinking he could charge through the enemy, and pass out where he had entered, even though it should be attended with considerable loss. This he attempted, but on account of the strength of the enemy, did not succeed.

"At this moment Captain Hardee approached him for the purpose of suggesting the means to extricate themselves, the fire of the enemy still continuing. Thornton's horse, having received a shot, ran with him toward the chaparral fence, which he leaped and plunged into a precipice, where he fell with the captain underneath, who remained insensible for five or six hours. This casualty placed Captain Hardee in command, who attempted with the residue to make his escape by the river, intending, on arriving at its margin, to swim it. In this he failed, finding the ground so boggy that he could not reach the river. He then returned, taking the precaution to keep out of musketry range, dismounted and examined the arms of his men, determined to sell their lives as dearly as possible.



"Before he had succeeded in the inspection of the arms, a Mexican officer rode up and asked him to surrender. The captain replied that if the Mexican general would receive them as prisoners of war and treat them as the most civilized nations do, they would give themselves up, but on no other condition. The officer bore this message to the commanding general, and returned with the assurance that the request should be complied with. Captain Hardee then surrendered. Captains Thornton and Hardee, with Lieutenant Kane and the residue of the non-commissioned officers and privates, were made prisoners of war, but were remarkably well treated by the enemy."

This affair was the virtual commencement of the war. It was reported to the commanding general as a victory of the greatest importance, and the Mexican army confidently anticipated the destruction of their invaders. From this time the enemy threw off the reserve which had hitherto characterized their movements, and crossing the river in large numbers, spread themselves between Fort Brown and Point Isabel. To the American army, this was the most gloomy period of the war; and when intelligence of its position reached the United States it created a sensation, and deep anxiety which showed how intimately the feelings of the people were twined around that distant band. But still General Taylor maintained his position, employing his whole army in the strengthening of his works; and at Point Isabel not only did Major Munroe employ all the means which had been left with him, but also landed the crews of the vessels in the harbour, and armed them as soldiers.

At this juncture the lamented Captain Walker reached Point Isabel, with some Texas rangers. As his merit was well known to the major, he was ordered to advance some distance beyond the works, and, if possible, open a communication with Fort Brown. With seventy-five men he rode to a position about fourteen miles distant; and soon after, (28th,) on learning that General Taylor was surrounded, he determined to open a communication. After riding some miles, he came suddenly upon a large Mexican force, which he estimated at fifteen hundred, drawn up across the road. They were nearly all mounted. The captain ordered his men into some neighbouring chaparral,

but before this could be effected, the enemy charged, and as most of the Americans were but raw recruits, they fled in confusion. A running fight ensued; the captain was pursued to within cannon-shot of Point Isabel, and his men dispersed. The loss of the Mexicans was about thirty.

On arriving at camp, Captain Walker offered to renew his effort to open a communication, provided four men would accompany him, alleging that the smaller the number on such an expedition the more chance of escape, in case of an attack. Such a proposition was regarded as desperate; but on six men volunteering, the major granted the request, and the intrepid ranger set out. By his intimate knowledge of the road, he was enabled to elude the enemy and reach Fort Brown in safety.

As soon as General Taylor had received information of the condition of Point Isabel, he determined to march with his army to its relief, leaving Major Jacob Brown with six hundred men and a few cannon to defend the river fort. He marched on the 1st, and reached the main depot on the following day.

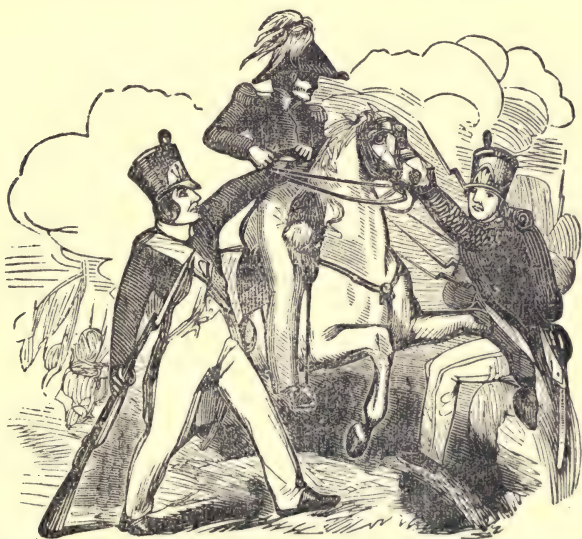
The general's march was a source of unbounded exultation to the Mexicans. It was reported in their military orders as a retreat, and the ruin of the invading army began to be confidently expected.

As a preliminary to this, the destruction of Fort Brown was to be accomplished. Accordingly, on the 3d, a battery stationed in Matamoras opened its fire upon the works, and continued a brisk cannonade all day. It was answered by two eighteen-pounders. At seven in the evening the firing stopped, but was renewed at nine, and continued until midnight. One American was killed, but very little injury done on either side. Long before night Major Brown ceased firing, in consequence of the scarcity of ammunition.

The cannonade had been heard at Point Isabel, and anxious to know the result, General Taylor despatched Captain May with about one hundred men, among whom was Walker and ten rangers, to Fort Brown. They set out in the evening, passed the enemy's camp under cover of the night and halted by some chaparral within seven miles of the fort. Captain Walker then proceeded with his party, arrived at the works,

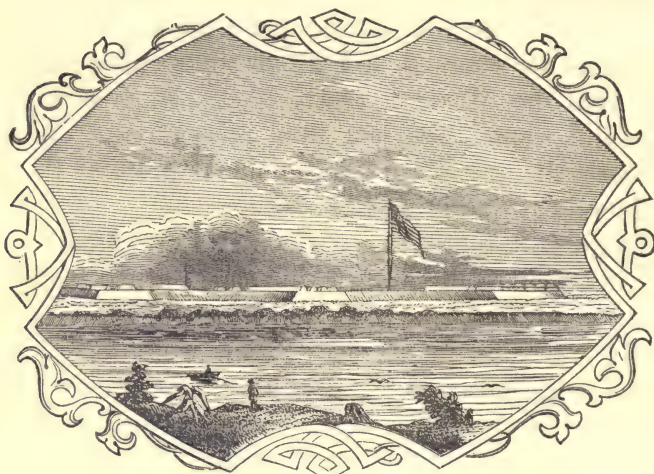
and on announcing his name was admitted. He was detained so long that May was obliged to return without him ; but on the 5th, to the great joy of General Taylor and the army, he arrived safely. Within some miles of the point, he had met a body of lancers, whom he charged and drove some miles ; his escape, however, from the Mexican army, whose scouts were in active watch for him, seems little less than miraculous. He reported to the general the gratifying intelligence that Major Brown was still confidently maintaining his position.

At daylight on the 5th, the garrison at Fort Brown observed a battery in a field to the east, which soon opened its fire. The Americans were thus placed between two fires, which continued, with slight intermission, all day. They were renewed on the 6th, on the morning of which day Major Brown was mortally wounded by a bomb shell, and the command devolved on Captain Hawkins. In the evening that officer was summoned to surrender, and on refusing, the firing was commenced with greater vigour than ever, ceasing only when on the 8th another distant noise assured friend and foe that Generals Taylor and Arista had met in general battle. On the 9th it recommenced, but was finally terminated by the defeat of Arista.



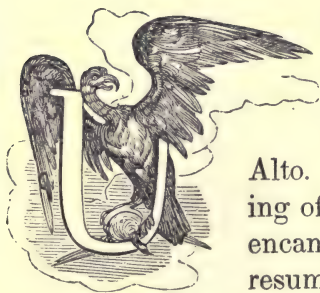
Capture of Captain Thornton.





Fort Brown.

## CHAPTER II.

*Battles of the Rio Grande.*

ON the 8th of May, General Taylor at the head of his small army, numbering twenty-three hundred, came in sight of six thousand Mexicans, at Palo Alto. He had left Point Isabel on the evening of the 7th, and after marching some miles encamped in battle array. The march was resumed next morning. He thus describes the battle.

“About noon, when our advance of cavalry had reached the water-hole of ‘Palo Alto,’ the Mexican troops were reported in our front, and were soon discovered occupying the road in force. I ordered a halt on reaching the water, with a view to rest and refresh the men and form deliberately our line of battle. The Mexican line was now plainly visible across the prairie, and about three-quarters of a mile distant. Their left, which



Battle of Palo Alto.

was composed of a heavy force of cavalry, occupied the road, resting upon a thicket of chaparral, while masses of infantry were discovered in succession on the right, greatly outnumbering our own force.

“Our line of battle was now formed in the following order, commencing on the extreme right: 5th infantry, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel McIntosh; Major Ringgold’s artillery; 3d infantry, commanded by L. M. Morris; two eighteen-pounders, commanded by Lieutenant Churchill, 3d artillery; 4th infantry, commanded by Major G. W. Allen; the 3d and 4th regiments, composed the 3d brigade, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Garland, and all the above corps, together with two squadrons of dragoons, under Captains Ker and May, composed the right wing, under the orders of Colonel Twiggs. The left was formed by the battalion of artillery, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Childs, Captain Duncan’s light artillery, and the 8th infantry, under Captain Montgomery, all forming the 1st brigade, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Belknap. The train was parked near the water, under directions of Captains Crossman and Myers, and protected by Captain Ker’s squadron.

“About two o’clock, we took up the march by heads of columns



in the direction of the enemy, the eighteen-pounder battery following the road. While the other columns were advancing, Lieutenant Blake, topographical engineers, volunteered a reconnaissance of the enemy's line, which was handsomely performed, and resulted in the discovery of at least two batteries of artillery in the intervals of their cavalry and infantry. These batteries were soon opened upon us, when I ordered the columns halted and deployed into line, and the fire to be returned by all our artillery. The 8th infantry, on our extreme left, was thrown back to secure that flank. The first fires of the enemy did little execution, while our eighteen-pounders and Major Ringgold's artillery soon dispersed the cavalry which formed his left. Captain Duncan's battery, thrown forward in advance of the line, was doing good execution at this time. Captain May's squadron was now detached to support that battery and the left of our position. The Mexican cavalry, with two pieces of artillery, were now reported to be moving through the chaparral to our right, to threaten that flank, or make a demonstration against the train. The 5th infantry was immediately detached to check this movement, and supported by Lieutenant Ridgely, with a section of Major Ringgold's battery, and Captain Walker's company of volunteers, effectually repulsed the enemy—the 5th infantry repelling a charge of lancers, and the artillery doing great execution in their ranks. The 3d infantry was now detached to the right, as a still further security to that flank, yet threatened by the enemy. Major Ringgold, with the remaining section, kept up his fire from an advanced position, and was supported by the left infantry.

“The grass of the prairie had been accidentally fired by our artillery, and the volumes of smoke now partially concealed the armies from each other. As the enemy's left had evidently been driven back, and left the road free, and as the cannonade had been suspended, I ordered forward the eighteen-pounders on the road nearly to the position first occupied by the Mexican cavalry, and caused the 1st brigade to take up a new position, still on the left of the eighteen-pounder battery. The 5th was advanced from its former position, and occupied a point on the extreme right of the new line. The enemy made a change of position





Death of Ringgold.

corresponding to our own, and after a suspension of nearly an hour, the action was resumed.

“The fire of artillery was now most destructive; openings were constantly made through the enemy’s ranks by our fire, and the constancy with which the Mexican infantry sustained this severe cannonade was a theme of universal remark and admiration. Captain May’s squadron was detached to make a demonstration on the left of the enemy’s position, and suffered severely from the fire of artillery, to which it was for some time exposed.

“The 4th infantry, which had been ordered to support the eighteen-pounder battery, was exposed to a most galling fire of artillery, by which several men were killed, and Captain Page dangerously wounded. The enemy’s fire was directed against our eighteen-pounder battery, and the guns under Major Ringgold in its vicinity. The major himself, while coolly directing the fire of his pieces, was struck by a cannon-ball and mortally wounded.

“In the mean time, the battalion under Lieutenant-Colonel Child’s had been brought up to support the artillery on our right. A strong demonstration of cavalry was now made by the enemy against this part of our line, and the column continued

to advance under a severe fire from the eighteen-pounders. The battalion was instantly formed in square, and held ready to receive the charge of cavalry, but when the advancing squadrons were within close range, a deadly fire of canister from the eighteen-pounders dispersed them. A brisk fire of small arms was now opened upon the square, by which one officer (Lieutenant Luther, 2d artillery) was slightly wounded; but a well-directed volley from the front of the square silenced all further firing from the enemy in this quarter. It was now nearly dark, and the action was closed on the right of our line, the enemy having been completely driven back from his position, and foiled in every attempt against it.

“While the above was going forward on our right, and under our own eye, the enemy had made a serious attempt against the left of our line. Captain Duncan instantly perceived the movement, and, by the bold and brilliant manœuvering of his battery, completely repulsed several successive efforts of the enemy to advance in force upon our left flank. Supported in succession by the 8th infantry, and by Captain Ker’s squadron of dragoons, he gallantly held the enemy at bay, and finally drove him, with immense loss, from the field. The action here and along the whole line continued until dark, when the enemy retired into the chaparral, in rear of his position.

“Our loss this day was nine killed, forty-four wounded, and two missing.

“Our own force engaged is shown to have been one hundred and seventy-seven officers, and two thousand one hundred and eleven men; aggregate, two thousand two hundred and eighty-eight. The Mexican force, according to the statements of their own officers, taken prisoners in the affair of the 9th, was not less than six thousand regular troops, with ten pieces of artillery, and probably exceeding that number—the irregular force not known. Their loss was not less than two hundred killed, and four hundred wounded—probably greater. This estimate is very moderate, and formed upon the number actually counted on the field, and upon the reports of their own officers.”

Early on the following morning, the enemy were observed moving toward the Rio Grande. The battle had by no means



been decisive; and they were evidently seeking a more advantageous position, in order to renew it. For this the American commander had carefully prepared. The wounded had been relieved on the previous night, the troops refreshed, and every thing put in readiness for battle; in addition to which a council of officers had resolved to continue the march at all hazards.

The battle of Resaca de la Palma is thus described by an American officer :

“At two o'clock P. M., we found the enemy drawn up in great force, occupying a ravine which our road crossed; with thick chaparral, or thorny bushes, on either side before it reached the ravine, and a pond of water on either side where it crossed the ravine, constituting a defile. They were seven thousand strong; we fifty-four weaker than on the previous day. The general ordered an immediate attack by all the troops, except the first brigade, which was kept in reserve; and soon the rattling fire of musketry, mingled with the heavy sound of artillery, announced the commencement of the action. The enemy had chosen his position, which he considered impregnable—was vastly superior to us in numbers, and had ten pieces of artillery planted in the defile, which swept the road with grape, and which it was absolutely necessary for us to take before they could be beaten. These pieces were flanked on either side by a regiment of brave veteran troops from Tampico, and we were obliged to stand an awful shower of grape and bullet before a charge could reach them. The battle had lasted some two hours with great fury on both sides, and many heroic deeds had been done, but no serious impression made, when General Taylor sent for Captain May of the second dragoons, and told him he must take that battery with his squadron of dragoons if he lost every man. May instantly placed himself at the head of his men, and setting off at full speed, with cheers and shouts, dashed into the defile, where he was greeted with an overwhelming discharge of grape and bullets, which nearly annihilated his first and second platoons, but he was seen, unhurt, darting like lightning through this murderous hailstorm, and, in a second, he and his men drove away, or cut to pieces the artillerists.

“The speed of his horses was so great, however, that they



passed through the battery, and were halted in its rear. There, turning, he charged back, and was just in time to rescue a Mexican general officer, who would not leave his guns, and was parrying the strokes of one of his men. The officer handed his sword to May, announced himself as General La Vega, and gave his parole. May turned him over to an officer, and galloping back to General Taylor, reported that he had captured the enemy's battery, and the gallant General La Vega, bravely defending it, whose sword he had the honour to present his commanding officer. The general was extremely gratified, and felt no doubt that a blow had been given, from which it would be difficult for the enemy to recover. . . . Colonel Belknap, leading his regiment into the thickest of the fight, seized a Mexican standard, and waving it over his head, dashed on in front of his men, until his horse stumbled over some dead bodies, and threw him. Being a heavy man, he was helped on his horse by a soldier, who in the act received a ball through his lungs, and at the same moment a shot carried away the Mexican flag, leaving but the handle with the colonel. He dashed ahead with that, however, and his regiment carried every thing before it. At this moment the Mexicans gave way entirely, and, throwing down their arms, fled in every direction, leaving all their stores, munitions of war, arms, standards, &c. The killed, wounded, and prisoners, including those who were drowned in the Rio Grande, do not fall short of eighteen hundred—so that the enemy's loss in two days amounts to at least two thousand men, something more than the number we had in our army."

May's charge was the most brilliant event of this hard-fought battle. It was an opportunity for which the captain had been anxiously hoping; and riding in front of his horsemen, he called to them to follow. The next moment they were sweeping toward the enemy. Before being perceived by them, May was stopped by Lieutenant Ridgely, who was about firing in order to draw the shot of the enemy. This being done, May again dashed forward, and in a few minutes was by the muzzles of the cannon. Suddenly a tremendous discharge poured forth along the ranks of the intrepid horsemen, rolling horses and men headlong on the ground. But nothing could stop the survivors.

Leaping over the cannon, they drove the artillerists from their positions at the point of the sword. The batteries were defended by the celebrated Tampico veterans, hitherto regarded as invincible. They threw themselves furiously between their guns, and with their swords and bayonets fought hand to hand with the cavalry. One by one they sunk beneath the weapons of their adversaries; and even when the regiment was broken and crushed, one of them endeavoured to sustain its honour by wrapping the flag around him in order to bear it away.

On the morning of this day, Lieutenant Blake, of the topographical engineers, was killed by the accidental discharge of one of his pistols. This officer was much beloved, and on the previous day had performed a reconnoissance of the most daring valour. One who accompanied him gives the subjoined account of this feat:

“After the line of battle had been formed, General Taylor rode along it to survey his command. Every man was perfectly cool, and had they been about to take dinner, they could not have been more indifferent. At this time the general had not the slightest knowledge as to whether the enemy had any artillery or not. The long prairie grass prevented any one from distinguishing it, when masked by men in front of the pieces. What was to be done? It was an all-important point. Captain May was ordered to go forward with his squadron, reconnoiter the enemy, and, if possible, draw a fire from their artillery, but to no purpose; they took no notice of him. Lieutenant Blake then proposed to go forward alone and reconnoiter. I was close to him, and volunteered to accompany him. He consented, and we dashed forward to within *eighty yards of their line*, the whole army looking on us with astonishment. Here we had a full view. The lieutenant alighted from his horse, and, with his glass, surveyed the whole line, and handed it to me. After making a similar observation, I returned the glass. Just then two officers rode out towards us. I mentioned it to Blake, and requested him to mount. He quietly told me to draw a pistol on them. I did so, and they halted. Had they thought proper, they could have fired a volley from their main line and riddled us both. We then galloped along their line to its other end,

there examined them again, and returned. Scarcely had Blake reported, when their batteries opened upon our line, and the work of destruction commenced. Our examination proved to be correct."

"The strength of our marching force on this day," says General Taylor, "was one hundred and seventy-three officers, and two thousand and forty-nine men—aggregate two thousand two hundred and twenty-two. The actual number engaged with the enemy did not exceed seventeen hundred. Our loss was three officers killed, and twelve wounded. Thirty-six men killed, and seventy-one wounded. \* \* \* \* \* I have no accurate data from which to estimate the enemy's force on this day. He was known to have been reinforced after the action of the 8th, both by cavalry and infantry, and no doubt to an extent equal at least to his loss on that day. It is probable that six thousand men were opposed to us, in a position chosen by themselves, and strongly defended by artillery. The enemy's loss was very great. Nearly two hundred of his dead were buried by us, on the day succeeding the battle. His loss in killed, wounded, and missing, in the two affairs of the 8th and 9th, is, I think, moderately estimated at one thousand men.

"Our victory has been decisive. A small force has overcome immense odds of the best troops that Mexico can furnish—veteran regiments perfectly equipped and appointed. Eight pieces of artillery, several colours and standards, a great number of prisoners, (including fourteen officers,) and a large amount of baggage, and public property fell into our hands."

On the 10th prisoners were exchanged, and all the American captives, including Captain Thornton, set free. On the same day Major Brown expired.

On the 11th General Taylor visited Point Isabel, in order to arrange with the commander of the Gulf squadron, Commodore Conner, a plan for the campaign. Some of the objects of this plan are given in the following extract from a letter written to the war department at that time :

"I avail myself of this brief time at my command to report, that the main body of the army is now occupying its former position, opposite Matamoras. The Mexican forces are almost



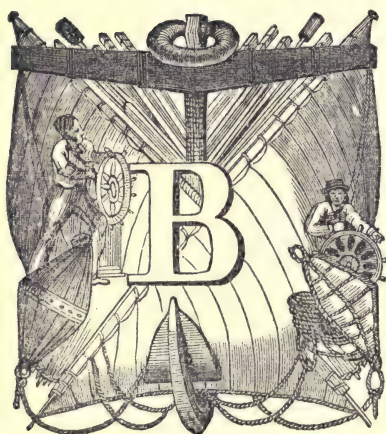
disorganized, and I shall lose no time in investing Matamoras, and opening the navigation of the river. I am under the painful necessity of reporting, that Lieutenant Blake, topographical engineers, after rendering distinguished service in my staff, during the affair of the 8th instant, accidentally shot himself with a pistol the following day, and expired before night."





### CHAPTER III.

#### *Capture of Varita and Matamoras.*



ARITA is a small town on the Rio Grande, south of Matamoras. On returning to Fort Brown, General Taylor was informed that the Mexicans were there concentrating their forces, for the purpose of establishing a military depot, which would give them command of the river. He therefore returned to Point Isabel, where a large number of volunteers from the southern and

western states had just arrived. This enabled him to draw large reinforcements for his main station, and to commence offensive operations immediately.

In order to dispossess the enemy of their supposed position

he appointed a party, under Lieutenant-Colonel Wilson, to proceed against that station. It consisted of two volunteer companies from Louisiana, under Captains Stockton and Tobin, and one from Alabama, under General Desha. Commodore Conner was to co-operate.

On the 15th Wilson crossed the river, and marched down to Barita. To his astonishment he experienced no opposition, nor was an enemy seen in arms. General Taylor had been misinformed.

An officer of Colonel Wilson's party thus describes the town, and the operations of his commanding officer :

"I am here to select a site for the depot of our new base of operations, and to intrench. This village is about ten miles from the mouth of the river, and the same distance from Brazos Santiago, or Fort Polk, (Point Isabel.) The prominent features which might induce me to decide upon this, as the proper point for the depot, are, that it is the first high land you reach in ascending the river, that it is above hurricane tides, that the ground is naturally formed for a military position, commanding every thing around it, and commanded by nothing. It is equidistant, and not very inaccessible from our other depots. The worst road is to Fort Polk; while the direct line is only ten miles, the only road for wagons is over twenty. Colonel Wilson has four companies of his own regiment here, and four of volunteers.

"This movement up the river was intended to have been a combined one with Commodore Conner. It has been delayed two days in consequence of unfavourable weather rendering the bar too rough. The commodore's limited stay here compelled him to notify the general not to count upon his co-operation in an expedition up the river. This morning at daylight I started the *Neva* (a river boat) out from the Brazos. She entered the Rio Bravo without difficulty about eight A. M., and some time after I rode down the beach. Colonel Wilson's command has been bivouacking for two days on our side of the mouth. We crossed them all over by twelve; and before one P. M. the column was *en route* up the river. The banks of the river are but slightly higher than the surface of the water for some miles up



The whole country low, and filled with lagoons. There is a high ridge of sand hills, some twenty feet high, extending up and down the coast directly on the beach. The country back of this ridge is one vast plain of prairie and lagoon. The road up the river is tolerably good. The river is very serpentine. The road runs from bend to bend, the distance by river being nearly double that by road. The road up the right bank is skirted to the left and south by lagoons, until you reach Barita; so that a march of a column up this side is by no means exposed to a thick attack."

Meanwhile active preparations were going forward for crossing the Rio Grande and attacking Matamoras. Owing to the scarcity of means for transportation this work went on but slowly; and the arrangements necessary to meet the expected resistance, caused still further delay. On the 18th, however, the crossing was effected, though with the loss of Lieutenant Stephens, a beloved and deeply lamented officer. The particulars of this affair, together with the capture of Matamoras, we give in General Taylor's own words:

"I have the honour to report that my very limited means of crossing rivers prevented a complete prosecution of the victories of the 9th instant. A ponton train, the necessity of which I exhibited to the department last year, would have enabled the army to have crossed on the evening of the battle, take this city, with all the artillery and stores of the enemy, and a great number of prisoners. In short, to destroy entirely the Mexican army. But I was compelled to await the arrival of heavy mortars, with which to menace the town from the left bank, and also the accumulation of small boats. In the mean time, the enemy had somewhat recovered from the confusion of his flight, and ought still, with three thousand men left him, to have made a respectable defense. I made every preparation to cross the river above the town, while Lieutenant-Colonel Wilson made a diversion on the side of Barita, and the order of march was given out for one o'clock yesterday, from the camp near Fort Brown, when I was waited upon by General Reguena, empowered by General Arista, commanding-in-chief the Mexican forces, to treat for an armistice until the government should finally

settle the question. I replied to this, that an armistice was out of the question; that a month since I had proposed one to General Ampudia, which was declined; that circumstances were now changed; that I was receiving large reinforcements, and could not now suspend operations which I had not invited nor provoked; that the possession of Matamoras was a *sine qua non*; that our troops would occupy the town; but that General Arista might withdraw his forces, leaving the public property of every description.

"An answer to the above was promised in the afternoon, but none came; and I repaired at sundown to join the army, already in position at a crossing some two miles above the town. Very early this morning the bank was occupied by two eighteen-pounders and three batteries of field artillery, and the crossing commenced: the light companies of all the battalions were first thrown over, followed by the volunteer and regular cavalry. No resistance was made, and I was soon informed from various quarters that Arista had abandoned the town, with all his troops, the evening before, leaving only the sick and wounded. I immediately despatched a staff officer to the prefect to demand a surrender; and, in the mean time, a commission was sent by the prefect to confer with me on the same point. I gave assurance that the civil rights of the citizens would be respected, and our troops at once dropped down opposite the town, and crossed at the "Upper Ferry," the American flag being displayed at Fort Paredes, a Mexican redoubt near the crossing. The different corps now encamped in the outskirts of the city. To-morrow I shall make suitable arrangements for the occupation of the town, and for taking possession of the public property. More than three hundred of the enemy's wounded have been left in the hospitals. Arista is in full retreat towards Monterey, with the fragments of his army.

"I deeply regret to report that Lieutenant George Stevens, a very promising young officer, of the 2d dragoons, was accidentally drowned this morning while attempting to swim the river with his squadron."

During the night of the 17th, General Arista, with the troops left together after the battle of the 9th, had evacuated the city,

and commenced a rapid march for the interior. He thus excused his flight to his superior officer :

“ All the means of subsistence of this division being consumed, its activity paralyzed, and its artillery diminished, while that of the enemy has been greatly increased in the number of pieces and the calibre of his guns, in such a manner that, were he to open his fire, the city of Matamoras would be instantly destroyed, to the utter ruin of national and foreign interests, I have decided to retire from it, with the forces under my command, before being summoned, and obliged to evacuate it with dishonour, which I shall thus avoid : for the march is slow, our pieces being drawn by oxen, and our munitions in carts. My object now is to defend the soil of those departments which have been intrusted to me ; and, for that purpose, I am going to post myself at those points most convenient, and within reach of supplies, of which I will hereafter inform your highness, though your communications must seek me by the road of China, or that of Linares. The step to which I have referred has saved the national honour ; and I communicate it to your highness for your information, recommending you to secure the camp equipage, placing it in a convenient point, and preserving the sixteen-pounders in that city, to which, moreover, I will order a reinforcement.”

Colonel Twiggs was appointed military governor of Matamoras, and by a just and energetic exercise of his functions, soon cleared the city of the lawless banditti that infested it, and restored order and confidence. The rights of the citizens were respected, and the people encouraged to look upon the Americans rather as friends than as invaders. These pacific measures were further strengthened by a proclamation of General Taylor in which he exhibited the tyranny of the Mexican authorities, and a desire of his government for a speedy and honourable termination of all difficulties.

Soon after the capture of this important station, small parties took possession of the towns of Mier, Reynosa, and Camargo ; and thus the entire region of the Rio Grande was in possession of the Americans. But Taylor's difficulties were far greater than before. When writing to the governors of several states for reinforcements, he had explicitly stated his demand for but



eight regiments. But after receiving notice of his danger, these officers with a laudable zeal, hurried on reinforcements, to such an extent, that the general found himself utterly at a loss as to the manner of their disposal. His means of transportation were very limited; and no satisfactory orders respecting his future course arrived from Washington. In a letter to the department dated June 3d, he says:

"I am necessarily detained at this point for want of suitable transportation to carry on offensive operations. There is not a steamboat at my command proper for the navigation of the Rio Grande; and without water transportation, I consider it useless to attempt any extensive movement. Measures have been taken to procure boats of suitable draught and description, and one or two may now be expected. In the mean time, I propose to push a battalion of infantry as far as Reynosa, and occupy that town. For any operations in the direction of Monterey, it will be necessary to establish a large depot at Camargo, which I shall lose no time in doing as soon as proper transports arrive, unless I receive counter-instructions from the department.

"I trust the department will see that I could not possibly have anticipated the arrival of such heavy reinforcements from Louisiana as are now here, and on their way hither. Without large means of transportation, this force will embarrass, rather than facilitate our operations. I cannot doubt that the department has already given instructions, based upon the change in our position since my first call for volunteers.

"Our last accounts of Arista represent his force to be halted at Coma, an extensive hacienda on the Monterey road, about one hundred miles from this point. He has pickets covering the roads leading to Matamoras, with a view to cut off all communication with the interior. The departmental authorities have issued a decree denouncing as traitors all who hold intercourse with us, or with those who do so. I am, nevertheless, disposed to believe that in some quarters, at least, our presence is not unfavourably viewed. We have no intelligence from the city of Mexico."

The uncertainty experienced even by government as to the manner of conducting the war, together with their imperfect

instructions to the general, will be seen from the following extracts of a letter from the secretary of war, dated June 8th.

“In my letter of the 28th ultimo, you were left to your own discretion and judgment as to the measures to be pursued before the end of the unfavourable season shall have passed, and it is not now intended to control that discretion. You best know what amount of force you will have under your command, and what can be best accomplished with that force.

“It is presumed you will hold both banks of the Rio Grande to a considerable distance from its mouth, and secure the uninterrupted use of that river for the transportation of supplies. I hope you will be able to take and hold in possession all places on it as high up as Laredo.

“It is proper that I should advise you that a considerable force, which will be also under your command, will soon assemble at San Antonio de Bexar. The ultimate destination of this force is Chihuahua, if it should be determined that such an expedition would have a favourable operation in the conduct of the war; but it might be at once used to take and secure the several places on the Rio Grande. Though we have no despatch from you since those giving an account of the battles on the 8th and 9th of May, we have such information as induces the belief that you are in possession of Matamoras, and that you are not now threatened with any considerable Mexican force. It is desirable that you should find yourself in sufficient strength to capture and hold Monterey with your present force. You are apprized that large reinforcements are preparing to join you. Besides the regular forces now under your command, and which will be speedily augmented, you will soon have nearly twenty thousand volunteers, (including those to rendezvous at San Antonio de Bexar,) who are to serve for one year. Your determination as to immediate movements will, therefore, be somewhat influenced by the consideration of the additional force which will soon join you.

“The president is desirous of receiving, and hopes soon to be favoured with, your views and suggestions in relation to the fall campaign. His determination is to have the war prosecuted with vigour, and to embrace in the objects to be compassed in that

campaign, such as will dispose the enemy to desire an end of the war. Shall the campaign be conducted with the view of striking at the city of Mexico, or confined, so far as regards the forces under your immediate command, to the northern provinces of Mexico? Your views on this point will, doubtless, have an important influence upon the determination of the government here. Should our army penetrate far into the interior of Mexico, how are supplies to be obtained? Can they be, to any considerable extent, drawn from the enemy's country, or must they be obtained from the United States? If the latter, what are the facilities and difficulties of transportation? These are very important questions, and the answers to them will have an essential bearing in settling the plan and objects of the campaign; and it is desired that you should express your views fully in regard to them.

“Again: it is important to know your opinion of the description of troops best adapted to operations in the interior of Mexico; what proportion should be infantry, artillery, and cavalry, &c. A peace must be conquered in the shortest space of time practicable. Your views of the manner of doing it are requested. It is not doubted that you will push your advantages to the utmost extent it can be done, with the means at your command.”

Before receiving this letter, General Taylor defined his exact condition as follows. The letters are dated June 10th and 17th.

“I beg leave earnestly to invite the attention of the department to the following points:

“First. The great influx of volunteers at Point Isabel. Five regiments certainly from Louisiana, numbering, say three thousand six hundred men, two regiments or battalions from Louisville and St. Louis, numbering, say twelve hundred more; several companies from Alabama, and I know not how many from Texas; the latter now beginning to arrive. The volunteer troops, now under my orders, amount to nearly six thousand men. How far they may be increased without previous notification to me, it is impossible to tell.

“Secondly. The entire want of the proper kind of transportation to push my operations up the river. The boats on which I depended for this service were found to be nearly destroyed by



worms, and entirely unfit for the navigation of the river. At my instance, Major Thomas, on the 18th of May, required from Lieutenant-Colonel Hunt a boat of the proper description, and followed it up in a few days by a requisition for another. At the last dates from New Orleans no boat had been procured. Captain Sanders, of the engineers, was despatched by me to New Orleans, to assist in procuring suitable boats, but I have yet received no report from him.

“As I have previously reported, my operations are completely paralyzed by the want of suitable steamboats to navigate the Rio Grande. Since the 18th of May, the army has lain in camp near this place continually receiving heavy reinforcements of men, but no facility for water transport, without which additional numbers are but an embarrassment.

“I desire to place myself right in this matter, and to let the department see that the inactivity of the army results from no neglect of mine. I must express my astonishment that such large reinforcements have been sent forward to join the army, without being accompanied by the means of transportation, both by land and water, to render them efficient. As matters now stand, whatever may be the expectations of the department, I cannot move from this place; and unless Captain Sanders shall succeed in procuring boats of the proper kind, I can give no assurance in regard to future operations.”

“No steamboats have been sent out from New Orleans for the navigation of the Rio Grande, and in the absence of all information on that point, or respecting the views of the government, I am altogether in the dark as to our future operations. I must think that orders have been given, by superior authority, to suspend the forwarding of means of transportation from New Orleans. I cannot otherwise account for the extraordinary delay shown by the quartermaster's department in that city. Even the mails, containing probably important despatches from the government, are not expedited.

“Lieutenant-Colonel Wilson has occupied Reynosa without opposition. What remains of the Mexican army is understood to be still at Linares, and has suffered from disease. General Torrejor. has died, and Colonel Carasco, at last advices, was very

ill. I learn that Generals Arista and Ampudia have gone to Mexico, probably for the trial of the former, or both.

"Volunteer regiments have arrived from Louisville and St. Louis, making, with those from Louisiana, eight strong and organized battalions—mustering over five thousand men.

"In addition, we have seven companies of Alabama volunteers, and twelve or fifteen companies from Texas. Others from Texas are continually arriving. A portion of these volunteers has been lying in camp at this place for nearly a month, completely paralyzed by the want of transportation. Exposed as they are in this climate to diseases of the camp, and without any prospect, so far as I can see, of being usefully employed, I must recommend that they be allowed to return to their homes.

"I have despatched Captain McCulloch, a good partisan officer, in the direction of Linares, with his company, to gain information touching the numbers and position of the enemy, and the resources of the country."

For his ability in conducting the campaign on the Rio Grande, General Taylor received the thanks of Congress and a commission as brevet major-general, signed by the president. Soon after he was raised to a full major-general. The legislatures of several states voted him swords, and various demonstrations, both of popular meetings and official bodies, exhibited the confidence and gratitude of the people toward him.



MEXICAN GENTLEMEN.



## CHAPTER IV.

### *Storming of Monterey.*



ON the 3d of August, 1846, a proclamation was issued from the city of Mexico, declaring the constitution of 1824 to be in force, and inviting all who had been banished from the country since its abolition to return, "especially his excellency Don Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, well deserving of his country, acknowledging him as general-in-chief of all the forces pledged and determined to fight, in order that the nation may recover its rights, secure its liberty, and govern itself." In virtue of this proclamation, General Santa Anna sailed from Cuba, passed through the American fleet, under permission from President Polk, and reached Vera Cruz on the 16th of August. Here he was hailed as the deliverer of the nation, and commenced immediate preparations for a march to the capital. His entry into that city was a perfect triumph; and he was immediately appointed president of the republic under the constitution of 1824, and commander-in-chief of the army.



This movement had arisen from the tyranny of Paredes. Instead of conciliating the different factions, he had banished or imprisoned all his opponents, suppressed the disaffected journals, and conducted himself toward the people in a manner the most oppressive and despotic. Dissatisfaction and anarchy followed, opposition daily strengthened, and finally Paredes found himself embarrassed with insuperable difficulties. On the 28th of July, Vera Cruz declared for the exiled Santa Anna; and three days after, the proclamation in his favour was issued. Paredes saw his fall, and, after making a desperate opposition, fled from the capital, but was afterwards arrested and thrown into the castle of Perote. De Salas, his principal rival, immediately declared for Santa Anna, and held the government until his return.

On assuming the reigns of government, Santa Anna adopted a system of measures as energetic as it was judicious. He re-established the federal government, united almost all opposition, pledged his private property for the general welfare, and began extensive preparations for the raising of a large army. He declined acting as civil governor, and placing himself at the head of the troops in the capital, marched toward the seat of war.

Meanwhile General Taylor was hastening preparations for a march into the interior; but so great were his embarrassments, that the advance divisions under Butler and Twiggs were not able to start before the commencement of September. The general followed on the 5th, leaving General Patterson in command on the Rio Grande.

On the 19th he reached the Walnut Springs, three miles from Monterey.

The operations against Monterey were conducted by two divisions, under Generals Taylor and Worth, each acting independent of the other.

The former thus describes his own operations:

“At two o’clock, P. M., on the 20th, the second division took up its march. It was soon discovered by officers who were reconnoitering the town, and communicated to General Worth, that its movement had been perceived and that the enemy was throwing reinforcements towards the Bishop’s Palace and the height which commands it. To divert his attention as far as



The American Army entering Marin, on its march to Monterey.

practicable, the first division, under Brigadier-General Twiggs, and field division of volunteers, under Major-General Butler, were displayed in front of the town until dark. Arrangements were made at the same time to place in battery during the night, at a suitable distance from the enemy's main work, the citadel, two twenty-four-pounder howitzers, and a ten-inch mortar, with a view to open a fire on the following day, when I proposed to make a diversion in favour of General Worth's movement. The 4th infantry covered this battery during the night. General Worth had, in the mean time, reached and occupied for the night a defensive position just without range of a battery above the Bishop's Palace, having made a reconnoissance as far as the Saltillo road.

"Early on the morning of the 21st, I received a note from General Worth, written at half-past nine o'clock the night before, suggesting what I had already intended, a strong diversion against the centre and left of the town, to favour his enterprise against the heights in rear. The infantry and artillery of the first division, and the field division of volunteers, were ordered under arms, and took the direction of the city, leaving one company of each regiment as a camp guard. The 2d dragoons,



under Lieutenant-Colonel May, and Colonel Wood's regiment of Texas mounted volunteers, under the immediate direction of General Henderson, were directed to the right to support General Worth, if necessary, and to make an impression, if practicable, upon the upper quarter of the city. Upon approaching the mortar battery, the 1st and 3d regiments of infantry and battalion of Baltimore and Washington volunteers, with Captain Bragg's field battery—the whole under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Garland—were directed towards the lower part of the town, with orders to make a strong demonstration, and carry one of the enemy's advanced works, if it could be done without too heavy loss. Major Mansfield, engineers, and Captain Williams and Lieutenant Pope, topographical engineers, accompanied this column, Major Mansfield being charged with its direction, and the designation of points of attack. In the mean time the mortar, served by Captain Ramsay, of the ordnance, and the howitzer battery under Captain Webster, 1st artillery, had opened their fire upon the citadel, which was deliberately sustained, and answered from the works. General Butler's division had now taken up a position in rear of this battery, when the discharges of artillery, mingled finally with a rapid fire of small arms, showed that Lieutenant Garland's command had become warmly engaged. I now deemed it necessary to support this attack, and accordingly ordered the 4th infantry and three regiments of General Butler's division to march at once by the left flank in the direction of the advanced work at the lower extremity of the town, leaving one regiment (1st Kentucky) to cover the mortar and howitzer battery. By some mistake two companies of the 4th infantry did not receive this order, and consequently did not join the advance companies until some time afterwards.

“Lieutenant-Colonel Garland's command had approached the town in a direction to the right of the advanced work (No. 1.) at the north-eastern angle of the city, and the engineer officer, covered by skirmishers, had succeeded in entering the suburbs and gaining cover. The remainder of this command now advanced and entered the town under a heavy fire of artillery from the citadel and the works on the left, and of musketry from the houses and small works in front. A movement to the right was





Storming of Fort Teneria.

attempted with a view to gain the rear of No. 1, and carry that work, but the troops were so much exposed to a fire which they could not effectually return, and had already sustained such severe loss, particularly in officers, that it was deemed best to withdraw them to a more secure position. Captain Backus, 1st infantry, however, with a portion of his own and other companies, had gained the roof of a tannery, which looked directly into the gorge of No. 1, and from which he poured a most destructive fire into that work and upon the strong building in its rear. This fire happily coincided in point of time with the advance of a portion of the volunteer division upon No. 1, and contributed largely to the fall of that strong and important work.

“The three regiments of the volunteer division, under the immediate command of Major-General Butler, had in the mean time advanced in the direction of No. 1. The leading brigade, under Brigadier-General Quitman, continued its advance upon that work, preceded by three companies of the 4th infantry, while General Butler, with the first Ohio regiment entered the town to the right. The companies of the 4th infantry had advanced within short range of the work, when they were received by a fire that almost, in one moment, struck down one-third of

the officers and men, and rendered it necessary to retire and effect a conjunction with the two other companies then advancing. General Quitman's brigade, though suffering most severely, particularly in the Tennessee regiment, continued its advance, and finally carried the work in handsome style, as well as the strong building in its rear. Five pieces of artillery, a considerable supply of ammunition, and thirty prisoners, including three officers, fell into their hands. Major-General Butler, with the 1st Ohio regiment, after entering the edge of the town, discovered that nothing was to be accomplished in his front, and at this point, yielding to the suggestion of several officers, I ordered a retrograde movement; but learning almost immediately, from one of my staff, that the battery No. 1 was in our possession, the order was countermanded; and I determined to hold the battery and defenses already gained. General Butler, with the 1st Ohio regiment, then entered the town at a point farther to the left, and marched in the direction of the battery No. 2. While making an examination, with a view to ascertain the possibility of carrying this second work by storm, the general was wounded, and soon after compelled to quit the field. As the strength of No. 2, and the heavy musketry fire flanking the approach, rendered it impossible to carry it without great loss, the 1st Ohio regiment was withdrawn from the town.

"Fragments of the various regiments engaged were now under cover of the captured battery, and some buildings in its front, and on the right. The field batteries of Captains Bragg and Ridgely were also partially covered by the battery. An incessant fire was kept up on this position from battery No. 2, and other works on its right, and from the citadel on all our approaches. General Twiggs, though quite unwell, joined me at this point, and was instrumental in causing the artillery captured from the enemy to be placed in battery, and served by Captain Ridgely against No. 2, until the arrival of Captain Webster's howitzer battery, which took its place. In the mean time, I directed such men as could be collected of the 1st, 3d, and 4th regiments, and Baltimore battalion, to enter the town, penetrating to the right, and carry the 2d battery if possible. This command, under Lieutenant-Colonel Garland, advanced beyond the





Storming of Monterey.

bridge "Purissima," when, finding it impracticable to gain the rear of the 2d battery, a portion of it sustained themselves for some time in that advanced position ; but as no permanent impression could be made at that point, and the main object of the general operation had been effected, the command, including a section of Captain Ridgely's battery, which had joined it, was withdrawn to battery No. 1. During the absence of this column, a demonstration of cavalry was reported in the direction of the citadel. Captain Bragg, who was at hand, immediately galloped with his battery to a suitable position, from which a few discharges effectually dispersed the enemy. Captain Miller, 1st infantry, was despatched with a mixed command to support the battery on this service. The enemy's lancers had previously charged upon the Ohio and part of the Mississippi regiment, near some fields at a distance from the edge of the town, and had been repulsed with a considerable loss. A demonstration of cavalry on the opposite side of the river was also dispersed in the course of the afternoon by Captain Ridgely's battery, and the squadrons returned to the city. At the approach of evening, all the troops that had been engaged were ordered back to camp, except Captain Ridgely's battery, and the regular infantry of the



first division, who were detailed as a guard for the works during the night, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Garland. One battalion of the 1st Kentucky regiment was ordered to reinforce this command. Intrenching tools were procured, and additional strength was given to the works, and protection to the men, by working parties during the night, under the direction of Lieutenant Scarritt, engineers.

“The main object proposed in the morning had been effected. A powerful diversion had been made to favour the operations of the 2d division, one of the enemy's advanced works had been carried, and we now had a strong foothold in the town. But this had not been accomplished without a heavy loss, embracing some of our gallant and promising officers. The number of killed and wounded incident to the operations in the lower part of the city on the 21st is three hundred and ninety-four.

“Early in the morning of this day, (21st,) the advance of the 2d division had encountered the enemy in force, and after a brief but sharp conflict, repulsed him with heavy loss. General Worth then succeeded in gaining a position on the Saltillo road, thus cutting the enemy's line of communication. From this position the two heights south of the Saltillo road were carried in succession, and the gun taken in one of them turned upon the Bishop's Palace. These important successes were fortunately obtained with comparatively small loss; Captain McKavett, 8th infantry, being the only officer killed.

“The 22d day of September passed without any active operations in the lower part of the city. The citadel and other works continued to fire at parties exposed to their range, and at the work now occupied by our troops. The guard left in it the preceding night, except Captain Ridgely's company, was relieved at midday by General Quitman's brigade, Captain Bragg's battery was thrown under cover in front of the town to repel any demonstration of cavalry in that quarter. At dawn of day, the height above the Bishop's Palace was carried, and soon after meridian, the palace itself was taken and its guns turned upon the fugitive garrison. The object for which the 2d division was detached had thus been completely accomplished, and I felt confident that with a strong force occupying the road and heights

in his rear, and a good position below the city in our possession, the enemy could not possibly maintain the town.

“During the night of the 22d, the enemy evacuated nearly all his defenses in the lower part of the city. This was reported to me early in the morning of the 23d by General Quitman, who had already meditated an assault upon those works. I immediately sent instructions to that officer, leaving it to his discretion to enter the city, covering his men by the houses and walls, and advance carefully as far as he might deem prudent. After ordering the remainder of the troops as a reserve, under the orders of Brigadier-General Twiggs, I repaired to the abandoned works, and discovered that a portion of General Quitman's brigade had entered the town, and were successfully forcing their way towards the principal plaza. I then ordered up the 2d regiment of Texas mounted volunteers, who entered the city, dismounted, and, under the immediate orders of General Henderson, co-operated with General Quitman's brigade. Captain Bragg's battery was also ordered up, supported by the 3d infantry; and after firing for some time at the cathedral, a portion of it was likewise thrown into the city. Our troops advanced from house to house, and from square to square, until they reached a street but one square in rear of the principal plaza, in and near which the enemy's force was mainly concentrated. This advance was conducted vigorously, but with due caution, and although destructive to the enemy, was attended with but small loss on our part. Captain Ridgely, in the mean time, had served a captured piece in battery No. 1, against the city, until the advance of our men rendered it imprudent to fire in the direction of the cathedral. I was now satisfied that we could operate successfully in the city, and that the enemy had retired from the lower portion of it to make a stand behind his barricades. As General Quitman's brigade had been on duty the previous night, I determined to withdraw the troops to the evacuated works, and concert with General Worth a combined attack upon the town. The troops accordingly fell back deliberately, in good order, and resumed their original positions, General Quitman's brigade being relieved after nightfall by that of General Hamer. On my return to camp, I met an officer

with the intelligence that General Worth, induced by the firing in the lower part of the city, was about making an attack at the upper extremity, which had also been evacuated by the enemy to a considerable distance. I regretted that this information had not reached me before leaving the city, but still deemed it inexpedient to change my orders, and accordingly returned to the camp. A note from General Worth, written at eleven o'clock, P. M., informed me that he had advanced to within a short distance of the principal plaza, and that the mortar (which had been sent to his division in the morning) was doing good execution within effective range of the enemy's position.

"Desiring to make no further attempt upon the city without complete concert as to the lines and mode of approach, I instructed that officer to suspend his advance until I could have an interview with him on the following morning at his headquarters.

"Early on the morning of the 24th, I received, through Colonel Moreno, a communication from General Ampudia, proposing to evacuate the town; which, with the answer, were forwarded with my first despatch. I arranged with Colonel Moreno, a cessation of fire until twelve o'clock, at which hour I would receive the answer of the Mexican general at General Worth's headquarters, to which I soon repaired. In the mean time, General Ampudia had signified to General Worth his desire for a personal interview with me, to which I acceded, and which finally resulted in a capitulation, placing the town and the materiel of war, with certain exceptions, in our possession. A copy of that capitulation was transmitted with my first despatch.

"Upon occupying the city, it was discovered to be of great strength in itself, and to have its approaches carefully and strongly fortified. The town and works were armed with forty-two pieces of cannon, well supplied with ammunition, and manned with a force of at least seven thousand troops of the line, and from two to three thousand irregulars. The force under my orders before Monterey, as exhibited by the accompanying return, was four hundred and twenty-five officers, and six thousand two hundred and twenty men. Our artillery consisted of one ten-inch mortar, two twenty-four-pounder howitzers, and four





The Bishop's Palace.

light field batteries of four guns each—the mortar being the only piece suitable to the operations of a siege.

“Our loss is twelve officers and one hundred and eight men killed, thirty-one officers and three hundred and thirty-seven men wounded. That of the enemy is not known, but is believed considerably to exceed our own.”

At noon of the 20th, General Worth marched from the camp, east of the town, in the direction of the heights west, McCulloch's and Gillispie's companies of rangers forming the reconnoitering party. At night, the division bivouacked almost within range of the guns stationed upon the highest point of the hill on which the Bishop's Palace is situated. At daylight of the 21st, the column was again in motion, and, in a few moments, was turning the point of a ridge, which protruded out toward the enemy's guns, bringing us as near to them as their gunners could desire. They immediately opened upon the column with a howitzer and twelve-pounder, firing shell and round-shot as fast as they could discharge their pieces.

The road now wound in toward a gorge, but not far enough to be out of range of their guns, which still played upon us. Another ridge lay about three-quarters of a mile beyond the

first, around the termination of which the road wound, bringing it under the lofty summit of a height which rises between Palace Hill and the mountains, which arise over us on the west. When the head of the column approached this ridge, a body of Mexican cavalry came dashing around that point to charge upon our advance. Captain Gillespie immediately ordered his men to dismount and place themselves in ambush. The enemy evidently did not perceive this manœuvre; but the moment they came up, the Texans opened upon them a most destructive fire, unsaddling a number of them. McCulloch's company now dashed into them. Captain C. F. Smith's camp, and Captain Scott's camp of artillery, (acting as infantry,) and Lieutenant Longstreet's company of the 8th infantry, with another company of the same regiment, likewise charged upon the enemy. The Texan horsemen were soon engaged with them in a sort of hand to hand skirmish, in which a number of them fell, and one Texan was killed and two wounded.

Colonel Duncan now opened upon them with his battery of light artillery, pouring a few discharges of grape upon them, and scattering them like chaff. Several men and horses fell under this destructive fire. One horse and his rider bounded some feet into the air, and both fell dead and tumbled down the steep. The foot companies above named then rushed up the steep, and fired over the ridge at the retreating enemy, a considerable body of whom were concealed from our view, around the point of the hill. About thirty of the enemy were killed in this skirmish, and among them a captain, who, with two or three others, fell in the road. The captain was wounded in three places, the last shot hitting him in the forehead. He fought gallantly to the last.

The light batteries, one of which was commanded by Lieutenant Mackall, were now driven upon the slope of the ridge, and the howitzers opened upon the height of Palace Hill. A few shots only were thrown, before the enemy commenced firing with a nine-pounder from the height immediately over the right of the column, aiming at Duncan's batteries. The several regiments took positions, and a few more shells were thrown towards Palace Hill, but did no execution. The nine-pounder continued



to throw its shot with great precision at our batteries, one ball falling directly in the midst of the pieces, but, fortunately, hitting neither men nor guns. Finding his batteries thus exposed, and unable to effect any thing, Colonel Duncan removed his command to a rancho about half a mile further up the Saltillo road, where General Worth took up his position, after ordering the foot regiments to form along the fence near the point of the ridge. The artillery battalion, 5th, 7th, and 8th infantry, and the Louisiana volunteers, remained in this position about two hours, directly under fire of the enemy's guns.

At half-past ten, the column moved towards the general's position. At this time, Captain McKavett, of the 8th infantry, was shot through the heart by a nine-pound ball, and a private of the 5th infantry was severely wounded in the thigh, and he died the next morning. About fifty Mexicans now appeared upon the side hill over the moving column, and fired at our troops some hundred musket-shot, without doing any harm. The division deployed into the position pointed out, and remained an hour or two, when Captain C. F. Smith, of the artillery battalion, with his own company, and Captain Scott's, together with four companies of Texan Rangers on foot, were ordered to storm the second height. This the gallant officer cheerfully undertook, and was followed with enthusiasm by the officers and men of his command. It was considered on all sides to be a dangerous undertaking, and his party was regarded most emphatically as a *forlorn hope*. That the height would be taken no one doubted, but that many brave fellows would fall in the attempt seemed inevitable. The distance to be climbed, after reaching the foot of the hill, was about a quarter of a mile; a part of the way almost perpendicular, through thorn-bushes and over sharp-pointed rocks and loose sliding stones.

The 7th infantry, commanded by Captain Miles, was ordered to support Captain Smith's party, and by marching directly to the foot of the height, arrived before Captain Smith, who had been ordered to take a circuitous route. Captain Miles sent up Lieutenant Gantt, with a detachment of men upon the hill-side, to divert the attention of the enemy from Captain Smith's command, which could not yet be seen. The 7th had already sus-



tained a heavy fire of grape and round-shot, as they forded the San Juan, which winds round the foot of the height, and which fell like a shower of hail in their ranks without killing a man. Lieutenant Gantt's party were greeted with grape and round-shot, which cut the shrubs, and tore up the loose stones about the ranks, without killing any one ; but the gallant young officer came within an inch of being killed by a cannon-shot, which ran down the steep and filled his face with fragments of rock, dust, and gravel. The fire was accompanied by a constant discharge of musketry, the enemy covering the upper part of the hill-side ; but the detachment continued to move up, driving the Mexicans back, until they were recalled.

Captain Smith's party now arrived and moved up the hill, the rangers in advance, and did not halt for an instant until the Mexicans were driven from the summit. Whilst this was going on, Colonel Persifer F. Smith, who commanded the 5th and 7th infantry—the 5th, with Blanchard's Louisiana boys, under Major Martin Scott, had been ordered to support the whole—gave orders for these commands to pass around on each side and storm the fort, which was situated about half a mile back of the summit on the same ridge, and commanded the Bishop's Palace. Such a foot-race as now ensued has seldom if ever been seen ; the Louisiana boys making tremendous strides to be in with the foremost. Captain Smith had the gun which he took upon the height, run down towards the breast-works, and fired into it. Then came Colonel P. F. Smith's men with a perfect rush, firing and cheering—the 5th and 7th, and Louisianians, reaching the ridge above nearly at the same time. The Mexicans fired us with grape, but it did not cause an instant's hesitation in our ranks. Our men ran, and fired, and cheered until they reached the work, the foremost entering at one end, while the Mexicans, about a thousand in number, left the other in retreat. The colours of the 5th infantry were instantly raised, and scarcely were they up before those of the 7th were alongside. The three commands entered the fort together—so close was the race—the 5th a little in advance. J. W. Miller, of Blanchard's company, was among the first four or five who entered. The three commands may be said to have come

out even in the race, for the 7th was not five seconds behind. In less than five minutes the gun found in the fort was thundering away at the Bishop's Palace.

On the morning of the 21st, Colonel Childs, of the artillery battalion, with three of his companies—one commanded by Captain Vinton, another by Captain J. B. Scott, and the third by Lieutenant Ayres—and three companies of the 8th infantry—company A, commanded by Lieutenants Longstreet and Wainwright; company B, by Lieutenants Halloway and Merchant; company D, by Captain Scrivner and Lieutenant Montgomery—were ordered to take the summit of Palace Hill.

The colonel left the camp at three o'clock, A. M., and climbed the mountain through the chaparral, and up the steep rocks, with such secrecy, that at daybreak he was within one hundred yards of the breastwork of sandbags before he was discovered. Three of the artillerymen having rushed ahead too fast, found themselves in the hands of the Mexicans. They surrendered, and were shot down with the very pieces they had given up.

Colonel Staniford went up at daylight with the balance of the 8th, and Major Scott led up the 5th. The Louisiana troops were on the hill, with the 5th, at eight o'clock, A. M. One of Duncan's howitzers, in charge of Lieutenant Rowland, was dragged up, or rather *lifted* up, and opened on the palace, which was filled with troops. The Mexicans charged on the howitzer, but were driven back. A constant firing was kept up for several hours, particularly by Blanchard's men, who left a dozen Mexicans dead upon the hill-side. At length a charge was ordered, and our men rushed down upon the palace, entered a hole in a door that had been blocked up, but opened by the howitzer, and soon cleared the work of the few Mexicans who remained. Lieutenant Ayres was the lucky one who first reached the halcyards and lowered the flag. One eighteen-pound brass piece, a beautiful article, manufactured in Liverpool in 1842, and a short brass twelve-pound howitzer, were captured, with a large quantity of ammunition, and some muskets and lances.

The fort adjoining the palace walls is not complete, but is





Street Fight on General Worth's side.

very neatly constructed as far as it is built. The killed on our side, in taking the palace, were seven—wounded, twelve. Lieutenant Wainwright was wounded in the side and arm by a musket-ball. Colonel Childs, Captain Vinton, Captain Blanchard, Lieutenant Longstreet, Lieutenant Clark, (adjutant of the 8th,) Lieutenant Ayres, Lieutenant McCown, and the two Nicholls, seem to have been the heroes of the day. The two latter performed prodigies, and not only Judge Nicholls, but old Louisiana may well be proud of such sons. The Mexicans lost at least thirty killed.

On the next day, the whole division under General Worth entered the town on the west side, and fought their way through the streets. The heart of the city was nothing but one fortification, the thick walls being pierced for muskets and cannon, and placed so as to rake the principal streets. The roofs being flat, and the front walls rising three or four feet above the roof, of course every street had a line of breastworks on each side. A ten-inch mortar came around from General Taylor, and was placed in the largest plaza, to which our troops fought step by step and from house to house. General Worth gained all the strongholds that commanded the city, and pushed the enemy as



far as they could go without falling into General Taylor's hands on the other side of the city. All this was done with the loss of only about seventy killed and wounded.

On the evening of the 23d, General Ampudia requested of the American commander that the women and children might be allowed to remove from the city, with their personal effects. This was refused. On the following morning, a proposal was offered, of surrendering the city on condition that the Mexicans might retain all the personal and military property belonging to it. This was refused but at the same time each general named commissioners to negotiate a capitulation. A personal interview subsequently took place between Taylor and Ampudia, and Monterey finally surrendered on the following terms.

ART. 1. As the legitimate result of the operations before this place, and the present position of the contending armies, it is agreed that the city, the fortifications, cannon, the munitions of war, and all other public property, with the under-mentioned exceptions, be surrendered to the commanding general of the United States forces now at Monterey.

ART. 2. That the Mexican forces be allowed to retain the following arms, to wit: the commissioned officers their side arms, the infantry their arms and accoutrements, the cavalry their arms and accoutrements, the artillery one field battery, not to exceed six pieces, with twenty-one rounds of ammunition.

ART. 3. That the Mexican armed forces retire within seven days from this date, beyond the line formed by the pass of the Rinconada, the city of Linares, and San Fernando de Casas.

ART. 4. That the citadel at Monterey be evacuated by the Mexican, and occupied by the American forces, to-morrow morning at ten o'clock.

ART. 5. To avoid collisions, and for mutual convenience, that the troops of the United States will not occupy the city until the Mexican forces have withdrawn, except for hospital and storage purposes.

ART. 6. That the forces of the United States will not advance beyond the line specified in the 2d [3d] article, before the expiration of eight weeks, or until the orders or instructions of the respective governments can be received.

ART. 7. That the public property to be delivered shall be turned over and received by officers appointed by the commanding generals of the two armies.

ART. 8. That all doubts as to the meaning of any of the preceding articles shall be solved by an equitable construction, and on principles of liberality to the retiring army.

ART. 9. That the Mexican flag, when struck at the citadel, may be saluted by its own battery.

Monterey became the main depot of General Taylor. It is an excellent city for the head-quarters of an army, being provided with every kind of defense, vast magazines for supplies, hospitals, stores, and good water. Soon after General Wool with the central division of the army, arrived at Monclova, from his famous march against Chihuahua. He was ordered with twenty-four hundred men and six field-pieces to Parras; and General Worth with twenty-five hundred men and eight pieces to Saltillo. Both these places were occupied without opposition.



Worth at Monterey.



Santa Anna.

## CHAPTER V.

*Battle of Buena Vista.*

WEEK before the capture of Monterey, Santa Anna had received the appointment of military dictator, and immediately proceeded to San Luis Potosi, to hasten the raising of an efficient army. In November he found himself at the head of twenty thousand men, most of them raw recruits, and poorly equipped. It was his wish to clothe and discipline this force before marching against Taylor, but such was the popular clamour for immediate action, that faction began again to show herself. Some even denounced him as a traitor. Accordingly the general was obliged to sacrifice his superior judgment to the popular will, and in the same month we find him proceeding slowly toward his opponent's camp.



About this time General Taylor received a letter from the war department, announcing that the terms of capitulation at Monterey, had not met the approval of government, and directing him immediately to recommence hostilities. This he announced to Santa Anna, requesting at the same time the release of some prisoners detained at San Luis. The Mexican commander answered in a courteous manner, acknowledging the end of the truce, and liberated the prisoners, paying the expenses of their journey.

On the 15th of December, Taylor marched to meet his enemy. Information had been received that General Urrea, with a large body of cavalry, was threatening Victoria; and that Santa Anna with the main army was rapidly approaching Saltillo. General Patterson was in command at this place; and anxious for his safety, the commander sent General Quitman to join him with a reinforcement, and with the main army fell back to Monterey. But at this time Wool entered Saltillo with fresh troops, enabling General Taylor again to advance toward Victoria, which he reached on the 30th. At this place he received a letter from General Scott, requesting nearly all his regular troops for the campaign on the gulf coast, thus again forcing him to retire to Monterey. Here he remained until February, when the arrival of volunteers, swelling his force to five thousand men, enabled him again to press forward.

On the 2d of this month, General Santa Anna left San Luis Potosi, at the head of twenty-three thousand men, and after a march in which his troops sustained difficulties of the most appalling nature, he approached General Taylor's position [February 20th] at Agua Nueva. On the same day the latter broke up his camp, and retired to a strong mountain pass, called Angostura, three miles from the hacienda of Buena Vista. While removing some stores a small party of Americans was defeated by the Mexicans; and at noon on the 22d, General Taylor was summoned to surrender. We give his own account of the subsequent operations:

"Our troops were in position, occupying a line of remarkable strength. The road at its point becomes a narrow defile, the valley on its right being rendered quite impracticable for artillery

by a system of deep and impassable gulleys, while on the left a succession of rugged ridges and precipitous ravines extend far back toward the mountain which bounds the valley. The features of the ground were such as nearly to paralyze the artillery and cavalry of the enemy, while his infantry could not derive all the advantage of its numerical superiority. In this position we prepared to receive him. Captain Washington's battery (4th artillery) was posted to command the road, while the 1st and 2d Illinois regiments, under Colonels Hardin and Bissell, each eight companies, (to the latter of which was attached Captain Conner's company of Texas volunteers,) and the 2d Kentucky, under Colonel McKee, occupied the crests of the ridges on the left and in rear. The Arkansas and Kentucky regiments of cavalry, commanded by Colonels Yell and H. Marshall, occupied the extreme left near the base of the mountain, while the Indiana brigade, under Brigadier-General Lane, (composed of the 2d and 3d regiments, under Colonels Bowles and Lane,) the Mississippi riflemen, under Colonel Davis, the squadrons of the 1st and 2d dragoons, under Captain Steen and Lieutenant-Colonel May, and the light batteries of Captains Sherman and Bragg, 3d artillery, were held in reserve.

"At eleven o'clock I received from General Santa Anna a summons to surrender at discretion, which, with a copy of my reply, I have already transmitted. The enemy still forbore his attack, evidently waiting for the arrival of his rear columns, which could be distinctly seen by our look-outs as they approached the field. A demonstration made on his left caused me to detach the 2d Kentucky regiment and a section of artillery to our right, in which position they bivouacked for the night. In the mean time the Mexican light troops had engaged ours on the extreme left (composed of parts of the Kentucky and Arkansas cavalry, dismounted, and a rifle battalion from the Indiana brigade, under Major Gorman, the whole commanded by Colonel Marshall,) and kept up a sharp fire, climbing the mountain side, and apparently endeavouring to gain our flank. Three pieces of Captain Washington's battery had been detached to the left, and were supported by the 2d Indiana regiment. An occasional shell was thrown by the enemy into this

part of our line, but without effect. The skirmishing of the light troops was kept up with trifling loss on our part until dark, when I became convinced that no serious attack would be made before the morning, and returned, with the Mississippi regiment and squadron of 2d dragoons, to Saltillo. The troops bivouacked without fires, and laid upon their arms. A body of cavalry, some fifteen hundred strong, had been visible all day in rear of the town, having entered the valley through a narrow pass east of the city. This cavalry, commanded by General Minon, had evidently been thrown in our rear to break up and harass our retreat, and perhaps make some attempt against the town if practicable. The city was occupied by four excellent companies of Illinois volunteers, under Major Warren of the 1st regiment. A field-work, which commanded most of the approaches, was garrisoned by Captain Webster's company, 1st artillery, and armed with two twenty-four-pound howitzers, while the train and head-quarter camp was guarded by two companies of Mississippi riflemen, under Captain Rogers, and a field-piece commanded by Captain Shover, 3d artillery. Having made these dispositions for the protection of the rear, I proceeded on the morning of the 23d to Buena Vista, ordering forward all the other available troops. The action had commenced before my arrival on the field.

“During the evening and night of the 22d, the enemy had thrown a body of light troops on the mountain side, with the purpose of outflanking our left; and it was here that the action of the 23d commenced at an early hour. Our riflemen, under Colonel Marshall, who had been reinforced by three companies under Major Trail, 2d Illinois volunteers, maintained their ground handsomely against a greatly superior force, holding themselves under cover, and using their weapons with deadly effect. About eight o'clock a strong demonstration was made against the centre of our position, a heavy column moving along the road. This force was soon dispersed by a few rapid and well-directed shots from Captain Washington's battery. In the mean time the enemy was concentrating a large force of infantry and cavalry under cover of the ridges, with the obvious intention of forcing our left, which was posted on an extensive plateau.



The 2d Indiana, and 2d Illinois regiments formed this part of our line, the former covering three pieces of light artillery, under the orders of Captain O'Brien—Brigadier-General Lane being in the immediate command. In order to bring his men within effective range, General Lane ordered the artillery and 2d Indiana regiment forward. The artillery advanced within musket range of a heavy body of Mexican infantry, and was served against it with great effect, but without being able to check its advance. The infantry ordered to its support had fallen back in disorder, being exposed, as well as the battery, not only to a severe fire of small arms from the front, but also to a murderous cross-fire of grape and canister from a Mexican battery on the left. Captain O'Brien found it impossible to retain his position without support, but was only able to withdraw two of his pieces, all the horses and cannoneers of the third piece being killed or disabled. The 2d Indiana regiment, which had fallen back as stated, could not be rallied, and took no further part in the action, except a handful of men, who, under its gallant colonel, Bowles, joined the Mississippi regiment, and did good service, and those fugitives, who, at a later period in the day, assisted in defending the train and depot at Buena Vista. This portion of our line having given way, and the enemy appearing in overwhelming force against our left flank, the light troops which had rendered such good service on the mountain were compelled to withdraw, which they did, for the most part, in good order. Many, however, were not rallied until they reached the depot at Buena Vista, to the defense of which they afterwards contributed.

“Colonel Bissell’s regiment, (2d Illinois,) which had been joined by a section of Captain Sherman’s battery, had become completely outflanked, and was compelled to fall back, being entirely unsupported. The enemy was now pouring masses of infantry and cavalry along the base of the mountain on our left, and was gaining our rear in great force. At this moment I arrived upon the field. The Mississippi regiment had been directed to the left before reaching the position, and immediately came into action against the Mexican infantry which had turned our flank. The 2d Kentucky regiment, and a section ofartil-



Battle of Buena Vista.

lery under Captain Bragg, had previously been ordered from the right to reinforce our left, and arrived at a most opportune moment. That regiment, and a portion of the 1st Illinois, under Colonel Hardin, gallantly drove the enemy, and recovered a portion of the ground we had lost. The batteries of Captains Sherman and Bragg were in position on the plateau, and did much execution, not only in front, but particularly upon the masses which had gained our rear. Discovering that the enemy was heavily pressing upon the Mississippi regiment, the 3d Indiana regiment, under Colonel Lane, was despatched to strengthen that part of our line, which formed a crotchet perpendicular to the first line of battle. At the same time Lieutenant Kilburn, with a piece of Captain Bragg's battery, was directed to support the infantry there engaged. The action was, for a long time, warmly sustained at that point—the enemy making several efforts, both with infantry and cavalry, against our line, and being always repulsed with heavy loss. I had placed all the regular cavalry, and Captain Pike's squadron of Arkansas horse, under the orders of Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel May, with directions to hold in check the enemy's column, still advancing to the rear along the base of the mountain, which was done in conjunction with the Kentucky and Arkansas cavalry under Colonels Marshall and Yell.



“In the mean time our left, which was still strongly threatened by a superior force, was farther strengthened by the detachment of Captain Bragg’s, and a portion of Captain Sherman’s batteries to that quarter. The concentration of artillery fire upon the masses of the enemy along the base of the mountain, and the determined resistance offered by the two regiments opposed to them, had created confusion in their ranks, and some of the corps attempted to effect a retreat upon their main line of battle. The squadron of the 1st dragoons, under Lieutenant Rucker, was now ordered up the deep ravine which these retreating corps were endeavouring to cross, in order to charge and disperse them. The squadron proceeded to the point indicated, but could not accomplish the object, being exposed to a heavy fire from a battery established to cover the retreat of those corps. While the squadron was detached on this service, a large body of the enemy was observed to concentrate on our extreme left, apparently with a view of making a descent upon the hacienda of Buena Vista, where our train and baggage were deposited. Lieutenant-Colonel May was ordered to the support of that point, with two pieces of Captain Sherman’s battery under Lieutenant Reynolds. In the mean time, the scattered forces near the hacienda, composed in part of Majors Trail and Gorman’s commands, had been, to some extent, organized under the advice of Major Munroe, chief of artillery, with the assistance of Major Morrison, volunteer staff, and were posted to defend the position. Before our cavalry had reached the hacienda, that of the enemy had made its attack; having been handsomely met by the Kentucky and Arkansas cavalry under Colonels Marshall and Yell. The Mexican column immediately divided, one portion sweeping by the depot, where it received a destructive fire from the force which had collected there, and then gaining the mountain opposite, under a fire from Lieutenant Reynold’s section, the remaining portion regaining the base of the mountain on our left. In the charge at Buena Vista, Colonel Yell fell gallantly at the head of his regiment; we also lost Adjutant Vaughan, of the Kentucky cavalry—a young officer of much promise. Lieutenant-Colonel May, who had been rejoined by the squadron of the 1st dragoons, and by portions of the Arkansas and Indiana





General Taylor at Buena Vista.

troops, under Lieutenant-Colonel Roane and Major Gorman, now approached the base of the mountain, holding in check the right flank of the enemy, upon whose masses, crowded in the narrow gorges and ravines, our artillery was doing fearful execution.

“The position of that portion of the Mexican army which had gained our rear was now very critical, and it seemed doubtful whether it could regain the main body. At this moment I received from General Santa Anna a message by a staff officer, desiring to know what I wanted? I immediately despatched Brigadier-General Wool to the Mexican general-in-chief, and sent orders to cease firing. Upon reaching the Mexican lines General Wool could not cause the enemy to cease their fire, and accordingly returned without having an interview. The extreme right of the enemy continued its retreat along the base of the mountain, and finally, in spite of all our efforts, effected a junction with the remainder of the army.

“During the day, the cavalry of General Minon had ascended the elevated plain above Saltillo, and occupied the road from the city to the field of battle, where they intercepted several of our men. Approaching the town, they were fired upon by Captain Webster from the redoubt occupied by his company, and then moved off towards the eastern side of the valley, and obliquely

towards Buena Vista. At this time, Captain Shover moved rapidly forward with his piece, supported by a miscellaneous command of mounted volunteers, and fired several shots at the cavalry with great effect. They were driven into the ravines which lead to the lower valley, closely pursued by Captain Shover, who was farther supported by a piece of Captain Webster's battery, under Lieutenant Donaldson, which had advanced from the redoubt, supported by Captain Wheeler's company of Illinois volunteers. The enemy made one or two efforts to charge the artillery, but was finally driven back in a confused mass, and did not again appear upon the plain.

"In the mean time, the firing had partially ceased upon the principal field. The enemy seemed to confine his efforts to the protection of his artillery, and I had left the plateau for a moment, when I was recalled thither by a very heavy musketry fire. On regaining that position, I discovered that our infantry (Illinois and 2d Kentucky) had engaged a greatly superior force of the enemy—evidently his reserve—and that they had been overwhelmed by numbers. The moment was most critical. Captain O'Brien, with two pieces, had sustained this heavy charge to the last, and was finally obliged to leave his guns on the field—his infantry support being entirely routed. Captain Bragg, who had just arrived from the left, was ordered at once into battery. Without any infantry to support him, and at the imminent risk of losing his guns, this officer came rapidly into action, the Mexican line being but a few yards from the muzzle of his pieces. The first discharge of canister caused the enemy to hesitate, the second and third drove him back in disorder, and saved the day. The 2d Kentucky regiment, which had advanced beyond supporting distance in this affair, was driven back and closely pressed by the enemy's cavalry. Taking a ravine which led in the direction of Captain Washington's battery, their pursuers became exposed to his fire, which soon checked and drove them back with loss. In the mean time, the rest of our artillery had taken position on the plateau, covered by the Mississippi and 3d Indiana regiments, the former of which had reached the ground in time to pour a fire into the right flank of the enemy, and thus contribute to his repulse. In this last conflict



we had the misfortune to sustain a very heavy loss, Colonel Hardin, 1st Illinois, and Colonel McKee and Lieutenant-Colonel Clay, 2d Kentucky regiment, fell at this time while gallantly leading their commands.

“No farther attempt was made by the enemy to force our position, and the approach of night gave an opportunity to pay proper attention to the wounded, and also to refresh the soldiers, who had been exhausted by incessant watchfulness and combat. Though the night was severely cold, the troops were compelled for the most to bivouac without fires, expecting that morning would renew the conflict. During the night the wounded were removed to Saltillo, and every preparation made to receive the enemy, should he again attack our position. Seven fresh companies were drawn from the town, and Brigadier-General Marshall, with a reinforcement of Kentucky cavalry and four heavy guns, under Captain Prentiss, 1st artillery, was near at hand, when it was discovered that the enemy had abandoned his position during the night. Our scouts soon ascertained that he had fallen back upon Agua Nueva. The great disparity of numbers, and the exhaustion of our troops, rendered it inexpedient and hazardous to attempt pursuit. A staff officer was despatched to General Santa Anna to negotiate an exchange of prisoners, which was satisfactorily completed on the following day. Our own dead were collected and buried, and the Mexican wounded, of which a large number had been left upon the field, were removed to Saltillo, and rendered as comfortable as circumstances would permit.

“On the evening of the 26th, a close reconnoissance was made of the enemy’s position, which was found to be occupied only by a small body of cavalry, the infantry and artillery having retreated in the direction of San Luis Potosi. On the 27th, our troops resumed their former camp at Agua Nueva, the enemy’s rear-guard evacuating the place as we approached, leaving a considerable number of wounded. It was my purpose to beat up his quarters at Encarnacion early the next morning, but upon examination, the weak condition of the cavalry horses rendered it unadvisable to attempt so long a march without water. A command was finally despatched to Encarnacion, on



the 1st of March, under Colonel Belknap. Some two hundred wounded, and about sixty Mexican soldiers were found there, the army having passed on in the direction of Matehuala, with greatly reduced numbers, and suffering much from hunger. The dead and dying were strewn upon the road and crowded the buildings of the hacienda.

The American force engaged in the action of Buena Vista is shown, by the accompanying field report, to have been three hundred and forty-four officers, and four thousand four hundred and twenty-five men, exclusive of the small command left in and near Saltillo. Of this number, two squadrons of cavalry and three batteries of light artillery, making not more than four hundred and fifty-three men, composed the only force of regular troops. The strength of the Mexican army is stated by General Santa Anna, in his summons, to be twenty thousand; and that estimate is confirmed by all the information since obtained. Our loss is two hundred and sixty-seven killed, four hundred and fifty-six wounded, and twenty-three missing. Of the numerous wounded, many did not require removal to the hospital, and it is hoped that a comparatively small number will be permanently disabled. The Mexican loss in killed and wounded may be fairly estimated at fifteen hundred, and will probably reach two thousand. At least five hundred of their killed were left upon the field of battle. We have no means of ascertaining the number of deserters and dispersed men from their ranks, but it is known to be very great.

“Our loss has been especially severe in officers, twenty-eight having been killed upon the field. We have to lament the death of Captain George Lincoln, assistant adjutant-general, serving in the staff of General Wool—a young officer of high bearing and approved gallantry, who fell early in the action. No loss falls more heavily upon the army in the field than that of Colonels Hardin and McKee, and Lieutenant-Colonel Clay. Possessing, in a remarkable degree, the confidence of their commands, and the last two having enjoyed the advantage of a military education, I had looked particularly to them for support in case we met the enemy. I need not say that their zeal in engaging the enemy, and the cool and steadfast courage with

which they maintained their positions during the day, fully realized my hopes, and caused me to feel yet more sensibly their untimely loss."

The artillery was the arm which won the battle of Buena Vista; and none distinguished themselves more in its management than Captains O'Brien and Bragg. They sustained, singly, the charge of the whole body of the enemy's lancers, a force numbering some thousands more than their own; and although each moment expecting that the crushing avalanche would sweep over guns and horses, yet they remained firm at their post, until victory was certain. The situation of O'Brien was peculiarly trying. A tremendous cross fire of the enemy swept across the field, whistling and rattling on the stony surface, and driving back the small body of infantry which had been ordered to support him. At that moment he paused, and looking behind, the danger of his situation burst upon him. Before him were the heavy columns of lancers, their trampling horses crowding upon each other, and the long rows of lances glittering and dancing in the sunshine; in the rear and flanks were the infantry, whose artillery had already driven away his only support. If he yielded, the day was lost; if he stood, he might be crushed to pieces. Two horses had fallen under him, and he had received a wound in the leg. Most of his cannoneers were dead or wounded, and some of the guns perfectly idle. He resolved to stand. Riding round and round his guns, he cheered his men for the terrible encounter, and exhorted them not to fire until the cavalry were within a few yards of the muzzles. On they came, shaking the earth under the gallop of their horses. Nearer and nearer they drew, until the raised hoof almost struck the cannon, when a roar like thunder burst forth, and scores of steeds and riders reeled back upon their startled companions. Then for a moment all was confusion, and the huge mass swayed to and fro in fearful uncertainty. But they again formed, and prepared for a decisive struggle. This was a fearful moment; hundreds of anxious eyes were bent intensely on the few devoted men, who were thus battling in the jaws of death. At this moment, the steadiness of the young cannoneers forsook them. They were unable to maintain their stations, and their captain grew pale

with excitement, as he felt that victory was wrenched from his grasp. Slowly and sternly he left his guns, and retired to join the other artillery. But he was not unrewarded; he had remained long enough to enable reinforcements to arrive; and to him, as much as to any man on the field, was the final victory owing.

Equally perilous was the service of Captain Bragg. All day his force was moving over the field, engaged at every point where it could be of any avail. When we remember that all his movements were across rocks and gulleys where it was almost impossible to travel, we will have a better idea of their importance. Charge after charge was made upon him, and often he was forced to leave his heaviest artillery in some unprotected position, in order to arrive at a threatened position in time to be of service. He thus describes his last encounter with the enemy: "Knowing the importance of my presence, I left some of my heaviest carriages, and pushed on with such as could move most rapidly. Having gained a point from which my guns could be used, I put them in battery and loaded with canister. Now, for the first time, I felt the imminent peril in which we stood. Our infantry was routed, our advanced artillery captured, and the enemy in heavy force coming upon us at a run. Feeling that the day depended upon the successful stand of our artillery, I appealed to the commanding general, who was near, for support. None was to be had; and, under his instructions to maintain our position at every hazard, I returned to my battery, encouraged my men, and when the enemy arrived within good range, poured forth the canister as rapidly as my guns could be loaded. At the first discharge I observed the enemy falter, and in a short time he was in full retreat. A very heavy loss must have been sustained by him, however, before he got beyond our range. My guns were now advanced several hundred yards, and opened on a position held by the enemy, with a battery of heavier calibre than our own—the same from which our left flank had been driven in the afternoon. Under the support of the Mississippi regiment, I continued my fire until convinced that nothing could be effected—the enemy holding an eminence from which we could not dislodge him without a sacrifice which might compromise the success of the day. About sunset I with-



drew my battery into the ravine in rear of our line, and took a position for the night from which I could readily move to any assailable point. Here I remained, officers and men on the alert, and horses in harness."

Had the Mexicans managed their artillery with the same bravery as did these two intrepid officers, the American army must have been cut to pieces. Captain Bragg discharged *two hundred and fifty* rounds of ammunition from each of his guns; and during the whole battle, the ground seemed to reel with the incessant peals of heavy cannon. As the batteries poured forth their fiery showers, whole companies sunk shrieking to the ground; and in the morning, the masses of dead and dying, piled upon one another, told a fearful narrative of the artillery of the preceding day.

The evening of the 23d found both armies in the same relative position, and on the same ground they had occupied in the morning. During the night, however, Santa Anna withdrew his shattered forces toward Potosi. The Americans expected an attack before morning, and were prepared for it; but, under cover of the darkness, Santa Anna withdrew his starving followers to Agua Nueva. Soon afterward General Taylor fell back toward Monterey.

On the 2d of March an escort of two hundred men, and a train of one hundred and fifty wagons, under Major Giddings, was attacked by General Urrea, at the head of a large party of lancers. The attack was so sudden that the train and escort were divided into two parties, the smaller of which Urrea summoned to surrender. A desultory conflict ensued in which the Americans succeeded in reuniting, and repelling their opponents with the loss of about forty. The major had two soldiers killed and fifteen teamsters. He proceeded without further molestation to Seralvo, where Colonel Curtis arrived in a few days with reinforcements, and assumed command. The whole party then commenced a pursuit of Urrea, which was continued until the 16th, when it met General Taylor with a portion of the main army, also in pursuit. The whole force consisting of May's dragoons, Bragg's artillery, and Colonel Curtis's men, led by General Taylor, pushed after the Mexicans with renewed

vigour; but, notwithstanding every exertion, Urrea succeeded in escaping beyond the mountains.

After this pursuit, General Taylor retired to Walnut Springs, where, on account of the small number of his troops, he was obliged to remain inactive during the summer and fall of 1847. In December he visited the United States, intending to remain with his family until his services should be further required by government.



Head Muleteer and Servant.



Brigadier-General Stephen W. Kearny.

## CHAPTER VI.

*Occupation of California and New Mexico.*

IN May, 1846, President Polk was authorized by Congress to accept the services of fifty thousand volunteers, to continue the war which had commenced on the Rio Grande. Of this number ten companies composed a force destined to act against Santa Fe. They were formed of five companies United States dragoons, two of foot, two light artillery, and one volunteer horse. This army was placed under the direction of Colonel Stephen W. Kearny, who, in a confidential letter from Secretary Marcy, dated June 3d, 1846, received in substance the following instructions: To or



ganize for the expedition an additional force of one thousand men, in order to proceed from Santa Fe against Upper California; to establish a government there after taking possession; to receive as volunteers a number of Mormon and other emigrants, recently settled in the province; to co-operate with the naval force in the Pacific; to open trade with the Indians; and to respect the rights of the Californians. The letter concludes as follows: "I am directed by the president to say that the rank of brevet brigadier-general will be conferred on you as soon as you commence your movement towards California, and sent round to you by sea, or over the country, or to the care of the commandant of our squadron in the Pacific. In that way cannon, arms, ammunition, and supplies for the land forces, will be sent you."

The depot of Kearny's force was Fort Leavenworth. On the 27th of June his advance commenced its march; and by the 1st of August more than sixteen hundred men were concentrated at Bent's fort, having marched a distance of five hundred and sixty-four miles. The march was resumed on the 3d, and after a toilsome journey over frightful prairies, they arrived, August 12th, at the mountains near the Rio Grande.

Signs of hostility now began to appear; and messages arrived from General Armigo, governor of Santa Fe, requesting Kearny to advance no further, or at least to consent to negotiations for peace. The tone of these was dignified but earnest. The American commander replied that he came to take possession; that the peaceable inhabitants should be well treated, but that the vengeance of both army and government would be poured upon all others. On the march the colonel received a despatch from government constituting him brigadier-general.

On the 18th of August General Kearny took possession of Santa Fe, in the name of the United States. The oath of allegiance was administered to the alcalde and inhabitants, and a military territorial government established. No opposition was experienced, Governor Armigo and his army having fled at the approach of the Americans. General Kearny was proclaimed governor, erected a fort, (called Fort Marcy,) and published a proclamation to the inhabitants.

After seeing every thing in a state of tranquillity, General Kearny commenced his march, September 25th, for the distant region of California.

Before the general had accomplished this arduous undertaking, Colonel Doniphan, with his citizen volunteers, commenced one of equal magnitude, and pregnant with events of paramount importance. When Kearny left Santa Fe he ordered the colonel to proceed as soon as practicable into Chihuahua, and report to General Wool, who with the centre division had been intrusted with the conquering of that province.



ON the 17th of December, Doniphan, with nine hundred and twenty-four men, began his expedition. On the 24th they reached the Jornada lake, into which runs the Brazito river, more than twenty miles from the Passo del Norte, of the eastern mountain range. Here they were informed that the Mexicans, to the number of one thousand, were collected at the Pass, ready for an attack. The Americans numbered about six hundred, the remainder being sick. On the afternoon of the following day, (Christmas,) the enemy were seen approaching, and, when within eight hundred yards, extended themselves so as to cover the American flank. An officer approached, carrying a black flag, and after proclaiming no quarters, rejoined his column, which immediately charged at a rapid gallop. The conflict was but short—the Mexicans being defeated with the loss of thirty killed, and driven into the mountains. Eight were captured, six of whom subsequently died; and their single piece of cannon was also taken. The Americans had seven wounded. On the 27th Doniphan entered the town of El Passo, without resistance, where he was reinforced by Major Clark's artillery.

On the 8th of February, 1847, the whole command (nine hundred and twenty-four men) left the Passo del Norte, and marched for Chihuahua. On the 28th they fought the great battle of Sacramento. This action, with the position itself, is thus described by Colonel Doniphan:

“The Pass of the Sacramento is formed by a point of the mountains on our right, (their left,) extending into the valley on

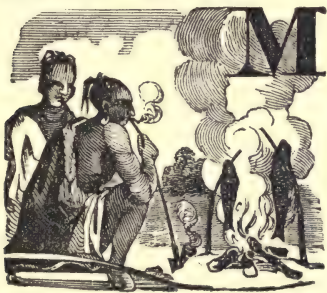
plain, so as to narrow the valley to about one and a half miles. On our left was a deep dry sandy channel of a creek, and between these points the plain rises to sixty feet abruptly. This rise is in the form of a crescent, the convex part being to the north of our forces. On the right from the point of mountains, a narrow part of the plain extends north one and a half miles further than on the left. The main road passes down the centre of the valley, and across the crescent near the left or dry branch. The Sacramento rises in the mountains on the right, and the road falls on to it about one mile below the battle field or intrenchment of the enemy. We ascertained that the enemy had one battery of four guns, two nine and six-pounders on the point of the mountain, (their left,) at a good elevation to sweep the plain; and at a point where the mountain extended furthest into the plain. On our left (their right) they had another battery on an elevation commanding the road, and three intrenchments of two six-pounders, and on the brow of the crescent near the centre, another of two six, and two four and six culverins, or rampart pieces mounted on carriages; and on the crest of the hill, or ascent between the batteries, and the right and left, they had twenty-seven redoubts dug and thrown up, extending at short intervals across the whole ground. In these their infantry were placed and were entirely protected. Their cavalry was drawn up in front of the redoubts, four deep, and in rear of the redoubts, two deep, so as to mask them as far as practicable. \* \*

“We now commenced the action by a brisk fire from our battery, and the enemy unmasked and commenced also. Our fire proved effective at this distance, killing fifteen men, wounding and disabling one of the enemy’s guns. We had two men slightly wounded, and several horses and mules killed. The enemy then slowly retreated behind their works in some confusion, and we resumed our march in our former order, still diverging more to the right to avoid their battery on our left, and their strongest redoubts which were on the left near where the road passes \* \* \* The howitzers charged at speed, and were gallantly sustained by Captain Reid; but by some misunderstanding my order was not given to the other two companies, Parsons’s and Hudson’s. Captain Hudson, anticipating my



order, charged in time to give ample support to the howitzers. Captain Parsons at the same moment came to me, and asked permission for his company to charge the redoubts immediately to the left of Captain Wrightman, which he did very gallantly.

"The remainder of the two battalions of the first regiment were dismounted during the cavalry charge, and following rapidly on foot, and Major Clark advancing as rapidly as practicable, with the remainder of the battery, we charged their redoubts from right to left, with a brisk and deadly fire of riflemen, while Major Clark opened a rapid and well-directed fire on a column of cavalry, attempting to pass to our left so as to attack the wagons and our rear. The fire was so well directed as to force them to fall back, and our riflemen with their cavalry and howitzers, cleared it after an obstinate resistance. Our forces advanced to the very brink of their redoubts, and attacked them with their sabres. When the redoubts were cleared, and the batteries in the centre and our left were silenced, the main battery on our right still continued to pour in a constant and heavy fire, as it had done during the heat of the engagement; but as the whole fate of the battle depended upon carrying the redoubts and centre battery, this one on the right remained unattacked, and the enemy had rallied there five hundred strong.



**M**AJOR CLARK was directed to commence a heavy fire upon it, while Lieutenant-Colonels Mitchell and Jackson, commanding the first battalion, were ordered to remount and charge the battery on the left, while Major Gilpin was directed to pass the second battalion on foot, up the rough ascent of the mountain on the opposite

side. The fire of our battery was so effective as to completely silence theirs, and the rapid advance of our column put them to flight over the mountains in great confusion.

"Thus ended the battle of Sacramento. The force of the enemy was twelve hundred cavalry from Durango and Chihuahua, three hundred artillerists, and fourteen hundred and twenty rancheros, badly armed with lassoes, lances, and machetos, or corn knives, ten

pieces of artillery, two nine, two eight, four six, and two four-pounders, and six culverins, or rampart pieces. \* \* \* \* Our force was nine hundred and twenty-four effective men ; at least one hundred of whom were engaged in holding horses and driving teams. The loss of the enemy was his entire artillery, ten wagons, masses of beans and pinola, and other Mexican provisions, about three hundred killed, about the same number wounded, many of whom have since died, and forty prisoners. The field was literally covered with the dead and wounded, from our artillery and the unerring fire of our riflemen. Night put a stop to the carnage, the battle having commenced about three o'clock. Our loss was one killed, one mortally wounded, and seven so wounded as to recover without any loss of limbs."

On the 1st of March Colonel Doniphan took possession of Chihuahua, where he remained three weeks. At the end of this time, having received orders from General Wool, he marched, April 25th, for Saltillo. On the road, Captain Reid defeated about fifty Indians near El Passo, May 13th, capturing one thousand horses. On the 22d of May the command reached Wool's encampment, and on the 27th, that of General Taylor.

As the term of service of these gallant men had expired, they now commenced their return. Early in June they marched through Matamoras, and on the 16th, arrived at New Orleans. Their reception was most enthusiastic, and they set out for their homes laden with the honours and congratulations of a benefited republic.

Meanwhile a military and naval force under the direction, first, of Commodore Sloat, and afterwards of Commodore Stockton, had taken possession of California and published a proclamation to the inhabitants, claiming it as part of the United States. The head-quarters of his forces was the Ciudad de los Angeles. An elective government was established, officers elected, and a tariff on imports established. Stockton then proceeded to San Francisco. The fleet in the meanwhile blockaded the entire coast of California, and on the 19th of November, 1846, captured the town of Panuco.

While the commodore was congratulating himself upon the favourable condition of affairs, the inhabitants of los Angeles





Capture of Panuco.

suddenly arose in revolt, and compelled the surrender of Captain Gillespie, with thirty men. Immediately after the whole region south of Monterey (California) were in arms. Stockton, accompanied by Colonel Fremont, hastened back, and commenced a desultory war with the insurrectionists, which lasted until January, 1847, when, in the battle of San Gabriel (8th and 9th) the Mexicans were defeated, and subordination restored. Kearny, who had lately arrived in California, was the acting officer in this battle.

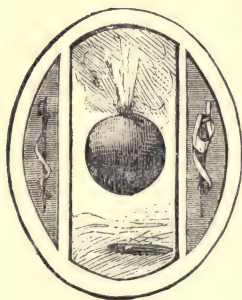
A dispute now arose between Kearny and Stockton concerning the government of California. The former produced his commission as governor from the president; but for several reasons, Stockton declared it null, and in his despatches, relating to the battle of San Gabriel, omits all mention of assistance from the general. To this opinion Colonel Fremont assented. Kearny submitted until the arrival of reinforcements, when Stockton left the territory, and the general arrested Fremont, and sent him to the United States. After a most thorough investigation, which lasted more than two months, he was found guilty of mutiny, disobedience of orders, and unofficer-like conduct, and sentenced to be dismissed from the army. Being recommended, however, to the clemency of the president, the sentence was remitted, and the colonel immediately reported for duty.





General Worth.

## CHAPTER VII.

*Capture of Vera Cruz.*

ON receiving news of the actual commencement of hostilities, at the Rio Grande, General Scott commander-in-chief of the American army, requested of government privilege to join the army of occupation with a large force, and push forward rapidly for the Mexican capital. This was refused, and the commander obliged to remain inactive until November, when he received orders to repair immediately to the seat of war. Accordingly he reached the Rio Grande, January 1st, 1847.

Scott's sphere of operations was different from that of Taylor. With his own troops, and those drawn from the army of occupation, (numbering altogether about twelve thousand,) he had been ordered to proceed against the city of Vera Cruz and its castle, as the first step in a grand scale of operations, the destination of which was the city of Mexico.

After considerable delay in completing necessary arrangements, the fleet under Commodore Conner, having on board the commander and his army, arrived off Vera Cruz. The landing is thus described by the commodore himself:

"The anchorage near this place being extremely contracted, it became necessary, in order to avoid crowding it with an undue number of vessels, to transfer most of the troops to the vessels of war for transportation to Sacrificios. Accordingly, on the morning of the 9th, at daylight, all necessary preparations—such as launching and numbering the boats, detailing officers, &c.—having been previously made, this transfer was commenced. The frigates received on board between twenty-five and twenty-eight hundred men each, with their arms and accoutrements, and the sloops and smaller vessels numbers in proportion. This part of the movement was completed very successfully about eleven o'clock, A. M., and a few minutes thereafter the squadron under my command, accompanied by the commanding general, in the steamship Massachusetts, and such of the transports as had been selected for the purpose, got under way.

"The weather was very fine—indeed we could not have been more favoured in this particular than we were. We had a fresh and yet gentle breeze from the south-east, and a perfectly smooth sea. The passage to Sacrificios occupied us between two and three hours. Each ship came in and anchored without the slightest disorder or confusion, in the small space allotted to her—the harbour being still very much crowded, notwithstanding the number of transports we had left behind. The disembarkation commenced on the instant.

"Whilst we were transferring the troops from the ships to the surf-boats, (sixty-five in number,) I directed the steamers Spitfire and Vixen, and the five gun-boats, to form a line parallel

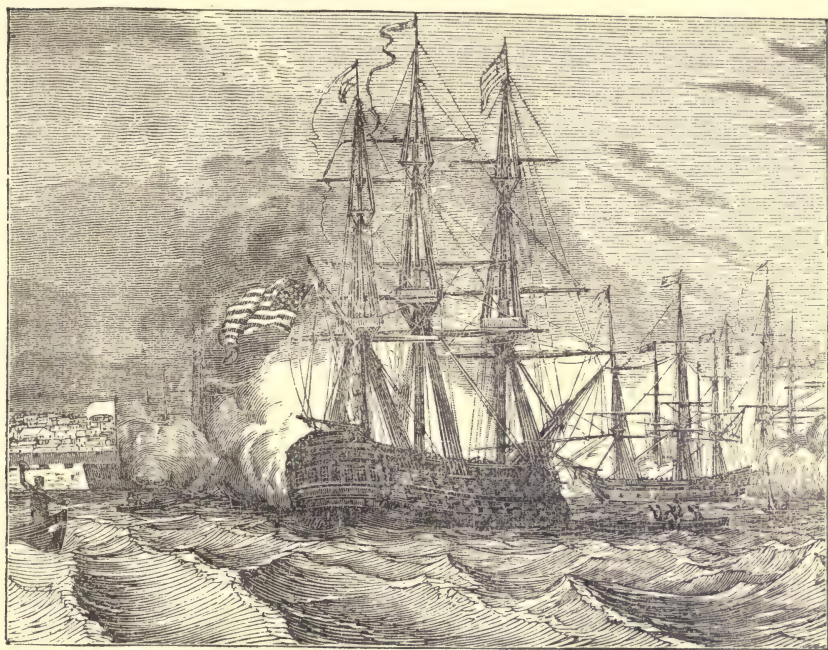
with and close in to the beach, to cover the landing. This order was promptly executed, and these small vessels, from the lightness of their draft, were enabled to take positions within good grape-range of the shore. As the boats severally received their complements of troops, they assembled in a line, abreast, between the fleet and the gun-boats; and when all were ready, they pulled in together, under the guidance of a number of officers of the squadron, who had been detailed for this purpose. General Worth commanded this, the first line of the army, and had the satisfaction of forming his command on the beach and neighbouring heights just before sunset. Four thousand five hundred men were thus thrown on shore, almost simultaneously. No enemy appeared to offer us the slightest opposition. The first line being landed, the boats in successive trips relieved the men-of-war and transports of the remaining troops by ten o'clock, P. M. The whole army, (save a few straggling companies,) consisting of upwards of ten thousand men, were thus safely deposited on shore, without the slightest accident of any kind.

"The officers and seamen under my command vied with each other, on this occasion, in a zealous and energetic performance of their duty. I cannot but express to the department the great satisfaction I have derived from witnessing their efforts to contribute all in their power to the success of their more fortunate brethren of the army. The weather still continuing fine, to-day we are engaged in landing the artillery, horses, provisions, and other materiel. The steamer *New Orleans*, with the Louisiana regiment of volunteers, eight hundred strong, arrived most opportunely at Anton Lizardo, just as we had put ourselves in motion. She joined us, and her troops were landed with the rest. Another transport arrived at this anchorage to-day. Her troops have also been landed."

An account of this celebrated siege we give in General Scott's own words. His first despatch is dated March 23d, 1847:

"Yesterday, seven of our ten-inch mortars being in battery, and the labours for planting the remainder of our heavy metal being in progress, I addressed, at two o'clock, P. M., a summons to the governor of Vera Cruz, and within two hours limited by the bearer of the flag, received the governor's answer. Copies





Siege of Vera Cruz.

of the two papers (marked respectively, A and B) are herewith inclosed.

“It will be perceived that the governor, who it turns out is the commander of both places, chose, against the plain terms of the summons, to suppose me to have demanded the surrender of the castle and of the city—when, in fact, from the non-arrival of our heavy metal—principally mortars—I was in no condition to threaten the former.

“On the return of the flag with that reply, I at once ordered the seven mortars, in battery, to open upon the city. In a short time the smaller vessels of Commodore Perry’s squadron—two steamers and five schooners—according to previous arrangement with him, approached the city within about a mile and an eighth, whence, being partially covered from the castle—an essential condition to their safety—they also opened a brisk fire upon the city. This has been continued, uninterruptedly, by the mortars, only with a few intermissions, by the vessels, up to nine o’clock this

morning, when the commodore very properly called them off a position too daringly assumed.

“Our three remaining mortars are now (twelve o'clock, M) in battery, and the whole ten in activity. To-morrow, early, if the city should continue obstinate, batteries Nos. 4 and 5 will be ready to add their fire: No. 4, consisting of four twenty-four-pounders and two eight-inch paixhan guns, and No. 5, (naval battery,) of three thirty-two-pounders and three eight-inch paixhans—the guns, officers, and sailors landed from the squadron—our friends of the navy being unremitting in their zealous co-operation, in every mode and form.

“So far, we know that our fire upon the city has been highly effective—particularly from the batteries of ten-inch mortars, planted at about eight hundred yards from the city. Including the preparation and defense of the batteries, from the beginning—now many days—and notwithstanding the heavy fire of the enemy from city and castle, we have only had four or five men wounded, and one officer and one man killed, in or near the trenches. That officer was Captain John R. Vinton, of the United States 3d artillery, one of the most talented, accomplished, and effective members of the army, and was highly distinguished in the brilliant operations at Monterey. He fell, last evening, in the trenches, where he was on duty as field and commanding officer, universally regretted. I have just attended his honoured remains to a soldier's grave, in full view of the enemy, and within reach of his guns.

“Thirteen of the long-needed mortars—leaving twenty-seven, besides heavy guns, behind—have arrived, and two of them landed. A heavy norther then set in (at meridian) which stopped that operation, and also the landing of shells. Hence the fire of our mortar batteries has been slackened, since two o'clock to-day, and cannot be reinvigorated until we shall again have a smooth sea. In the mean time I shall leave this report open for journalizing events that may occur up to the departure of the steamship of war Princeton, with Commodore Conner, who, I learn, expects to leave the anchorage off Sacrificios, for the United States, the 25th instant.

“March 24.—The storm having subsided in the night, we



commenced this forenoon, as soon as the sea became a little smooth, to land shot, shells, and mortars.

"The naval battery, No. 5, was opened, with great activity, under Captain Aulick, the second in rank of the squadron, at about ten A. M. His fire was continued to two o'clock, P. M., a little before he was relieved by Captain Mayo, who landed with a fresh supply of ammunition—Captain A. having exhausted the supply he had brought with him. He lost four sailors, killed, and had one officer, Lieutenant Baldwin, slightly hurt.

"The mortar batteries, Nos. 1, 2, and 3, have fired but languidly during the day, for the want of shells, which are now going out from the beach.

"Battery No. 4, which will mount four twenty-four-pounders and two eight-inch paixhan guns, has been much delayed in the hands of the indefatigable engineers by the norther, that filled up the work with sand nearly as fast as it could be opened by the half-blinded labourers. It will, however, doubtless be in full activity early to-morrow morning.

"March 25. All the batteries, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5, are in awful activity this morning. The effect is, no doubt, very great, and I think the city cannot hold out beyond to-day. To-morrow morning many of the new mortars will be in a position to add their fire, when, or after the delay of some twelve hours, if no proposition to surrender should be received, I shall organize parties for carrying the city by assault. So far the defense has been spirited and obstinate.

"I inclose a copy of a memorial received last night, signed by the consuls of Great Britain, France, Spain, and Prussia, within Vera Cruz, asking me to grant a truce to enable the neutrals, together with Mexican women and children to withdraw from the scene of havoc about them. I shall reply, the moment that an opportunity may be taken, to say—First, That a truce can only be granted on the application of Governor Morales, with a view to surrender; second, That in sending safeguards to the different consuls, beginning as far back as the 13th instant, I distinctly admonished them, particularly the French and Spanish consuls—and, of course, through the two, the other consuls—of the dangers that have followed; third, That



although, at that date, I had already refused to allow any person whatsoever to pass the line of investment either way, yet the blockade had been left open to the consuls and other neutrals to pass out to their respective ships of war up to the 22d instant; and, fourth, I shall inclose to the memorialists a copy of my summons to the governor, to show that I had fully considered the impending hardships and distresses of the place, including those of women and children, before one gun had been fired in that direction. The intercourse between the neutral ships of war and the city was stopped at the last-mentioned date by Commodore Perry, with my concurrence, which I placed on the ground that that intercourse could not fail to give to the enemy *moral aid and comfort*.

"It will be seen from the memorial, that our batteries have already had a terrible effect on the city, (also known through other sources,) and hence the inference that a surrender must soon be proposed."

In a subsequent letter he writes :

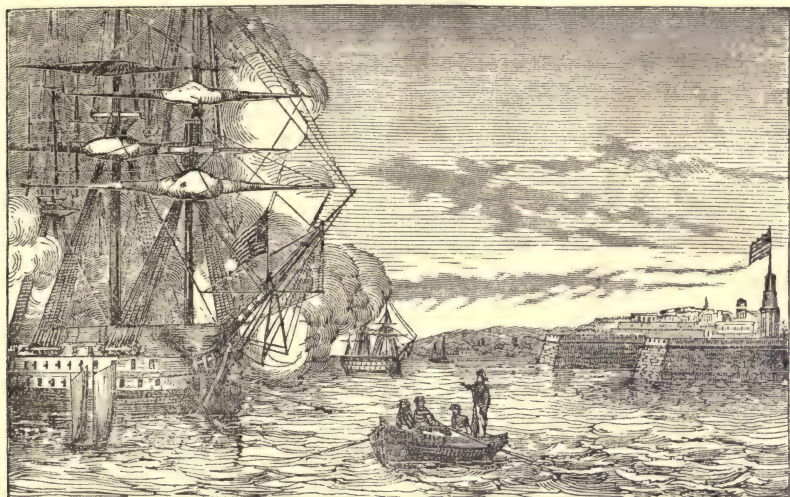
"The flag of the United States of America floats triumphantly over the walls of this city and the castle of St. Juan de Ulloa.

"Our troops have garrisoned both since ten o'clock. It is now noon. Brigadier-General Worth is in command of the two places.

"Articles of capitulation were signed and exchanged at a late hour night before the last.

"I have heretofore reported the principal incidents of the siege, up to the 25th instant. Nothing of striking interest occurred, until early in the morning of the next day, when I received overtures from General Landero, on whom General Morales had devolved the principal command. A terrible storm of wind and sand made it difficult to communicate with the city, and impossible to refer to Commodore Perry. I was obliged to entertain the proposition alone, or to continue the fire upon a place that had shown a disposition to surrender; for the loss of a day, or perhaps several, could not be permitted.

"Yesterday, after the norther had abated, and the commissioners appointed by me early the morning before had again met those appointed by General Landero, Commodore Perry sent



American Fleet saluting the Castle after its surrender.

ashore his second in command, Captain Aulick, as a commissioner on the part of the navy. Although not included in my specific arrangement made with the Mexican commander, I did not hesitate, with proper courtesy, to desire that Captain Aulick might be duly introduced and allowed to participate in the discussions and acts of the commissioners who had been reciprocally accredited. The original American commissioners were, Brevet Brigadier-General Worth, Brigadier-General Pillow, and Colonel Totten. Four more able or judicious officers could not have been desired.

“The remaining details of the siege; the able co-operation of the United States squadron, successively under the command of Commodores Conner and Perry; the admirable conduct of the whole army—regulars and volunteers—I should be happy to dwell upon as they deserve; but the steamer Princeton, with Commodore Conner on board, is under way, and I have commenced organizing an advance into the interior. This may be delayed a few days, waiting the arrival of additional means of transportation. In the mean time, a joint operation, by land and water, will be made upon Alvarado. No lateral expedition, however, shall interfere with the grand movement towards the capital.”



THE city and castle of Vera Cruz surrendered on the following terms, which were rigidly adhered to:

“1. The whole garrison, or garrisons, to be surrendered to the arms of the United States, as prisoners of war, the 29th instant, at ten o'clock, A. M.; the garrisons to be permitted to march out with all the honours of war, and to lay down their arms to such officers as may be appointed by the general-in-chief of the United States armies, and at a point to be agreed upon by the commissioners.

“2. Mexican officers shall preserve their arms and private effects, including horses and horse-furniture, and to be allowed, regular and irregular officers, as also the rank and file, five days to retire to their respective homes, on parole, as hereinafter prescribed.

“3. Coincident with the surrender, as stipulated in article 1, the Mexican flags of the various forts and stations shall be struck, saluted by their own batteries; and immediately thereafter, Forts Santiago and Conception, and the castle of San Juan de Ulloa, occupied by the forces of the United States.

“4. The rank and file of the regular portion of the prisoners to be disposed of after surrender and parole, as their general-in-chief may desire, and the irregular to be permitted to return to their homes. The officers, in respect to all arms and descriptions of force, giving the usual parole, that the said rank and file, as well as themselves, shall not serve again until duly exchanged.

“5. All the *materiel* of war, and all public property of every description found in the city, the castle of San Juan de Ulloa and their dependencies, to belong to the United States; but the armament of the same, (not injured or destroyed in the further prosecution of the actual war,) may be considered as liable to be restored to Mexico by a definite treaty of peace.

“6. The sick and wounded Mexicans to be allowed to remain in the city with such medical officers and attendants, and officers of the army, as may be necessary to their care and treatment.



“7. Absolute protection is solemnly guarantied to persons in the city, and property, and it is clearly understood that no private building or property is to be taken or used by the forces of the United States, without previous arrangement with the owners, and for a fair equivalent.

“8. Absolute freedom of religious worship and ceremonies is solemnly guarantied.”



Mexicans leaving Vera Cruz.



Commencement of the Guerilla Warfare.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### *March to the Capital.*

**A**FTER remaining more than two weeks with his army at Vera Cruz, General Scott commenced his advance, April 8th, for the capital. On the 11th, Twiggs's division reached the Plan-del Rio, where, in a few days, it was joined by those of Quitman and Worth.

At this time Santa Anna was stationed at the strong mountain pass of Sierra Gordo, which he had fortified with the greatest precaution. Here he awaited the arrival of the Americans with

firmness, calculating, that the advantages of his position, and his superiority of force, would give him an easy victory over the army of General Scott. An actor in the battle of Sierra Gordo thus describes this position :

“The road from Vera Cruz, as it passes the Plan del Rio, which is a wide, rocky bed of a once large stream, is commanded by a series of high cliffs, rising one above the other, and extending several miles, and all well fortified. The road then debouches to the right, and, curving around the ridge, passes over a high cliff, which is completely enfiladed by forts and batteries. This ridge is the commencement of *Terra Templada*, the upper or mountainous country. The high and rocky ravine of the river protected the right flank of the position, and a series of most abrupt and apparently impassable mountains and ridges covered their left. Between these points, running a distance of two or three miles, a succession of strongly fortified forts bristled at every turn, and seemed to defy all bravery and skill. The Sierra Gordo commanded the road on a gentle declination, like a glacis, for nearly a mile—an approach in that direction was impossible. A front attack must have terminated in the almost entire annihilation of our army. But the enemy expected such an attack, confiding in the desperate valour of our men, and believing that it was impossible to turn their position to the right or left. General Scott, however, with the eye of a skilful general, perceived the trap set for him, and determined to avoid it. He, therefore, had a road cut to the right, so as to escape the front fire from the Sierra, and turn his position on the left flank. This movement was made known to the enemy by a deserter from our camp, and consequently a large increase of force under General Vega was sent to the forts on their left.

“General Scott, to cover his flank movements, on the 17th of April, ordered forward General Twiggs against the fort on the steep ascent, in front and a little to the left of the Sierra. Colonel Harney commanded this expedition, and, at the head of the rifles and some detachments of infantry and artillery, carried his position under a heavy fire of grape and musketry. Having secured this position in front and near the enemy’s strongest fortification, and having by incredible labour elevated one of our





General Twiggs.

large guns to the top of the fort, General Scott prepared to follow up his advantages. A demonstration was made from this position against another strong fort in the rear, and near the Sierra, but the enemy was considered too strong, and the undertaking was abandoned. A like demonstration was made by the enemy."

Every thing being now ready for a general attack, Twiggs's division moved on the morning of the 18th, against the main fortress, Pillow's against that on the right, and Shields's and Worth's to the road in order to cut off all retreat. The troops composing the first, headed by Colonel Harney, pushed forward under a tremendous fire, and soon swept the works with the bayonet; but La Vega succeeded in repulsing General Pillow. He finally surrendered, however, on ascertaining that Santa Anna was defeated. The latter fled with precipitation, accompanied by Generals Almonte and Canalizo, and about half the army escaped by flight. He was so hotly pursued by Colonel Harney, as to leave behind his state carriage, trunks, and several thousand dollars in silver.





Jalapa.





Battle of Sierra Gordo.



IN this battle the Americans lost about two hundred and fifty in killed and wounded. General Shields was shot through the lungs by a musket ball, but, to the astonishment of all, survived. The loss of the Mexicans was about the same, exclusive of prisoners, who numbered three thousand. So great a quantity of stores, small arms, cannon, ammunition, &c., were taken, that General Scott, in his despatch to government, stated that he was embarrassed with the results of victory. The force of the enemy in this battle numbered eleven thousand; that of the Americans, six thousand.

The several divisions of the army rapidly pursued their success. On the 19th Twiggs entered Jalapa without opposition. On the 22d General Worth took undisputed possession of the town and castle of Perote, one of the strongest in Mexico. Tlaxpan, on the sea coast, had been previously taken (18th) by a portion of the gulf squadron, under Commodore Perry. Worth remained near Jalapa until the 15th of May, when he captured the city of Puebla. A description of this great achievement is given by one of his officers.

“General Worth’s command, four thousand strong, entered



Capture of Tuspan.

and took possession of this city of palaces, with its eighty thousand population, on the 15th. Our guns gape on the city, and on its lazaroni, from every quarter. At Amazogue, twelve miles in the rear, Santa Anna came out to meet us with a column of about three thousand five hundred, supposing as was the fact, that one of General Worth's brigades (Quitman's) was in the rear. We gave him the usual reception, *a la Rough and Ready*. We could only get Santa Anna near enough to give play to our light batteries, and only keep him in range long enough to unsaddle ninety cavalry. Santa Anna never fired a shot, and of course there was no loss on our side. We followed as close on his heels as tired foot could after Mexican horses well frightened, and entered Puebla at ten o'clock in the morning, while Santa Anna had left at four o'clock, with a guard of three hundred or four hundred cavalry. Could General Worth have reached him, General Santa Anna and his force would have been destroyed."

The army remained at Puebla until August, when General Scott began his famous march for the city of Mexico. The troops passed the Rio Frio without opposition, and on the 10th reached Ayotla. Here a careful reconnoissance was made of the position



El Penon, a fortification strongly defended by both nature and art. It had also been garrisoned with so much care, that General Scott determined to avoid it by marching round Lake Chalco, over a road discovered by General Worth. On the evening of the 17th, Worth's division arrived near San Antonio, after a most toilsome march over a rugged, broken road. On the following day Captain Thornton was killed while reconnoitering the Mexican position. The troops lay on their arms all night, and on the following day, at one o'clock P. M., Generals Smith and Twiggs attacked Contreras. This strong fortress was carried before daylight of the 20th. An officer thus describes the taking of Churubusco.

“Meanwhile General Worth had made a demonstration on San Antonio, where the enemy was fortified in a strong hacienda; but they retired, on his approach, to Churubusco, where the works were deemed impregnable. They consisted of a fortified hacienda, which was surrounded by a high and thick wall on all sides. Inside the wall was a stone building, the roof of which was flat and higher than the walls. Above all this was a stone church, still higher than the rest, and having a large steeple. The wall was pierced with loopholes, and so arranged that there were two tiers of men firing at the same time. They thus had four different ranges of men firing at once, and four ranks were formed on each range and placed at such a height that they could not only overlook all the surrounding country, but at the same time they had a plunging fire upon us. Outside the hacienda, and completely commanding the avenues of approach, was a field-work extending around two sides of the work and protected by a deep, wet ditch, and armed with seven large pieces. This hacienda is at the commencement of the causeway leading to the western gate of the city, and had to be passed before getting on the road. About three hundred yards in the rear of this work, another field-work had been built where a cross road meets the causeway, at a point where it crosses a river, thus forming a bridge head, or *tete de pont*. This was also very strong and armed with three very large pieces of cannon. The works were surrounded on every side by large corn-fields, which were filled with the enemy's skirmishers, so that it was difficult to make a reconnois-





Battle of Churubusco.

sance. It was therefore decided to make the attack immediately, as they were full of men and extended for nearly a mile on the road to the city, completely covering the causeway. The attack commenced about one P. M. General Twiggs's division attacked on the side towards which they approached the fort, *i. e.*, opposite the city. General Worth's attacked the bridge head which he took in about an hour and a half; while Generals Pillow and Quitman were on the extreme left, between the causeway and Twiggs's division. The rifles were on the left, and in the rear of the work, intrusted by General Scott with the task of charging the work in case General Pierce gave way. The firing was most tremendous—in fact one continued roll while the combat lasted. The enemy, from their elevated position, could readily see our men, who were unable to get a clear view from their position. Three of the pieces were manned by "*The Deserters*," a body of about one hundred, who had deserted from the ranks of our



BATTLE OF CHURUBUSCO.







army during the war. They were enrolled in two companies, commanded by a deserter, and were better uniformed and disciplined than the rest of the army. These men fought most desperately, and are said not only to have shot down several of our officers whom they knew, but to have pulled down the white flag of surrender no less than three times.



THE battle raged most furiously for about three hours, when both sides having lost a great many, the enemy began to give way. As soon as they commenced retreating, Kearny's squadron passed through the *tete de pont*, and charging through the retreating column, pursued them to the very gate of the city. As they got within about five hundred

yards of the gate, they were opened upon with grape and canister, and several officers wounded.

"The official returns give our loss in killed and wounded at eleven hundred and fifty, besides officers. The Mexican loss is five hundred killed in the second battle, one thousand wounded, and eleven hundred prisoners, exclusive of officers. Three more generals were taken, among them General Rincon, and Anaya, the provisional president; also ten pieces of cannon, and an immense amount of ammunition and stores, Santa Anna, in his report, states his loss in killed, wounded, and missing, at twelve thousand. He has only eighteen thousand left out of thirty thousand, which he gives as his force on the 20th, in both actions."

Mindful of the desire, so often expressed by President Polk, to conquer a peace, General Scott halted his victorious troops within sight of the capital, and offered terms of an armistice preparatory to the opening of negotiations for a peace. The offer was gladly accepted, and an armistice concluded on the following terms:

ART. 1. Hostilities shall instantly and absolutely cease between the armies of the United States of America and the United Mexican States, within thirty leagues of the capital of the latter states.

to allow time to the commissioners appointed by the United States and the commissioners to be appointed by the Mexican republic to negotiate.

2. The armistice shall continue as long as the commissioners of the two governments may be engaged on negotiations, or until the commander of either of the said armies shall give formal notice to the other of the cessation of the armistice for forty-eight hours after such notice.

3. In the mean time, neither army shall, within thirty leagues of the city of Mexico, commence any new fortification or military work of offence or defense, or do any thing to enlarge or strengthen any existing work or fortification of that character within the said limits.

4. Neither army shall be reinforced within the same. Any reinforcements in troops or munitions of war, other than subsistence now approaching either army, shall be stopped at the distance of twenty-eight leagues from the city of Mexico.

5. Neither army, or any detachment from it, shall advance beyond the line it at present occupies.

6. Neither army, nor any detachment, or individual of either, shall pass the neutral limits established by the last article, except under a flag of truce bearing the correspondence between the two armies, or on the business authorized by the next article; and individuals of either army, who may chance to straggle within the neutral limits, shall, by the opposite party, be kindly warned off, or sent back to their own armies under flags of truce.

7. The American army shall not, by violence, obstruct the passage from the open country into the city of Mexico, of the ordinary supplies of food necessary to the consumption of its inhabitants, or the Mexican army within the city; nor shall the Mexican authorities, civil or military, do any act to obstruct the passage of supplies from the city or country, needed by the American army.

8. All American prisoners of war remaining in the hands of the Mexican army, and not heretofore exchanged, shall immediately, or as soon as practicable, be restored to the American army, against a like number, having regard to rank, of Mexican prisoners captured by the American army.

9. All American citizens who were established in the city of Mexico prior to the existing war, and who have since been expelled from that city, shall be allowed to return to their respective business or families therein, without delay or molestation.

10. The better to enable the belligerent armies to execute these articles, and to favour the great object of peace, it is further agreed between the parties, that any courier with despatches that either army shall desire to send along the line from the city of Mexico or its vicinity, to and from Vera Cruz, shall receive a safe conduct from the commander of the opposing army.

11. The administration of justice between Mexicans, according to the general and state constitutions and laws, by the local authorities of the towns and places occupied by the American forces, shall not be obstructed in any manner.

12. Persons and property shall be respected in the towns and places occupied by the American forces. No person shall be molested in the exercise of his profession; nor shall the services of any one be required without his consent. In all cases where services are voluntarily rendered, a just price shall be paid, and trade remain unmolested.

13. Those wounded prisoners who may desire to remove to some more convenient place, for the purpose of being cured of their wounds, shall be allowed to do so without molestation, they still remaining prisoners.

14. The Mexican medical officers who may wish to attend the wounded, shall have the privilege of doing so, if their services be required.

15. For the more perfect execution of this agreement, two commissioners shall be appointed, one by each party, who, in case of disagreement, shall appoint a third.

16. This convention shall have no force or effect, unless approved by their excellencies, the commanders, respectively, of the two armies, within twenty-four hours, reckoning from the sixth hour of the 23d day of August, 1847.

During the cessation of hostilities, court-martials, appointed by General Scott, tried and sentenced Sergeant Riley, and seventy others, who had deserted at various times. Fifty were hung. The remainder, including the sergeant, having joined the Mexicans



prior to the declaration of war, were branded, publicly whipped, sentenced to solitary confinement, with a chain and ball while the army shall remain in Mexico, and afterwards to be drummed out of service. All these men were captured fighting desperately at Churubusco.

Overtures of peace were now made by Mr. Trist, the American plenipotentiary, who agreed that the United States should pay a certain sum for California, and retain Texas with the Rio Grande as the boundary. To the latter condition the Mexicans would not assent. On the 2d of September, Mr. Trist handed in his ultimatum on boundaries, and the negotiators adjourned to re-assemble on the 6th.



Mexican Officer.



City of Mexico.

## CHAPTER IX.

## Capture of Mexico.



GENERAL SCOTT thus details the operations subsequent to the meeting of the commissioners :

“Some infractions of the truce, in respect to our supplies from the city, were earlier committed, followed by apologies, on the part of the enemy. Those vexations I was willing to put down to the imbecility of the government, and waived pointed demands of reparation while any hope remained of a satisfactory termination of the war. But on the 5th, and more fully on the 6th, I learned that as soon as the *ultimatum* had been considered in a grand council of ministers and others, President Santa Anna, on the 4th or 5th, without giving me the slightest notice, actively recommenced strengthening the military defenses of the city, in gross violation of the third article of the armistice.

“On that information, which has since received the fullest veri

fication, I addressed to him my note of the 6th. His reply, dated the same day, received the next morning, was absolutely and notoriously false, both in recrimination and explanation. I inclose copies of both papers, and have had no subsequent correspondence with the enemy. Being delayed by the terms of the armistice more than two weeks, we had now, late on the 7th, to begin to reconnoiter the different approaches to the city, within our reach, before I could lay down any definite plan of attack.

"The same afternoon a large body of the enemy was discovered hovering about the Molinos del Rey, within a mile and a third of this village, where I am quartered with the general staff and Worth's division.

"It might have been supposed that an attack upon us was intended; but knowing the great value to the enemy of those mills, (Molinos del Rey,) containing a cannon foundry, with a large deposit of powder in Casa Mata near them; and having heard, two days before, that many church bells had been sent out to be cast into guns, the enemy's movement was easily understood, and I resolved at once, to drive him early the next morning, to seize the powder, and to destroy the foundry.

"Another motive for this decision—leaving the general plan of attack upon the city for full reconnoissances—was, that we knew our recent captures had left the enemy not a fourth of the guns necessary to arm, all at the same time, the strong works at each of the eight city gates; and we could not cut the communication between the capital and the foundry without first taking the formidable castle on the heights of Chapultepec, which overlooked both and stood between."

The management of this important assault was intrusted to Major-General Worth. He describes his operations as follows:

"Having, in the course of the 7th, accompanied the general-in-chief, on a reconnoissance of the formidable dispositions of the enemy, near and around the castle of Chapultepec, they were found to exhibit an extended line of cavalry and infantry, sustained by a field-battery of four guns—occupying directly, or sustaining, a system of defenses collateral to the castle and summit. This examination gave fair observation of the configuration



of the grounds, and the extent of the enemy's force, but, as appeared in the sequel, an inadequate idea of the nature of his defenses—they being skilfully masked.



HE general-in-chief ordered that my division, reinforced, should attack and carry those lines and defenses, capture the enemy's artillery, destroy the machinery and material supposed to be in the foundry (El Molino del Rey); but limiting the operations to that extent. After which my command was to be immediately withdrawn

to its position in the village of Tacubaya.

"A close and daring reconnoissance by Captain Mason, of the engineers, made on the morning of the 7th, represented the enemy's lines collateral to Chapultepec to be as follows: his left rested upon and occupied a group of strong stone buildings, called El Molino del Rey, adjoining the grove at the foot of the hill of Chapultepec, and directly under the guns of the castle which crowns its summit. The right of this line rested upon another stone building, called Casa Mata, situated at the foot of the ridge that slopes gradually from the heights above the village of Tacubaya to the plain below. Midway between these buildings was the enemy's field-battery, and his infantry forces were disposed on either side to support it. This reconnoissance was verified by Captain Mason and Colonel Duncan, on the afternoon of the same day. The result indicated that the centre was the weak point of the enemy's position, and that his flanks were the strong points, his left flank being the stronger.

"As the enemy's system of defense was connected with the hill and castle of Chapultepec, and as my operations were limited to a specific object, it became necessary to isolate the work to be accomplished from the castle of Chapultepec and its immediate defenses. To effect this object, the following dispositions were ordered: Colonel Garland's brigade to take position on the right, strengthened by two pieces of Captain Drum's battery, to look to El Molino del Rey as well as any support of this position from Chapultepec; and also within sustaining distance of the assaulting party and the battering guns, which, under Captain Huger,

were placed on the ridge, five or six hundred yards from El Molino del Rey, to batter and loosen this position from Chapultepec. An assaulting party of five hundred picked men and officers, under command of Brevet Major George Wright, 8th infantry was also posted on the ridge to the left of the battering guns to force the enemy's centre. The 2d (Clark's) brigade, the command of which devolved on Colonel McIntosh, Colonel Clark being sick, with Duncan's battery, was to take post still farther up the ridge, opposite the enemy's right, to look to our left flank, to sustain the assaulting column, if necessary, or to discomfit the enemy, the ground being favourable, as circumstances might require. Cadwalader's brigade was held in reserve, in a position on the ridge, between the battering guns and McIntosh's brigade, and in easy support of either. The cavalry, under Major Sumner, to envelope our extreme left, and be governed by circumstances—to repel or attack, as the commander's judgment might suggest. The troops to be put in position under cover of the night, and the work to begin as soon as the heavy material could be properly directed. Colonel Duncan was charged with the general disposition of the artillery.

“Accordingly, at three o'clock on the morning of the 8th, the several columns were put in motion, on as many different routes; and, when the gray of the morning enabled them to be seen, they were as accurately in position as if posted in midday for review. The early dawn was the moment appointed for the attack, which was announced to our troops by the opening of Huger's guns on El Molino del Rey, upon which they continued to play actively, until this point of the enemy's line became sensibly shaken, when the assaulting party, commanded by Wright, and guided by that accomplished officer, Captain Mason, of the engineers, assisted by Lieutenant Foster, dashed gallantly forward to the assault. Unshaken by the galling fire of musketry and canister that was showered upon them, on they rushed, driving infantry and artillerymen at the point of the bayonet. The enemy's field-battery was taken, and his own guns were trailed upon his retreating masses; before, however, they could be discharged, perceiving that he had been dispossessed of this strong position by comparatively a handful of men, he made a

desperate effort to regain it. Accordingly his retiring forces rallied and formed with this object. Aided by the infantry, which covered the house tops, (within reach of which the battery had been moved during the night,) the enemy's whole line opened upon the assaulting party a terrific fire of musketry, which struck down *eleven* out of the *fourteen* officers that composed the command, and non-commissioned officers and men in proportion; including, amongst the officers, Brevet Major Wright, the commander; Captain Mason and Lieutenant Foster, engineers: all severely wounded.

"This severe shock staggered, for a moment, that gallant band. The light battalion, held to cover Huger's battery, under Captain E. Kirby Smith, (Lieutenant-Colonel Smith being sick,) and the right wing of Cadwalader's brigade, were promptly ordered forward to support, which order was executed in the most gallant style; the enemy was again routed, and this point of his line carried, and fully possessed by our troops. In the mean time, Garland's, (1st) brigade, ably sustained by Captain Drum's artillery, assaulted the enemy's left, and, after an obstinate and very severe contest, drove him from this apparently impregnable position, immediately under the guns of the castle of Chapultepec. Drum's section, and the battering guns under Captain Huger, advanced to the enemy's position, and the captured guns of the enemy were now opened on his retreating forces, on which they continued to fire until beyond their reach.

"While this work was in progress of accomplishment, by our centre and right, our troops on the left were not idle. Duncan's battery opened on the right of the enemy's line, up to this time engaged; and the 2d brigade, under Colonel McIntosh, was now ordered to assault the extreme right of the enemy's line. The direction of this brigade soon caused it to mask Duncan's battery—the fire of which, for the moment was discontinued—and the brigade moved steadily on to the assault of Casa Mata, which, instead of an ordinary field intrenchment, as was supposed, proved to be a strong stone citadel, surrounded with bastioned intrenchments and impassable ditches—an old Spanish work, recently repaired and enlarged. When within easy musket range, the enemy opened a most deadly fire upon our advancing



troops, which was kept up, without intermission, until our gallant men reached the very slope of the parapet of the work that surrounded the citadel. By this time a large proportion of the command was either killed or wounded, amongst whom were the three senior officers present—Brevet Colonel McIntosh, Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Scott, of the 5th infantry, and Major Waite, 8th infantry; the second killed, and the first and last desperately wounded. Still, the fire from the citadel was unabated. In this crisis of the attack, the command was, momentarily, thrown into disorder, and fell back on the left of Duncan's battery, where they rallied.



As the 2d brigade moved to the assault, a very large cavalry and infantry force was discovered approaching rapidly upon our left flank, to reinforce the enemy's right. As soon as Duncan's battery was masked, as before mentioned, supported by Andrew's voltigeurs, of Cadwalader's brigade, it moved promptly to the extreme left of our line, to check the threatened assault on this point. The enemy's cavalry came rapidly within canister range, when the whole battery opened a most effective fire, which soon broke the squadrons, and drove them back in disorder. During this fire upon the enemy's cavalry, Major Sumner's command moved to the front, and changed direction in admirable order, under a most appalling fire from the Casa Mata. This movement enabled his command to cross the ravine immediately on the left of Duncan's battery, where it remained, doing noble service until the close of the action. At the very moment the cavalry were driven beyond reach, our own troops drew back from before the Casa Mata, and enabled the guns of Duncan's battery to reopen upon this position; which, after a short and well-directed fire, the enemy abandoned. The guns of the battery were now turned upon his retreating columns, and continued to play upon them until beyond reach.

"He was now driven from every point of the field, and his strong lines, which had certainly been defended well, were in our possession. In fulfilment of the instructions of the com-



Tacubaya.

mander-in-chief, the Casa Mata was blown up, and such of the captured ammunition as was useless to us, as well as the cannon moulds found in El Molino del Rey, were destroyed. After which my command under the reiterated orders of the General-in-chief, returned to quarters at Tacubaya, with three of the enemy's four guns, (the fourth having been spiked, was rendered unserviceable;) as also a large quantity of small arms, with gun and musket ammunition, and exceeding eight hundred prisoners, including fifty-two commissioned officers.

"By concurrent testimony of prisoners the enemy's force exceeded fourteen thousand men commanded by General Santa Anna in person. His total loss, killed, including the second and third in command, (Generals Valdarez and Leon,) wounded and prisoners, amounts to three thousand, exclusive of some two thousand who deserted after the route.

"My command, reinforced as before stated, only reached three thousand one hundred men of all arms. The contest continued two hours, and its severity is painfully attested by our heavy loss of officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, including



in the first two classes some of the brightest ornaments of the service."

This victory prepared the way for more important ones. The time from the 8th to the 11th was spent in careful reconnoissances of the defenses around the capital. A description of these we give in General Scott's own words :

" This city (Mexico) stands on a slight swell of ground, near the centre of an irregular basin, and is girdled with a ditch in its greater extent—a navigable canal of great breadth and depth—very difficult to bridge in the presence of an enemy, and serving at once for drainage, custom-house purposes, and military defense ; having eight entrances or gates over arches,—each of which we found defended by a system of strong works, that seemed to require nothing but some men and guns to be impregnable. Outside, and within the cross-fires of those gates, we found to the south other obstacles, little less formidable. All the approaches near the city are elevated causeways, cut in many places, (to oppose us,) and flanked on both sides by ditches, also of unusual dimensions. The numerous cross-roads are flanked in like manner, having bridges at the intersections, recently broken. The meadows thus checkered are, moreover, in many spots, under water, or marshy ; for, it will be remembered, we were in the midst of the wet season, though with less rain than usual, and we could not wait for the fall of the neighbouring lakes, and the consequent drainage of the wet grounds at the edge of the city."

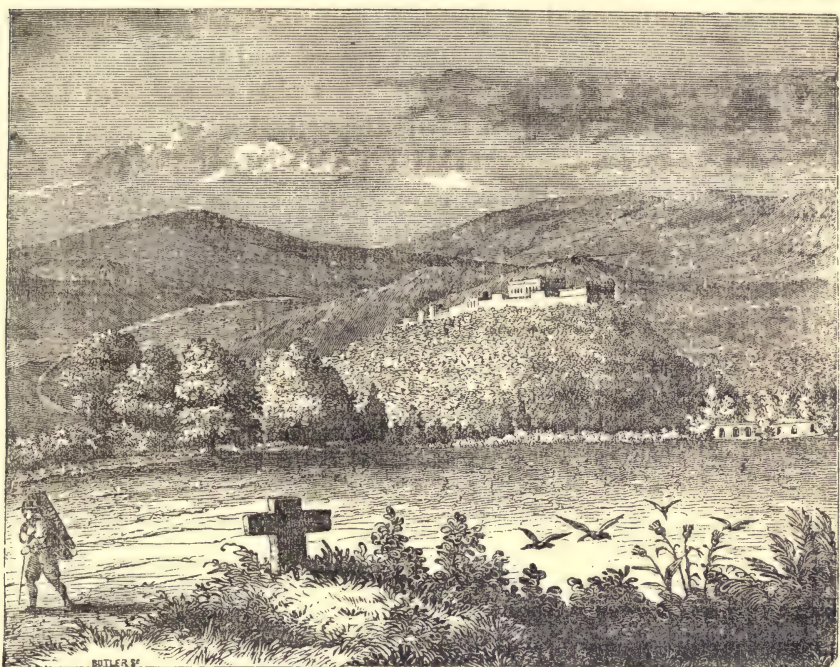


IN order to save the lives of his men, by avoiding these formidable obstacles, General Scott determined on a sudden and secret movement to the south-west, where the defenses were feeble. This was admirably executed, the enemy mistaking a feint for the real march,

until it was too late to retrieve themselves.

The most important step in the new movement was the capture of Chapultepec, a natural and isolated mound, of great elevation, strongly fortified at its base. Besides a numerous garrison, there was stationed at this place the military college of the republic, containing a large number of sub-lieutenants and other students.





Chapultepec.

The bombardment of this strong place was commenced on the morning of the 12th, and continued with great activity, under the direction of Captain Huger, throughout the day. It was renewed on the following day, and kept up until eight o'clock, when General Scott gave signal to the divisions of Pillow and Quitman for a general assault. This was promptly obeyed by both columns; while as the troops advanced, the batteries threw shot and shell over their heads into the castle. Pillow dislodged a number of sharp shooters from an open grove, and emerged from it in front of the works. Here he was severely wounded, and the command devolved on General Cadwalader. This officer found before him a broken acclivity, commanded by a strong redoubt, both to be surmounted before reaching the castle. His troops, however, pushed forward over rocks, chasms, and ruins, although exposed to full range of the enemy's fire. The redoubt yielded to resistless valour, and the enemy were so closely pursued as to be unable to fire a single mine without blowing up friend and foe. Then the ditch and wall of the main work were

reached; scaling-ladders planted, and hundreds rushed over among the garrison. The cannon ceased, and the dire clashing of bayonets told of mortal strife. This also ceased, and long, loud cheers announced that Chapultepec had fallen.



IMULTANEOUSLY with the movement on the west, General Quitman had approached on the east, over a causeway, with cuts and batteries, defended by troops without and within. Deep ditches flanking the causeway, made it difficult to cross on either side, into the adjoining meadows, and

these again were intersected by other ditches. By skilful manœuvering, the New York, South Carolina, and 2d Pennsylvania volunteers, with portions of Quitman's storming parties, crossed the meadows in front, under a heavy fire, and entered the outer inclosure of Chapultepec, in time to join in the final assault from the west.

In the commencement of this brilliant affair, General Worth had been stationed in rear of the castle, to act as circumstances might require. During the attack, one brigade had been withdrawn by Pillow, to assist his movements; and on observing a large party of the enemy outside the works, General Scott ordered him to turn Chapultepec with his division, proceeding cautiously by the road at its northern base, in order, if not met by very superior numbers, to threaten and attack the rear of that force. Worth promptly obeyed these directions, although having but one brigade. In turning a forest, he came up with the troops under Colonel Trousdale, and aided in taking a breast-work. Then passing Chapultepec, he attacked the right of the enemy's line, at the time of the general retreat consequent upon the capture of the castle. After this he entered the San Cosme road, and commenced a rapid pursuit of the flying enemy. At the same time Quitman was hurrying forward by the Belin aqueduct.

Deeming the continuance of this pursuit highly important, General Scott sent two brigades to assist Worth, and one for the



same purpose to Quitman. At a junction of the roads they found a formidable system of defenses, entirely abandoned. Into these Worth's troops entered, and commenced a street fight with the enemy, who were posted in gardens, at windows, and on house tops. Worth ordered forward the mountain howitzers of Cadwalader's brigade, preceded by skirmishers and pioneers, with bars and axes, to force doors and windows, and to burrow through walls. Soon the assailants were in an equality of position with the enemy, and by eight o'clock, p. m., had carried two batteries. This brought them in front of the San Cosme gate, the only remaining obstruction to the grand plaza fronting the cathedral and palace. Here, in obedience to instructions, Worth halted, posted guards and sentinels, and placed his troops under shelter for the night.

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Meanwhile, Quitman, assisted by Generals Shields and Smith, had passed rapidly along the other road, carried a battery in the face of flank and direct fires, stormed the Belen gate at two o'clock, and entered the city. Here he halted, sheltered himself as well as practicable, and waited for further instructions.



At four o'clock next morning, a deputation of the city council waited on General Scott, to report that the army and federal government had fled from the city about midnight, in consequence of which they demanded terms of capitulation. The general replied, that he would sign no capitulation, nor submit to any terms not self-imposed—such only as the honour of his army, the dignity of his country, and the spirit of the age demanded.

About daylight, Worth and Quitman were ordered to advance slowly and cautiously toward the heart of the city, and occupy its commanding points. The latter officer proceeded to the great square, planted guards, and hoisted the colours of the United States on the National Palace. At about eight o'clock, the general-in-chief, dressed in full uniform, accompanied by his staff, and escorted by bands of music, entered the city, at the head of his army. Before noon, a fire was opened upon the



Americans, from the corners of streets, windows, and roofs of houses, by some two thousand convicts, liberated the night before by the flying government. This cowardly war lasted more than twenty-four hours, notwithstanding all the exertions of the municipal authorities, and was not put down until the army had lost many men killed and wounded, including several officers. General Quitman was appointed military governor of the city, and Captain Naylor superintendent of the National Palace. The former returning soon after to the United States, was succeeded by General Smith.

General Scott thus sums up the great achievements of his army :

"This small force (eight thousand men) has beaten on the same occasions, in view of the capital, the whole Mexican army, of (at the beginning) thirty odd thousand men—posted always in chosen positions, behind intrenchments, or more formidable defenses of nature and art; killed or wounded of that number more than seven thousand officers and men; taken three thousand seven hundred and thirty prisoners, one-seventh officers, including thirteen generals, of whom three had been presidents of this republic; captured more than twenty colours and standards, seventy-five pieces of ordnance, besides fifty-seven wall pieces, twenty thousand small arms, an immense quantity of shot, shells, powder, &c."

General Scott's loss in the battles of August, was one thousand and fifty-two men, of whom seventy-six were officers; on the 8th of September, seven hundred and eighty-nine, of whom fifty-eight were officers; before the capital, eight hundred and sixty-two men, including seventy-eight officers; total, two thousand seven hundred and three, including three hundred and eighty-three officers.

Having thus obtained complete possession of Mexico, General Scott proclaimed martial law, and levied a contribution upon the inhabitants. Business was resumed, and the city again became quiet and cheerful. Two months after, a proclamation was issued, requesting the inhabitants of other cities to lay down arms, and declaring the determination of the commander to spread his army over the country, in order to enforce obedience.



Puebla de los Angeles.

During these operations before the capital, a revolt had taken place in Puebla, which forced the American governor, Colonel Childs, to take refuge in the fortresses of San Jose, Loreto, and Guadalupe. Here he was shut up by the inhabitants, and a bombardment commenced on the 14th of September, which lasted twenty-eight days. The enemy cut off all supplies, and attempted to change the direction of a stream of water, running through San Jose. The Americans were fired upon from houses, streets, forts, and mounds; and frequently the bombardment continued through the entire night.

On the 22d, Santa Anna arrived with large reinforcements from Mexico, and on the 25th demanded a surrender. This was refused. A combined attack then commenced, and continued until the 2d of October, when a revolt of Santa Anna's troops obliged him to withdraw. Taking advantage of this, Colonel Childs detached two parties on a sortie. Captain Wm. F. Small, who conducted one of them, succeeded in destroying a barricade of one hundred and fifty cotton bales, and driving back the enemy with a loss of seventeen men. The besiegers, although con-



siderably disheartened, continued their operations until the 12th, when General Lane arrived at the city with large reinforcements for the American army, and soon cleared it of the enemy.

In his march to Puebla, Lane had encountered the forces of Santa Anna, at the town of Huamantla, (October 9th.) Leaving his train packed at the hacienda of Tamaris, he sent forward part of his forces, with Captain Walker's mounted men in advance, with instructions to drive the enemy from the town. When within about three miles, Walker observed parties of horsemen galloping in the same direction, and accordingly pushed forward at a rapid pace toward Huamantla. At the same time, about two thousand lancers came over the neighbouring hills, unseen by Walker, and approached the town.

On arriving near the main plaza, Captain Walker discovered about five hundred of the enemy drawn up there, and immediately ordered a charge. The Mexicans were defeated, and driven through the city, until the arrival of their reinforcements. After fighting three-quarters of an hour, the captain succeeded in taking two pieces of artillery, but was not able to use them. Immediately after this success, the gallant and chivalric Walker was mortally wounded. Perhaps no officer, sacrificed in our struggle with Mexico, was ever more sincerely lamented. The total loss of the Americans was thirteen killed, and eleven wounded; that of the enemy more than one hundred. One brass six-pounder, a mountain howitzer, with some wagons, and a large quantity of ammunition were captured.



GENERAL LANE remained in Puebla until the 18th, when, ascertaining that General Rea, with a considerable Mexican force, was at Atlisco, he ordered a movement for that place on the following morning. The march was commenced about noon of the 19th, and at four P. M., the advance guard of the enemy was discovered near Santa Isabella. A running fight took place, over a distance of four miles, when the Mexican main army appeared, ranged on a hill behind chaparral hedges. The cavalry dashed among them, and a bloody conflict ensued, attended with great loss to the



enemy. They finally retreated, and were pursued to the town. Night had now arrived, but a fine moonlight rendered it still possible to continue operations. "Deeming it unsafe," says General Lane, "to risk a street fight in an unknown town, at night, I ordered the artillery to be posted on a hill, near to the town, and overlooking it, and opened its fire. Now ensued one of the most beautiful sights conceivable. Every gun was served with the utmost rapidity; and the crash of the walls and the roofs of the houses, when struck by our shot and shells, was mingled with the roar of our artillery. The bright light of the moon enabled us to direct our shots to the most thickly populated parts of the town."

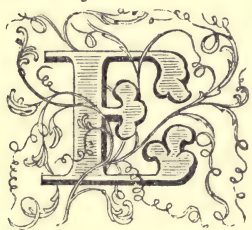
This bombardment continued three-quarters of an hour, when the general was waited on by the city council, who desired that the town might be spared. This was granted, and after destroying considerable military stores and arms, Lane left next morning for Puebla. His loss was one killed, and one wounded; that of the enemy, two hundred and nineteen killed, and three hundred wounded.

In the same month the towns of Guaymas and Mazatlan were taken by a portion of the American fleet. On the 15th the Portsmouth sloop of war anchored off the port of the former, and was joined soon after by the frigate Congress, and the brig Argo. The town was twice summoned to surrender, and on the 19th was abandoned by the Mexican army. At six o'clock next morning the Americans opened their fire from both vessels of war, and the two mortars, and continued it for more than an hour. They discharged into the town more than five hundred shot. One English resident was killed, some houses were burned, and others entirely destroyed. The town then submitted without further resistance. About the same time four ships of war took possession of the port of Mazatlan.

On the 23d of November General Lane had another battle with the enemy at Matamoras. We give the account nearly in his own words:

"Having been credibly informed that the enemy were in force, at Matamoras, with some artillery, and that a military depot was there established, at which a large quantity of munitions of war

and other public property had been collected, and also that several American soldiers were confined there, in close imprisonment, I moved from Puebla toward that place at seven o'clock, on the evening of the 22d instant, with one piece of artillery, and one hundred and sixty men. Although retarded by five hours rain, we reached Matamoras at seven o'clock on the 23d—accomplishing a march of fifty four miles in twelve hours. Coming upon the advance guard of the enemy, we charged and drove them in upon the main body. In this short and sanguinary action from sixty to eighty of the enemy were killed and wounded. We did not lose a man. Twenty-one American soldiers were set free, and restored to the service, armed with muskets and mounted upon horses taken from the enemy. Three pieces of bronzed artillery, twelve tons of shot, twelve boxes of fixed ammunition, twenty-seven bales escopette and musket balls, seven bales slow and quick matches, five hundred muskets, five hundred sabres, one hundred horses, medical stores and other public property fell into our hands. Of these the muskets, ammunition, artillery, and sabres were distributed among the men; the remainder destroyed.



EARLY on the morning of the 24th, we moved toward Puebla. While moving with difficulty through a long mountainous pass (Pass de Galaxra) five miles from Matamoras, the train became considerably extended. The artillery and four wagons containing captured property, and driven by Mexicans, had fallen in the rear, and were slowly progressing under my immediate superintendence, when it was reported that the enemy had appeared in front. Colonel Hays was immediately ordered to repair to the head of the column, and to engage the enemy with the advance guard. He formed a small party of observation, pursued by about two hundred lancers. These he charged, broke and pursued across an extended plain, and up a long precipitous ascent, toward the mountains from which they had made the attack. Here they were reinforced by a reserve of five hundred lancers, under General Rea. As Hays's men numbered but about thirty-five, and were not only destitute of

sabres, but had previously discharged their revolvers and rifles, he ordered them to retire to their original position. This order they coolly obeyed under the full charge of all the lancers. When the colonel reached the main body, the artillery opened upon the Mexicans, and they retired to the neighbouring mountains. Our loss was two killed and two wounded.

“At about ten o'clock A. M. of the 25th, we arrived at Atlisco. After four hours' repose we moved on to Puebla, where we arrived without further molestation, at two o'clock in the afternoon, having been absent sixty hours.”

On the 12th of January, 1848, Colonel Hays with about one hundred rangers, and a few Illinois volunteers, was sent in pursuit of the Padre Jarauta. On arriving at a hacienda near Teotihuacan, the party halted, unsaddled their horses, and lay down in careless repose. While in this condition, they were suddenly attacked by the padre and a party of guerillas. A sharp contest ensued, which lasted several minutes. About one hundred and fifty shots were fired by the rangers, and one hundred by the Mexicans—the balls of the latter passing over their opponents' heads, without producing any effect. Eight Mexicans were killed, and the remainder fled in all directions. Jarauta received several wounds, and was observed to reel in his saddle as though ready to fall. The Americans escaped without injury.

After this skirmish, little of interest transpired in either army until the latter end of January, when General Scott, in company with Mr. Trist, opened negotiations of peace with the Mexican commissioners, Luis G. Cuevas, Bernardo Conto, and Miguel Atristain, assuming as a basis the articles formerly proposed by Mr. Trist, and rejected by Santa Anna. The most important of these were the cession of a large portion of California and all of New Mexico to the United States, for a stipulated sum; the adoption of the Rio Grande as far as the Gila, for a boundary between the two countries; the surrender of all posts, cities, fortresses, etc., captured during the war; and the full ratification of the treaty of April 5th, 1831. The new treaty also provides that twelve thousand American troops should remain in the city of Mexico, until certain obligations are complied with. The remainder of the army are to be withdrawn.



As commander-in-chief of the American army, General Scott accepted this treaty from the Mexican congress, and forwarded it immediately to Washington. It arrived in that city on the 20th of February, and was laid before the President, who, on the 22d, submitted it to the Senate, accompanied by a message. Considering the importance of the measure, it passed through that body with unexampled rapidity, being adopted with but slight alterations on the 10th of March — the Senate being out of session part of the time, in consequence of the death of ex-president Adams. The vote stood thirty-seven to fifteen, four members being absent. This decided majority evinces the weariness with which all parties had begun to regard the war, and the earnest desire for a speedy and honourable peace.

By an article in this treaty, it was made obligatory upon the American government to withdraw its troops from the Mexican territory, within three months after the final ratification, unless prevented by the approach of the sickly season. Accordingly, the first care of the officers was, the organization of military parties to collect the military stores, and transmit them, under strong escorts, to Vera Cruz, the point of embarkation for the United States. These were followed by the army in detachments, led by officers appointed for the occasion. The whole was superintended by Major-General Butler, acting commander-in-chief, assisted by the American commissioner and generals, then in Mexico. Every facility was afforded by the Mexican authorities, and by the inhabitants generally. By the end of June the whole American force had been withdrawn, a service which, although of the most arduous kind, was admirably performed by both officers and men, without any material accident.

THE END.









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